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# CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM IUDAEAE/PALAESTINAE

Walter Ameling, Hannah M. Cotton, Werner Eck, Avner Ecker, Benjamin Isaac, Alla Kushnir-Stein, Haggai Misgav, Jonathan Price, Peter Weiß and Ada Yardeni (Eds.)

VOLUME IV IUDAEA/IDUMAEA

PART 1 2649-3324





www.degruyter.com ISBN 978-3-11-053744-4 Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae Volume IV: Iudaea/Idumaea. Part 1: 2649–3324

# Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae

## A multi-lingual corpus of the inscriptions from Alexander to Muhammad

edited by

Walter Ameling · Hannah M. Cotton · Werner Eck Avner Ecker · Benjamin Isaac · Alla Kushnir-Stein (†) Haggai Misgav · Jonathan Price · Peter Weiß · Ada Yardeni

Editorial staff
Marfa Heimbach · Dirk Koßmann
with the assistance of
Eva Käppel · Christina Kaas · Ilia Rastrepin

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Printed with support of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft

ISBN 978-3-11-053744-4 e-ISBN 978-3-11-054421-3

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche
Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet
at http://dnb.d-nb.de.

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 $\label{eq:total_total} Type setting: \tau\text{-lex}\iota s, Heidelberg \\ Printing: Hubert \& Co. GmbH und Co. KG BuchPartner, Göttingen$ 

www.degruyter.com

#### **Preface**

The fourth volume of the Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae is dedicated to the inscriptions from Iudaea proper and Idumaea. The two parts (IV 1-2) contain all the inscriptions from these two areas with the exception of the ostraca. The latter have been found in this area in such huge quantities that they could not have been included here; two other volumes will be dedicated to them in the future.

The inscriptions are arranged, as in volume III, in a north to south order. The volume begins with Kefar Sirkin near Petah Tikva at the northwest end and terminates at Masada in the southeast. When more than one settlement occupies the same latitude, the inscriptions are arranged in a west to east order. This territory was divided at least since the 2nd century AD between different communities or cities, but almost nowhere is it possible to assign the inscriptions to a specific territory of an ancient community or city. Consequently, most of the material had to be associated with a modern settlement and its surrounding area, rather than with an ancient one. Inscriptions found in a single place, when numerous, are divided into groups according to content, following the practice adopted in previous volumes.

Our methods of presentation of the single inscription have not changed since the first volume; detailed explanation of our method can be found in the preface to Jerusalem I 1. The Index of Personal Names in the present volume includes, as in previous ones, the names which have already appeared in the indices of volumes already in print. We are still unable to provide a general index – whose absence has been much lamented in several reviews. A general index is indeed a legitimate desideratum, and the editors are perfectly aware of its great value – were it not offset by the more cogent and weighty considerations of time and funds. Priorities had to be considered, and the need to edit adequately as many inscriptions as possible took priority over that of producing a general index, which could do justice to a multi-lingual corpus – an endeavor which has never been attempted anywhere else before.

As in the foregoing volumes we thank the many bodies and individuals who have made the publication of this volume possible. Above all we would like to thank the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) which has continued its most generous support of the CIIP as one of its long-term projects: their financial support has now kept us going for twelve years! Moreover, at the end of 2017 the DFG has extended its support to three more years, namely till the end of 2020.

We also wish to thank the President of the Hebrew University for the Ring Fund which we received until 2015.

We would like to reiterate our special debt of gratitude to the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA), for the continuing and unwavering support of its Directorate: the late Shuka Dorfman, Israel Hasson, Uzi Dahari and Gideon Avni. And as before we would like to single out some of its personnel who have treated our project as

if it were their own mission, and without whose help and devotion we would not have been able to bring volume IV to its conclusion: Adi Ziv, Curator of the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods in the National Treasures in the IAA depot at Beth Shemesh, Yael Barschak and Noga Ze'evi of the IAA Photographic Archives und Alegre Savariego, Curator of the Rockefeller Collections and Mosaics, Arieh Rochman-Halperin, Assistant to the Head of Archives Branch, Declarations and Archival Services. Special thanks are due to Dr. Zvika Greenhut, Head of Artifacts Treatment and Conservation Department.

We would also like to thank David Mevorah, Curator of Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, and his assistant Rachel Caine, Dafna Tsoran in the Archaeological Institute of the Hebrew University, Father Eugenio Alliata in the Museum Biblicum Franciscanum, Father Riccardo Lufrani in the École Biblique, Friederike Naumann-Steckner in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum Köln and last but not least Jean-Luc Chappaz and Angelo Lui in the Musées d'art et d'histoire de la Ville de Genève. Thanks are also due to Perri Livne in the Hecht Museum in Haifa.

Boaz Zissu of Bar Ilan University provided us with many photos and figures of inscriptions, H. Bloedhorn (Tübingen) has provided the information and photos of an unpublished inscription from Lachish, and Paul Holder provided photos of the military diploma from Hebron. We also would like to thank Michal Birkenfeld for the production of the map for this volume.

Once more we would like to express our great debt to our photographers, Nili and Abraham Graicer, for their unremitting work in locating, documenting and photographing inscriptions for this volume as well.

Finally we have to repeat what we expressed in the preface to volumes I to III of the CIIP: this volume could not have been published, let alone appeared on time, were it not for the utmost dedication, far beyond the call of duty, of our assistants, in Cologne and Jerusalem who have turned the Corpus into their own project. This goes above all for our research assistants in Cologne: Marfa Heimbach, Dirk Koßmann and Eva Käppel, who put together the present volume in its final form.

Last but not least we would like to thank both past and present assistants in Jerusalem and in Cologne who, over the years, have helped the editors in every conceivable way in the production of the present volume: Tslil Ashush, Abigail Glazer, Amos Bronner, Matan Gilon, Giora Katz, Yosi Kugler, Ofer Pogorelski, Ilia Rastrepin, Doron Shomrony, Shira Zicherman – in Jerusalem, and Sophia Brockmann, Timo Eichhorn, Annina Frangenberg, Christina Kaas and Dominik Licher – in Cologne.

Jerusalem/Cologne February 2018 For all the editors: Hannah Cotton and Werner Eck

### Table of contents

Preface.		v
Authors	' Sigla	xxi
Abbrevi	ations	xxiii
Diacritic	cal system	xxxvii
•	ransliteration of Armenian, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, n, Hebrew/Aramaic	xxxix
Part 1		
I.	Kefar Sirkin <i>no.</i> 2649	1
II.	Ḥ. Zikhrin nos. 2650-2652	3
	Church in Area F <i>nos.</i> 2650-2652	3
III.	Ḥ. Mazor (Nebi Yaḥya) no. 2653	5
IV.	Ḥ. Ḥani nos. 2654-2656	7
	Remains of a monastery nos. 2654-2656	7
V.	Wilhelma (mod. Bnei Atarot, near mod. Tirat Yehuda) no. 2657	13
VI.	Thamna (mod. Kh. Tibne) no. 2658	15
VII.	Ḥ. Tinshemet <i>nos. 2659-2663</i>	17
	Church of St. Bacchus <i>nos</i> . 2659-2663	17
VIII.	Kafr Jinnis <i>nos</i> . 2664-2665	23
IX.	Shoham <i>no.</i> 2666	25
X.	Naḥal Nevallat nos. 2667-2668	27
XI.	Kefar Truman no. 2669	29
XII.	Isana (mod. 'Ein Siniya, Kh. el-Burj el-Isana) no. 2670	31
XIII.	Ḥadid (Adida, mod. el-Ḥaditha) no. 2671	33
	Introduction	33 36
XIV.	Archelaïs (mod. al-Bayudat, Kh. el-Beiyudat) nos. 2672-2678 .	41
	Introduction	41

V111	Table o	fcontents

	Inscriptions	42
	Church at Kh. el-Beiyudat nos. 2672-2678	42
XV.	Gophna (mod. Jifna) nos. 2679-2685	53
XVI.	Ben Shemen nos. 2686-2687	61
XVII.	Kh. Batma no. 2688	67
XVIII.	Apharaema (Ephraim, mod. et-Tayyibe) nos. 2689-2690	69
XIX.	Kh. el-Thahiriya no. 2691	71
XX.	Kh. el-Qubeibe <i>no.</i> 2692	73
XXI.	Kh. el-'Auja el-Fauqa no. 2693	75
XXII.	Lydda (Diospolis, Georgioupolis, mod. Lod) nos. 2694-2701	77 77
	Inscriptions	89
XXIII.	Ḥ. Ḥermeshit (Kh. Ḥarmush) nos. 2702-2704	101
XXIV.	el-Janiya <i>nos. 2705-2706</i>	103
XXV.	Bethel (el-Beth, mod. Beitin) no. 2707	105
XXVI.	el-Ḥabis <i>no. 2708</i>	107
XXVII.	Ramleh <i>no. 2709</i>	109
XXVIII.	Kh. Zakhariya no. 2710	111
XXIX.	Kh. Kilya no. 2711	113
XXX.	Modi'in nos. 2712-2726	115 116
XXXI.	Kh. el-Lauz no. 2727	127
XXXII.	Kh. et-Tire <i>no. 2728</i>	129
XXXIII.	Deir Diwan <i>no. 2729</i>	131
XXXIV.	Na'aran (Noorath, mod. 'Ein ed-Duq, 'Ein Duyuk) nos. 2730-2736	133 133
XXXV.	Kh. el-Ḥadatha <i>no. 2737</i>	151
XXXVI.	Kh. el-Misbah <i>no. 2738</i>	153

	Table of contents	ix
XXXVII.	Bethoron (mod. Beit 'Ur et-Taḥta) no. 2739	155
XXXVIII.	Masepha (Mizpeh, mod. Tell en-Nasbeh) nos. 2740-2741	157
XXXIX.	Kh. 'Asafira no. 2742	159
XL.	Naʿana nos. 2743-2745	161
XLI.	Kh. Beit Sila <i>nos. 2746-2750</i>	165 165
XLII.	To Ennaton (mod. Kh. el-Laṭaṭin) no. 2751	173
XLIII.	Machmas (mod. Mukhmas) <i>nos. 2752-2754</i>	175 176
XLIV.	Selebi (Selbit, mod. Shaʻalbim) <i>nos. 2755-2757</i>	179 179
XLV.	Kh. en-Nitle <i>nos. 2758-2760</i> Mosaic pavements of the third church <i>nos. 2759-2760</i>	183 184
XLVI.	Gezer (Gazara) nos. 2761-2796	187
	Introduction	187
	Inscriptions	192
	A. Res sacrae nos. 2761-2763	192
	B. Inscriptions of public character and in architectural context nos. 2764-2776	199 199
	C. Funerary inscriptions <i>nos.</i> 2777-2781	215
	Tomb 127 at Ḥawakir el-Balad, near Gezer nos. 2777-2778.	215
	Tomb 218 at Waʻret el-Jâïḥah, near Gezer <i>nos. 2780-2781</i>	217
	D. Instrumentum domesticum nos. 2782-2787	219
	E. Varia nos. 2788-2793	224
	F. Fragments <i>nos.</i> 2794-2796	228
XLVII.	Rama (mod. er-Ram) <i>nos. 2797-2799</i>	<ul><li>231</li><li>232</li></ul>
XLVIII.	el-'Aleiliyat <i>nos. 2800-2806</i>	<ul><li>235</li><li>235</li></ul>

#### X Table of contents

XLIX.	Jericho <i>nos.</i> 2807-2845	24
	Introduction	24
	Inscriptions	25
	A. Res sacrae nos. 2807-2812	25
	The synagogue at Tell es-Sulṭan <i>nos. 2807-2808</i>	<ul><li>25</li><li>25</li></ul>
	Basilical church in the northwestern section of Jericho nos. 2811-2812	26
	B. Inscriptions of public character and in architectural context nos. 2813-2814	26
	C. Funerary inscriptions <i>nos. 2815-2836</i>	26 26 28
	D. Instrumentum domesticum nos. 2837-2838	30
	E. Varia <i>nos.</i> 2839-2843	30
	F. Fragments <i>nos</i> . 2844-2845	30
L.	Gibeon (Gabaon, mod. al-Jib) nos. 2846-2848	30
	Introduction	30
	Inscriptions	31
LI.	Choziba (Wadi el-Kelt, mod. Deir Mar Jiryis) <i>nos.</i> 2849-3074. Monastery of St. Georgius in the Wadi el-Kelt <i>nos.</i> 2849-2853	31 31
	Burial cave with painted inscriptions <i>nos.</i> 2855-3074	32
LII.	Ḥulda nos. 3075-3076Building with mosaic inscriptions nos. 3075-3076	43 43
LIII.	Emmaus (Nicopolis, mod. 'Imwas) nos. 3077-3115	44
	Introduction	44
	Inscriptions	45
	A. Res sacrae nos. 3077-3091	45
	Greek mosaic inscriptions from the church complex nos. 3083-3090	45

	B. Inscriptions of public character and in architectural context nos. 3092-3093	46
	C. Funerary inscriptions <i>nos.</i> 3094-3102	46
	D. Instrumentum domesticum <i>nos. 3103-3106</i>	47
	E. Varia no. 3107	48
	F. Fragments <i>nos.</i> 3108-3115	48
LIV.	Aialon (mod. Yalu) no. 3116	48
LV.	el-Qubeibe (Parva Mahomeria) nos. 3117-3118	489
	Introduction	489
	Inscriptions	49
LVI.	Megharat el-Jai no. 3119	49
LVII.	Khan Saliba no. 3120	49
LVIII.	Iohannis Baptistae Ecclesia (mod. Qasr el-Yahud) no. 3121	49
LIX.	Beit Surik <i>nos. 3122-3123</i>	50
LX.	Bethagla (mod. Qasr Ḥajle) nos. 3124-3126	50: 50:
LXI.	Bab el-Oued (Sha'ar Hagai) <i>no. 3127</i>	50:
LXII.	Khan el-Aḥmar (mod. Mishor Adumim) nos. 3128-3138	51
	Monastery of St. Euthymius nos. 3128-3138	51
LXIII.	Wadi Murrar <i>no. 3139</i>	52
LXIV.	Kh. Murasas (Maʿale Adumim) nos. 3140-3151	52.
	Monastery of Martyrius nos. 3140-3151	52
LXV.	Rafat no. 3152	539
LXVI.	Deir el-Mukalik <i>nos. 3153-3181</i>	54
	Cave chapel and underground burial complex of the	<b>5</b> 4
	monastery of St. Theoctistus <i>nos.</i> 3153-3171	54 56
LXVII.	Beth Shemesh <i>no.</i> 3182	56
LXVIII	Kh Deiry no 3183	57

LXIX.	Qumran nos. 3184-3187	573
	Introduction	573
	Inscriptions	574
LXX.	Ḥ. Ḥusham <i>no. 3188</i>	579
LXXI.	Beit Jimal (Beit Gamal, ancient Caphar Gamala?) <i>nos. 3189-3194</i> Archaeological site at Kh. el-Jiljil <i>nos. 3192-3194</i>	581 588
LXXII.	'Ein Faṭṭir <i>nos. 3195-3196</i>	593 593
LXXIII.	Bethar (Bethther, Bettir, mod. Kh. el-Yahud) nos. 3197-3200	597
	Introduction	597
	Inscriptions	599
LXXIV.	Bir el-Qutt <i>nos. 3201-3204</i>	605 605
LXXV.	Deir Dosi <i>nos. 3205-3206</i>	613 613
LXXVI.	Bir el-Qaṭṭar no. 3207	615
LXXVII.	Zanoua (mod. Kh. Zanuʻ) no. 3208	617
LXXVIII.	Hyrcania (Castellion, mod. Kh. el-Mird) nos. 3209-3214	619
LXXIX.	Tell Zakariye no. 3215	63
LXXX.	Kh. el-Khan (Ḥ. Ḥanot) no. 3216	633
LXXXI.	Bethlehem (Bet Leḥem) nos. 3217-3277	635
	Introduction	635
	Inscriptions	640
	A. Res sacrae <i>nos. 3217-3230</i>	640 640
	B. Inscriptions of public character and in architectural context <i>nos.</i> 3231-3262	652 652
	C. Funerary inscriptions <i>nos.</i> 3263-3271	676 678

	lable of contents	XIII
	D. Instrumentum domesticum nos. 3272-3276	687
	E. Varia no. 3277	693
LXXXII.	'Ein Feshkha ('Enot Zuqim) nos. 3278-3279	695
LXXXIII.	Ḥ. Zefiyya (ancient Saphitha?) nos. 3280-3283Rock-hewn burial cave nos. 3280-3283	697 697
LXXXIV.	Kh. ar-Rasm no. 3284	701
LXXXV.	Turris Ader (mod. Beit Saḥur, Kh. es-Siyar el-Ghanam) nos. 3285-3290	703
LXXXVI.	Kh. el-Makhrum no. 3291	709
LXXXVII.	Kh. "R" no. 3292	711
LXXXVIII.	Kh. Juḥzum no. 3293	713
LXXXIX.	Megiste Laura (mod. Mar Saba) no. 3294	715
XC.	Elah Valley no. 3295	717
XCI.	Betholetepha (mod. Beit Nattif) nos. 3296-3302	719 722
XCII.	Ḥ. Luzit (Deir Dubban) nos. 3303-3310	727 727 730
XCIII.	Kh. Jannaba et-Taḥta no. 3311	735
XCIV.	Socho (mod. Ḥ. Sokho, Kh. Shuweika) nos. 3312-3315 Byzantine building near Ḥ. Sokho nos. 3312-3313	737 737
XCV.	Kh. Umm er-Rus esh-Shamaliya (Ḥ. Beth Bad) <i>nos. 3316-3318</i> Church with Greek and Christian Palestinian Aramaic inscriptions <i>nos. 3316-3318</i>	741 741
XCVI.	Naḥalin <i>no.</i> 3319	747
XCVII.	Ḥ. Malka (Kh. Malkatha) no. 3320	749
XCVIII.	Roglit no. 3321	751
XCIX.	Giv'at Seled no. 3322	753
C.	Kh. Ḥubeila <i>no.</i> 3323	755
CI.	Natupha solitudo (mod. Kh. Bedd Faluḥ) no. 3324	757

#### xiv Table of contents

D.	4	1
ra	rι	Z

CII.	Herodion (mod. Jebel Fureidis) nos. 3325-3393	759
	Introduction	759
	Inscriptions	761
	A. Res sacrae nos. 3325-3328	761
	The north church <i>nos.</i> 3325-3327	761
	B. Varia nos. 3329-3393	767
	Inscriptions from the theater <i>nos.</i> 3329-3331	767
	Graffiti from Herod's palace nos. 3332-3364	771
	Plaster fragments with letters nos. 3365-3372	796
	Mason's marks from Herod's palace nos. 3373-3379	800
	Mason's marks from Herod's mausoleum <i>nos. 3380-3391</i>	804
CIII.	Drusias (mod. Ḥ. Midras) nos. 3394-3395	811
	Burial cave <i>nos</i> . 3394-3395	811
CIV.	Beit Sha'ar <i>no.</i> 3396	813
CV.	Suca (mod. Kh. Khureitun) <i>no.</i> 3397	815
CVI.	Tel Lavnin nos. 3398-3401	817
	Burial cave nos. 3398-3400	817
CVII.	Thecoa (mod. Teqoʻa, Kh. et-Tuquʻ) no. 3402	823
CVIII.	Tell el-Judeiyida (Tel Goded) nos. 3403-3425	827
	Mason's marks on column drums in a villa of the Hellenistic	
	or Roman period <i>nos.</i> 3404-3425	827
CIX.	H. Alim no. 3426	839
CX.	Ḥ. Tannim no. 3427	841
CXI.	Ḥ. Burgin <i>no. 3428</i>	843
CXII.	Enadab (mod. Kh. 'Ain Dab, Beit 'Itab) no. 3429	845
CXIII.	Kh. el-'Ein no. 3430	847
CXIV.	Qiriath 'Arbaia (mod. 'Ein 'Arrub) nos. 3431-3432	851
CXV.	Beit Fajjar <i>no.</i> 3433	855

	Table of contents	XV
CXVI.	Sde Moshe <i>nos. 3434-3445</i>	857
CXVII.	'Iyye Neḥash <i>nos.</i> 3446-3449	869
	the cave <i>nos</i> . 3446-3449	869
CXVIII.	Ḥ. Gibor no. 3450	873
CXIX.	Kh. Zaʻaquqa <i>nos. 3451-3466</i>	875
	Burial cave <i>nos.</i> 3451-3466	875
CXX.	Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrin, mod. Beit Guvrin) nos. 3467-3501 .	889
	Introduction	889
	Inscriptions	893
	A. Res sacrae nos. 3467-3475	893
	Church at Maḥat el-Urd nos. 3470-3473	898
	B. Inscriptions of public character and in architectural context	
	nos. 3476-3481	905
	C. Funerary inscriptions nos. 3482-3486	912
	Tomb east of the road leading from Beit Guvrin to Maresha nos. 3482-3483	912
	D. Instrumentum domesticum nos. 3487-3496	919
	Decorated gold-leaf diadems and lamellae nos. 3487-3494 .	919
	E. Varia nos. 3497-3501	927
	Underground cave northeast of Kibbutz Beit Guvrin	000
	nos. 3498-3499	930 932
	Olive press complex at Kh. 'Arak Hala nos. 3500-3501	
CXXI.	Marisa (Maresha, mod. Tell Sandahannah) nos. 3502-3742	935
	Introduction	935
	Inscriptions	946
	A. Res sacrae nos. 3502-3510	946
	Church near Tel Maresha nos. 3508-3509	952
	B. Royal documents <i>nos. 3511-3512</i>	956
	C. Honorary statues for rulers nos. 3513-3514	970
	D. Inscription of public character <i>no.</i> 3515	973

#### xvi Table of contents

	E. Funerary inscriptions <i>nos. 3516-3660</i>	978
	Eastern necropolis, Tomb E I with the so-called animal	0.50
	frieze nos. 3516-3574	978
	Eastern necropolis, Tomb E II nos. 3575-3589	1051
	Eastern necropolis, Tomb E III nos. 3590-3591	1062
	Eastern necropolis, Tomb E IV nos. 3592-3612	1063
	Eastern necropolis, Tomb E V nos. 3613-3617	1073
	Eastern necropolis, Tomb E VII nos. 3618-3629	1078
	Eastern necropolis, Tomb E VIII nos. 3630-3639	1086
	Northern necropolis, Tomb N I nos. 3643-3648	1098
	Northern necropolis, Tomb N IV nos. 3649-3650	1104
	Northern necropolis, Tomb N VIII <i>nos. 3651-3653</i>	1106
	Northern necropolis, Tomb N IX <i>nos.</i> 3654-3659	1109
	F. Instrumentum domesticum nos. 3661-3688	1114
	Astragali nos. 3661-3670	1114
	Lead weights of agoranomos Agathocles nos. 3676-3681	1125
	G. Varia nos. 3689-3738	1136
	The "Wünsch tablets" nos. 3689-3729	1136
	Rock-hewn underground complex west of Tel Maresha	
	nos. 3735-3736	1197
	H. Fragments <i>nos</i> . 3739-3742	1202
CXXII.	Murabbaʻat no. 3743	1207
CXXIII.	<u> </u>	1209
CXXIV.	Alula (mod. Ḥalḥul) <i>no. 3745</i>	1213
CXXV.	Beth Loya (Kh. Lehi) nos. 3746-3754	1215
	Church complex <i>nos</i> . <i>3746-3754</i>	1215
CXXVI.	Rasm el-Beida no. 3755	1227
CXXVII.	Bethennim (mod. Kh. Beit 'Anun) nos. 3756-3765	1229
	The central church <i>nos.</i> 3756-3760	1229
	Tomb A nos. 3762-3763	1237
	Tomb B nos. 3764-3765	1240

	Table of contents	xvii
CXXVIII.	Lachish (mod. el-Qubeibe) <i>nos. 3766-3768</i>	1243
CXXIX.	Mamre (mod. Ramet el-Khalil) <i>nos. 3769-3788</i>	1247
	Introduction	1247
	Inscriptions     Haram Râmet el-Halîl nos. 3769-3788	1247 1247
CXXX.	Tell el-Hesi <i>no.</i> 3789	1261
CXXXI.	Kh. en-Nakieh <i>no.</i> 3790	1263
CXXXII.	Н. Qazra nos. 3791-3805	1265 1265
CXXXIII.	Beit el-Ban no. 3806	1283
CXXXIV.	Duweimi <i>nos.</i> 3807-3808	1285 1285
CXXXV.	Kh. el-Kom <i>nos.</i> 3809-3811	1287 1287
CXXXVI.	Kh. el-Muraq <i>nos. 3812-3815</i>	1289 1290
CXXXVII.	'Ein el-Ma'amudiye <i>nos. 3816-3817</i>	1293
CXXXVIII.	Kh. ed-Deir <i>nos. 3818-3822</i>	1297 1297
CXXXIX.	Hebron (Kiriath Arba, Mamre) nos. 3823-3833	1305
	Introduction	1305
	Inscriptions	1313
	A. Res sacrae nos. 3823-3826	1313
	Sanctuary - Ḥaram el-Khalil nos. 3823-3826	1313
	B. Military diploma <i>no.</i> 3827	1317
	C. Funerary inscriptions nos. 3828-3829	1322
	D. Instrumentum domesticum nos. 3830-3833	1324
CXL.	Kh. Deir Şamit no. 3834	1329

S
٩

CXLI.	Beit 'Awwa no. 3835	1335
CXLII.	Adora (mod. Dura) no. 3836	1339
CXLIII.	Kh. Jammama <i>no. 3837</i>	1341
CXLIV.	Ruḥama no. 3838	1343
CXLV.	Kh. Birker <i>no.</i> 3839	1345
CXLVI.	Kh. el-Qaşr <i>nos</i> . 3840-3841	1347
	Monastery above a subterranean cave nos. 3840-3841	1347
CXLVII.	Ḥ. 'Eitun nos. 3842-3843	1351
CXLVIII.	Kh. Tawas nos. 3844-3846	1355
	Church at Kh. Tawas <i>nos.</i> 3844-3846	1355
CXLIX.	Ziph (mod. Kh. Zif) no. 3847	1361
	Introduction	1361
	Inscriptions	1362
CL.	Ḥ. Kishor nos. 3848-3849	1365
	Burial cave containing ossuaries <i>nos.</i> 3848-3849	1365
CLI.	Ḥ. Gomer <i>no.</i> 3850	1367
CLII.	Kh. Beit Mirsim <i>no.</i> 3851	1369
CLIII.	Caphar Orsa (mod. Kh. Khureisa) no. 3852	1371
CLIV.	'Ein Gedi (Engaddi) nos. 3853-3855	1373
	Introduction	1373
	Inscriptions	1373
	The synagogue <i>nos.</i> 3853-3855	1373
CLV.	Iutta (mod. Yatta) no. 3856	1383
	Introduction	1383
	Inscriptions	1384
CLVI.	Kh. Khallet el-Meiya no. 3857	1387
CLVII.	Kh. Kafr Jul (Kafr Jor) <i>no</i> . 3858	1389

	Table of contents	xix
CLVIII.	Chermela (Chermula, Chermala, Carmel, mod. el-Kirmil) nos. 3859-3860	1391
	Introduction	1391
	Inscriptions	1394
CLIX.	ed-Daheriye no. 3861	1397
CLX.	Anab (mod. Kh. 'Anab) <i>nos. 3862-3867</i>	1399 1399
CLXI.	Eshthemoa (mod. es-Samu'a) nos. 3868-3869	1411
	Introduction	1411
	Inscriptions	1412
	The synagogue <i>nos.</i> 3868-3869	1412
CLXII.	Susiya nos. 3870-3887	1415
	Introduction	1415
	Inscriptions	1415 1415
CLXIII.	Kh. 'Useiliyye no. 3888	1437
CLXIV.	'En-Rimmon (mod. Kh. Umm er-Rumamin, Ḥ. Rimmon) nos. 3889-3891	1439
	Introduction	1439
	Inscriptions	1440
CLXV.	Kh. Umm Deimine (Kh. Umm Deimnah) no. 3892	1443
CLXVI.	Kh. Zanuta no. 3893	1445
CLXVII.	Naḥal Peḥar <i>no.</i> 3894	1447
CLXVIII.	Iethira (Yatir, mod. Kh. 'Attir) nos. 3895-3899	1449
	Introduction	1449
	Inscriptions	1450 1450

CLXIX.

#### xx Table of contents

CLXX.	Masada nos. 3902-3971	1461
	Introduction	1461
	Inscriptions	1462
	A. Instrumentum domesticum no. 3902	1462
	B. Varia <i>nos. 3903-3971</i>	1463
	palace nos. 3906-3971	1464
CLXXI.	Yarma no. 3972	1495
CLXXII.	Dead Sea Caves no. 3973	1499
CLXXIII.	Items of unknown provenance nos. 3974-3978	1505
Index of p	personal names	1511
Maps		1573
	Key to locations	1577

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#### **Abbreviations**

For standard abbreviations of journal titles we follow L'Année Philologique throughout; abbreviations of editions of papyri and ostraca are given according to the Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets. In addition, the following abbreviations have been used:

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Abel, Marisa F.-M. Abel, Tombeaux récemments découverts a

Marisa, RB 34, 1925, 267-75

E. Schwartz ed., Acta Conciliorum Oecumenico-**ACO** 

rum, 1914ff.

**ADAI** Annual of the Department of Antiquities in Jordan

L'Année épigraphique AΕ

Alt, GIPT A. Alt, Die griechischen Inschriften der Palästina

Tertia westlich der 'Araba, 1921

Ameling, IJO II W. Ameling, Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis II.

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AMSL Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires Aqueducts

D. Amit - J. Patrich - Y. Hirschfeld eds., The Aque-

ducts of Israel, 2002

Archéologie Chrétienne Actes du onzième Congrès International d'Archéo-

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lemme, 1939

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Neghev, 1983

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and the Negev, 2002

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2002

BAIAS Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society

(since vol. 27, 2009 under the main title "Strata")

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BHG

F. Halkin ed., Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca,
3rd ed., 3 vols., 1957 (repr. 1986)

BHL Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis, 3 vols., 1898/1901 (repr. 1992)
BHO P. Peeters ed., Bibliotheca hagiographica orientalis,

1910 (repr. 1954, 1970)

BIES Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society

Blass - Thalheim Aristotelis Πολιτεία 'Αθηναίων. Post Fridericum Blass edidit Th. Thalheim, 1909; 2nd ed. 1914 Bliss - Macalister F. Bliss - R. Macalister, Excavations in Palestine

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BMC Palestine G. Hill, Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Volume 27: Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine, 1914

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della Bibbia, 1994

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Caesarea Papers 1
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Caesarea Papers Straton's Tower,
Herod's Harbour, and Roman and Byzantine Caesarea, 1992

CAHL G. Bottini - L. Di Segni - E. Alliata eds., Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land, 1990

Capdetrey - Hasenohr, L. Capdetrey - C. Hasenohr eds., Agoranomes et Agoranomes et édiles édiles. Institutions des marchés antiques, 2012

CCSL	Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina
Chiat, Handbook	M. Chiat, Handbook of Synagogue Architecture, 1982
Christians and Christianity	Christians and Christianity, 5 vols. (so far), 2012/15
	(vols. I-II: a corpus of Christian sites in Samaria
	and Judea by Y. Magen and E. Kagan, edited by A. Malka; vols. III-IV: edited volumes on churches
	and monasteries in Samaria and Judea edited by N.
	Carmin; vol. V: a monograph on the monastery of
	Martyrius by Y. Magen)
CIAP	M. Sharon, Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum
	Palaestinae, 6 vols. (so far), 1997ff.
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum
CIH	D. Chwolson, Corpus Inscriptionum Hebrai-
CIIP	carum, 1882 (repr. 1974)
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae JB. Frey, Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum, 2
Cij	vols., 1936/52 (vol. 1 repr. 1975)
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CIRB	V. Struve, Corpus inscriptionum regni Bosporani,
	1965 (Russ.)
CIS	Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum
Clermont-Ganneau, ARP	C. Clermont-Ganneau, Archaeological Researches
Clermont-Ganneau, EAO	in Palestine (1873-74), 2 vols., 1896/99 C. Clermont-Ganneau, Études d'archéologie ori-
Clermont-Gamileau, EAO	entale, 2 vols., 1895/97
Clermont-Ganneau, RAO	C. Clermont-Ganneau, Recueil d'archéologie ori-
- · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	entale, 8 vols., 1888/1924
Comte, Reliquaires	M. Comte, Les reliquaires du Proche-Orient et de
	Chypre à la période protobyzantine (IVe-VIIIe siè-
	cles). Formes, emplacements, fonctions et cultes,
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Conder - Kitchener, 3 WF 2 Samaria	Palestine 2. Samaria, 1881
Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea	C. Conder - H. Kitchener, The Survey of Western
	Palestine 3. Judaea, 1883
Corbo, Siyar El-Ghanam	V. Corbo, Gli scavi di Kh. Siyar El-Ghanam (Cam-
	po dei pastori) e i monasteri dei dintorni, 1955
CPG	E. von Leutsch - F. Schneidewin eds., Corpus
	Paroemiographorum Graecorum, 1839-1851, repr.
СРЈ	1958, Suppl. 1961 V. Tcherikover - A. Fuks - M. Stern eds., Corpus
CI)	Papyrorum Judaicarum, 3 vols., 1957/64
Cradle of Christianity	Y. Israeli - D. Mevorah eds., Cradle of Christianity,
,	2000
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
DACL	F. Cabrol - H. Leclercq eds., Dictionnaire d'archéo-
D C 1	logie chrétienne et de liturgie, 15 vols., 1907/53
Dagan, Survey 1	Y. Dagan, Archaeological Survey of Israel. Map of
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Dauphin, Palestine byzantine C. Dauphin, La Palestine byzantine. Peuplement et Population, 3 vols., 1998 de Saulcy, Voyage Mer Morte F. de Saulcy, Voyage autour de la Mer Morte et dans les terres bibliques, 2 vols. and Atlas, 1853 L. Di Segni, Dated Greek Inscriptions from Pales-DGI tine from the Roman and Byzantine Periods, PhD Diss., 1997 (unpublished) Di Segni, Scythopolis L. Di Segni, New epigraphical discoveries at Scythopolis and in other sites of late-antique Palestine, in: XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina, Roma, 18-24 settembre 1997, 1999, 625-41 DID II P. Benoit - J. Milik - R. de Vaux eds., Discoveries in the Judaean Desert II. Les grottes de Murabba'ât, 1961 DID XXVII A. Yardeni - H. Cotton eds., Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXVII. Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and other Sites, 1997 Donceel-Voûte, Les pavements P. Donceel-Voûte, Les pavements des églises byzantines de Syrie et du Liban. Décor, archéologie et liturgie, 2 vols., 1988 Donner - Röllig, KAI H. Donner - W. Röllig, Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften, 3 vols., 1962/64, vol. I in 5th expanded ed. 2002 Dussaud, Louvre R. Dussaud, Musée du Louvre. Département des antiquités orientales. Les monuments palestiniens et judaïques, 1912 EAEHL M. Avi-Yonah - E. Stern eds., Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, 4 vols., 1975/78 J. van Henten - P. van der Horst eds., Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy Early Jewish Epigraphy, 1994 W. Eck, Judäa - Syria Palästina. Die Auseinander-Eck, Judäa - Syria Palästina setzung einer Provinz mit römischer Politik und Kultur, 2014 Eck, Language of Power W. Eck, The Language of Power. Latin in the Inscriptions of Iudaea/Syria Palaestina, in: L. Schiffman ed., Semitic Papyrology in Context: A Climate of Creativity, 2003, 123-44 Eck, Rom und Judaea W. Eck, Rom und Judaea. Fünf Vorträge zur römischen Herrschaft in Palaestina, 2007 Edwards - McCollough D. Edwards - C. McCollough eds., Archaeology and the Galilee. Texts and Context in the Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Periods, 1997 Eretz Israel K.-H. Fleckenstein - M. Louhivuori - R. Riesner Emmaus in Judäa eds., Emmaus in Judäa. Geschichte - Exegese -Archäologie, 2003 Eph'al - Naveh, Ostraca I. Eph'al - J. Naveh, Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea, 1996

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	Daily Life from the Bible to the Talmud, Dedicated
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ESI	Excavations and Surveys in Israel
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Evans	669-88 C. Evans, Jesus and the Ossuaries, 2003
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LIA ECI	Hadashat Arkhaologiyat Exceptations and Surveys

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	rân et 'Aïn Feshkha II, 2003
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10	East, 3 vols., 1995/2002
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
IGLS	Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie
IGR	R. Cagnat, Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas
IV.	pertinentes, 1906/27
IK	Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 1972ff.
Ilan, Lexicon	T. Ilan, Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity,
Hall, Ecalcoli	4 vols., 2002/12
ILCV	E. Diehl, Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Vet-
ILO V	eres, 4 vols., 1925/67
ILS	H. Dessau, Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, 3 vols.,
-	1892/1916 (repr. 1954/62)
IMC	R. Hestrin ed., Inscriptions Reveal. Israel Museum
	Catalogue 100, 1972
IMSA	Israel Museum Studies in Archaeology

INJ INR Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia I a-c	Israel Numismatic Journal Israel Numismatic Research Y. Meimaris - K. Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou, Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia I a-c, 2005/16
IOS Isaac, Limits Isaac, Near East Isaac, Roman Army	Israel Oriental Studies B. Isaac, The Limits of Empire, 1990 B. Isaac, The Near East under Roman Rule, 1998 B. Isaac, The Roman Army in Jerusalem and its Vicinity, in: Landesdenkmalamt Baden-Württemberg ed., Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III,
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JJPES JJS	Journal of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society Journal of Jewish Studies
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Macalister, Gezer

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MAMA	Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua
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	tine, 1986
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	und Zauberformeln auf geschnittenen Steinen der
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	· •

xxxii Abbreviations

Murphy-O'Connor, Holy Land

Naveh, On Sherd and Papyrus

Naveh, Stone and Mosaic

Moulton, Beit Jibrin

**MPAT** 

NEA

NEAEHL.

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533

Puech

xxxiv Abbreviations

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ODAP

RAC

L. Rahmani, A Catalogue of Jewish Ossuaries in Rahmani, CJO the Collections of the State of Israel, 1994 RBRevue Biblique RE. A. Pauly - G. Wissowa eds., Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, 1893ff. RECAM Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor, 1982ff. RES Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique, 8 vols., 1900/68 Ribak, Religious Communities E. Ribak, Religious Communities in Byzantine Palestina, 2007 J. Ringel, Césarée de Palestine. Études historiques Ringel, Césarée et archéologiques, 1975 RMD M. Roxan - P. Holder, Roman Military Diplomas, 5 vols. (so far), 1978/2006 Robert, Hellenica L. Robert, Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques, 13 vols., 1940/65 Robert, Op. Min. L. Robert, Opera Minora Selecta. Épigraphie et antiquités grecques, 7 vols., 1969/90 Roth-Gerson, Greek Inscriptions L. Roth-Gerson, The Greek Inscriptions from the Synagogues in Eretz-Israel, 1987 (Hebr.) S. Safrai - M. Stern, The Jewish People in the First Safrai - Stern Century, 2 vols., 1976 Saller, Catalogue S. Saller, Second Revised Catalogue of the Ancient Synagogues of the Holy Land, 1972 S. Saller, Discoveries at St. John's, 'Ein Karim, Saller, Discoveries 1941-42, 1946 Sartre 2001 M. Sartre, D'Alexandre à Zénobie. Histoire du Levant antique, IVe siècle avant J.-C. - IIIe siècle après J.-C., 2001 SB Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten, 1915ff. Studii Biblici Franciscani Liber annuus SBF Schalit, NW A. Schalit, Namenwörterbuch zu Flavius Josephus, Schneider, Choziba A. Schneider, Das Kloster der Theotokos zu Choziba im Wadi el Kelt, RQA 39, 1931, 297-332 Schneider, Reticulum A. Schneider, Reticulum. Ausgewählte Aufsätze und Kataloge seiner Sammlungen (ed. H. Seeliger), 1998 J. Scholz, Reise in die Gegend zwischen Alexan-Scholz, Reise drien und Parätonium, die libysche Wüste, Siwa, Egypten, Palästina und Syrien, in den Jahren 1820

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T. Klauser et al. eds., Reallexikon für Antike und

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Schürer II	The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC - AD 135). A New English Version Revised and Edited by G. Vermes - F. Millar - M.
Schwabe - Lifshitz, Beth Sheʻarim II	Black - M. Goodman, 3 vols., 1973/87 M. Schwabe - B. Lifshitz, Beth Sheʿarim II. The Greek Inscriptions, 1967 (Hebr.); Engl. Transl. 1967
Schwartz, Imperialism	S. Schwartz, Imperialism and Jewish Society, 200 B.C.E. to 640 C.E., 2001
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
SGDI	F. Bechtel - A. Bezzenberger - H. Gollitz eds.,
	Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften, 4 vols., 1888/1915
Shanks, Judaism in Stone	H. Shanks, Judaism in Stone. The Archaeology of
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Sivan, Palestine	H. Sivan, Palestine in Late Antiquity, 2008
Sophocles	E. Sophocles, Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byz-
	antine Periods (From B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100), 1887
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Ctaula	faction System in Ancient Palestine, 2010
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Sukenik, El-Hammeh	E. Sukenik, The Ancient Synagogue of El-Ham-
Sumal Mac	meh (Hammath-by-Gadara), 1935
Suppl. Mag.	R. Daniel - F. Maltomini, Supplementum Magicum, 2 vols., 1990/92
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Tal, Archaeology	O. Tal, The Archaeology of Hellenistic Palestine.
TAM	Between Tradition and Renewal, 2006 (Hebr.) Tituli Asiae Minoris
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Testa, Simbolismo	E. Testa, Il Simbolismo dei Giudeo-Cristiani, 1962
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	wesen in Palästina und Transjordanien, 2007
Thompson, Palaeography	E. Thompson, An Introduction to Greek and Latin
	Palaeography, 1912
TIR	Y. Tsafrir - L. Di Segni - J. Green, Tabula Imperii
	Romani. Iudaea-Palaestina, 1994
TLG	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, http://www.tlg.uci.edu/
TLL	Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, https://www.degruyter.com/databasecontent?dbid=tll&dbsource=%2Fdb%2Ftll
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# Diacritical system

The following diacritical system has been used, following the usual epigraphic conventions:

- () for the resolution of an abbreviation
- [] for the restoration of missing letters
- <> for the addition of an omission in the inscription
- {} for superfluous letters which should be ignored
- [[]] for text which was deliberately erased in antiquity
- [...] for missing text in which the number of letters is fairly certain (number of dots = number of missing letters)
- [--] for missing text in which the number of letters is uncertain
- correction of a letter by the editor
- A dot beneath a letter, e.g.: t indicates that the reading is not entirely certain.
- for an individual letter of which traces remain but which cannot be identified
- A dot in the middle of the line indicates a word divider (independent of its actual appearance).

vacat indicates a gap deliberately left in the text

sign for stigma as abbreviation mark

# Key to transliteration of Armenian

ш	a	ayb
р	b	ben
q	g	gim
ŋ.	d	da
ե	e	eč'
q	Z	za
t	ē	ē
п	ě	et '
न	t'	t'o
д	ž	žē
þ	i	ini
l	1	liwn
þı	X	xē
δ	c	ca
Ч	k	ken
h	h	ho
à	j	ja
η	ł	łat
6	č	čē
ű	m	men
J	у	yi
ប	n	nu
2	š	ša
n	0	0
Σ	čʻ	č'a
щ	p	pē
2	ď	ўē
n	ŕ	ŕа
u	S	sē
ų	v	vew
u	t	tiwn
p	r	rē
g	c'	c'o
L	W	hiwn
ф	p <sup>*</sup>	pʻiwr
р	k'	k'ē

# Key to transliteration of Christian Palestinian Aramaic

,	Alef
В	Bet
G	Gimel
D	Dalet
Н	Не
W	Vav
Z	Zayin
Ĥ	Ḥet
Ţ	Ţet
Y	Yod
K	Kaf
L	Lamed
M	Mem
N	Nun
S	Samekh
•	Ayin
P	Pe
Ş	Tsadi
Q	Qof
R	Resh
Š	Shin
T	Tav
	B G D H W Z H T Y K L M N S G P S Q R Š

# Key to transliteration of Georgian

Asomtavruli	Mkhedruli (Modern)	Latin	Letter Name
a	ა	a	An
b	δ	b	Ban
g	8	g	Gan
d	Q	d	Don
e	j j	e	En
V	3	V	Vin
Z	8	Z	Zen
À	j	ei	Не
T	Ø	ť'	Tan
i	0	i	In
k	3	k	K'an
1	ლ	1	Las
m	8	m	Man
n	б	n	Nar
Á	Q	i	Hie
0	ო	0	On
р	3	p'	Par
J	ป	zh	Zhar
r	რ	r	Rae
S	ს	S	San
t	ф	t	Tar
У	3	ui	Vie
u	ŋ	u	Un
f	g	р	Phar
q	g	k	Kan
R	· φ	gh	Ghan
Â	g	q'	Q'ar
S	ð	sh	Shin
С	В	ch	Chin
С	В	ts'	Tsan
Z	d	dz	Dzil
W	б	ts	T'sil
W	\$	ch'	Ch'ar
X	b	kh	Xan
Ã	3	qh	Har
j	3	j	Jan
h	3	h	Hae
Ä	8	o:	Hoe

# Key to transliteration of Hebrew and Aramaic

8	,	Alef
ב	В	Bet
ړ	G	Gimel
٦	D	Dalet
ה	Н	Не
1	W	Vav
7	Z	Zayin
п	Ĥ	Ḥet
υ	Ţ	Ţet
,	Y	Yod
ב, ד	K	Kaf
۶	L	Lamed
מ, ם	M	Mem
٤, ٢	N	Nun
ס	S	Samekh
y	(	Ayin
ባ ,5	P	Pe
צ, ץ	Ş	Tsadi
ק	Q	Qof
٦	R	Resh
ש	Š	Shin
ש	Ś	Sin
ת	Т	Tav

## I. Kefar Sirkin

### 2649. Fragment of a Latin funerary inscription

Fragment of a plaque, broken on all sides except for the right-hand side and perhaps for the bottom. The back is smooth.

Meas.: h 14, w 13.7, d 2.4 cm; letters 3.0-3.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1952-1350. Autopsy: 9 October 2013.

[--]++[--]

[--]+O·NI·

 $[--]+\cdot B\cdot M$ 



fig. 2649.1

[--]++[--|--]+O NI | [--]+ b(ene) m(erenti/erito/ae)

... who well deserves it.

Comm.: If, as it is likely, the abbreviation B M is to be understood as b(ene) m(erenti/erito/ae), the fragment belongs to a funerary text. In l.2 the O and the NI are separated by a dot, but it is not clear whether the separation is between two words or two syllables.



Photo: WE.



fig. 2649.2

## II. H. Zikhrin

### 2650.-2652. Church in Area F

A church of basilical layout oriented on an east-west axis was excavated in Area F at H. Zikhrin. The church lay at the center of the ancient settlement and formed the center of a larger complex with structures annexed to it. It consisted of an atrium (15.3x5 m), a narthex (15.3x5 m) and the prayer hall (15.3x18 m) which was divided into a central nave and two lateral aisles. A semicircular apse is integrated into the rear wall of the nave, which is flanked by pastophoria in the aisles. The narthex was paved with a mosaic floor of white tesserae including carpets with geometrical patterns and an inscription opposite its southern entrance (no. 2650). "The main part of the mosaic floor of the northern aisle is a 7x1.7 m carpet of white squares (20x5) in total) framed by three rows of coloured tesserae (red, white and black)" (Fischer). At the eastern end of this carpet inscription no. 2651 was included, separated from the white squares by a broad strip of colored tesserae. Inscription no. 2652 "was included in the mosaic floor, 2.4 m to the east of the previous inscription" (Fischer). "The church was built, according [to] the latest pottery and coins found at its foundations, around the mid-5th century, and presumably remained in use until some time in the 8th or 9th century" (Taxel).

Bibl.: M. Fischer, IEJ 35, 1985, 196; I. Taxel, AntTard 21, 2013, 156ff. (with floor plan p. 157 fig. 6); Madden, Corpus 137 no. 204.

### 2650. Greek mosaic inscription

```
[--]+ΣΒΥ[--]
[-- πρ]εσβυ[τερ--]
... priest ...
```

Comm.: Taxel 158 n.32 is the only one to give an indication of the letters to be read here (he reads  $[\pi\rho]\epsilon(?)\sigma\beta\dot{\upsilon}[\tau\epsilon\rho\circ\varsigma]$ ). – Taxel believes the building to have been "the residence and office of the local priest, ... or chorepiscopus."

Bibl.: I. Taxel, AntTard 21, 2013, 156ff., 163f. (ed. pr.). – ESI 4, 1985, 117ff. (=HA 87, 25ff. [Hebr.]); M. Fischer, Qadmoniot 18, 1985, 112-21 (Hebr.); P. Figueras, in: Archéologie Chrétienne 1782; Madden, Corpus 137 no. 204.

### 2651. Greek mosaic inscription mentioning Athanasia

Greek mosaic inscription in three lines on white background surrounded by a broad frame. Its present location is unknown and the only available photograph is provided by Taxel.

Meas.: h 0.7, w 1.7 m.

ΧΡΙ[.]ΤΕΒΟΗΘΙ ΤΗΔΟΥΛΗΣΟΥ ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΑΝ

Χρι[σ]τέ, βοήθι | τῆ δούλη σου | 'Αθανασίαν

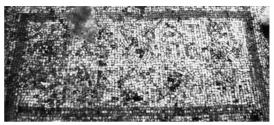


fig. 2651.1

Christ, help your servant Athanasia.

Comm.: Note the incongruence of the cases. – Taxel 163: Athanasia "probably donated money for the construction or renovation of the church."



fig. 2651.2

Bibl.: M. Fischer, IEJ 35, 1985, 196 (ed. pr.). – ESI 4, 1985, 75f. (=HA 87, 25ff. [Hebr.]); M. Fischer, Qadmoniot 18, 1985, 112-21 (Hebr.); SEG 35, 1548; RB 93, 1986, 269-74; SEG 36, 1324; M. Fischer, in: Archéologie Chrétienne 1797, 1799; P. Figueras, ibid. 1782. – Cf. Ribak, Religious Communities 233f.; M. Fischer, NEAEHL 5, 2008, 2084; I. Taxel, AntTard 21, 2013, 156ff., 163f.; Madden, Corpus 137 no. 204.

Photo: I. Taxel, AntTard 21, 2013, 158 fig. 7; RB 93, 1986, 274 fig. 18 (dr.).

WA

### 2652. Greek mosaic inscription

No further details or photograph are provided.

"Une autre inscription, à 2,40 m à l'est de la première [scil. no. 2651] très détruite, utilisait probablement la même formule" (RB). Of this inscription only the upper left corner was preserved.

Bibl.: M. Fischer, IEJ 35, 1985, 196; RB 93, 1986, 274; M. Fischer, in: Archéologie Chrétienne 1797; Madden, Corpus 137 no. 204. – Cf. SEG 35, 1548; 36, 1324.

# III. Ḥ. Mazor (Nebi Yaḥya)

### 2653. Fragment of Aramaic building inscription, 3 c. BCE

Fragmentary inscription of one line, engraved in a limestone.

Meas.: h 60, w 80, d 50 cm; letters: 5-19 cm.

Findspot: In secondary use in the eastern, Byzantine or Islamic wall of a cistern near the northwest corner of a house on top of the hill of H. Mazor.

Pres. loc.: Garden of Israel's presidential residence, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1994-3568.

וי עבד מ[--]זי

Translit.: zy 'bd m[--]

(That) which he made (= donated), M...

Comm.: The stone was discovered in 1993, during excavation at the site of H. Mazor. It is part of a building inscription, commemorating the donor's name, as indicated by the verb 'bd (lit. "made"), which is very often used in similar con-



fig. 2653

text to express the meaning "to donate" (see Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 9). The letter *mem* surviving at the left edge of the broken stone is with no doubt the beginning of a personal name (the most common Aramaic names beginning with *mem* in this period are Menahem and Meshullam).

The script very much resembles that of certain Aramaic ostraca from Edfu (Egypt) dating from the 3 c. BCE. The inscription has certain affinities in its engraving technique but mostly in its formulation with building and dedicatory inscriptions recently discovered at Mt. Gerizim. On the basis of the inscription's similarity to these inscriptions, as well as the findings from the Hellenistic period in the excavation, D. Amit (1999, 130 and 233\*) suggests that the stone "may have belonged to a public building that stood at the top of the Ḥorvat Mazor hill at the time." However, "no building remains to which this inscription may be attributed were found."

Bibl.: D. Amit, ESI 18, 1996, 57f. (=HA 106, 86-92 at 86ff. [Hebr.]); id., EI 26, 1999, 129-31 (Hebr.), 233\* (edd. prr.). – Tal, Archaeology 64 (Hebr.); I. Taxel, in: Z. Herzog - I. Roll eds., Salvage Excavation Reports no. 3, 2006, 15-21 at 20; H. Eshel, in: Y. Levin ed., A Time of Change, 2007, 116-24 at 122f.

Photo: IAA.

### 2654.-2656. Remains of a monastery

10 km northeast of Diospolis, 20 km north of Nicopolis, an isolated coenobium was excavated, consisting of two enclosed buildings separated by a courtyard. The main complex lies in the north, and in its center there is a church of elongated rectangular layout with nave, elevated chancel and interior semicircular apse. The church was surrounded on three sides by a variety of rooms. South of the courtyard lies a much narrower building of elongated rectangular layout containing a few rooms.

The excavators, U. Dahari and Y. Zelinger, interpret the complex as a nunnery – based on inscription no. 2656 and the discovery of several skeletons of women in the crypt below the church – and identify six phases of occupation, ranging from around the 3 c. AD to the Ottoman period. The first phase is represented by a rock-hewn burial cave probably created in the 3 c.; in the late 4 c. or early 5 c., a church, with an annex room southeast of it, was built above this, the nave being paved with a mosaic containing geometrical patterns and crosses. In the third phase, during the 5 c., the complex attained its final form by adding further rooms forming a residential area.

Through the northern wall of the nave, stairs led to a room treated as the antechamber to the residential area of the monastery, paved with a mosaic floor containing inscription no. 2654. In the fourth phase, dated to the 6 c., besides several changes in the residential area, the floors of the church and also of the room southeast of it, which was entered through a doorway in the southern wall of the nave in front of the chancel, were repaved with colorful mosaics, the one in the southeast room consisting of 8x6 alternating square and round medallions.

Animals and fruits were depicted in the medallions, only one of these contained an inscription (no. 2655). The fifth phase is dated to the 8 c. when all the depictions of animals and humans in the mosaics were deliberately destroyed by iconoclasts. Afterwards, the mosaics were only roughly repaired, either with patches of crude mosaic or with plaster. In the course of these repairs inscription no. 2656 was added to the mosaic in the nave. The last phase, from the late 9 c. onwards, marks the abandonment of the complex and its subsequent use as a kind of a cemetery for children from the surrounding villages (from the Mamluk to the early Ottoman period).

Bibl.: U. Dahari - Y. Zelinger, in: L. Chrupcała - G. Bottini - J. Patrich eds., Knowledge and Wisdom, 2014, 179-203 (ground plan and reconstruction at 180ff., figs. 1-7).

### 2654. Fragmentary Greek mosaic inscription mentioning Zacharias

Inscription in a tabula ansata, made of red tesserae; the lines are divided by rows of yellow tesserae; the letters are in black interspersed with some red tesserae. Only the left part of the inscription is preserved, but since the right angle of the tabula is there, its length can be exactly determined.

Meas.: h 0.75, w 1.14 (tabula without ansae), 1.65 (including ansae), 0.36 m (preserved text); letters 6-8 cm.

Findspot: "At the foot of a flight of steps connecting the church to the antechamber of the residential apartments of the monastery" (Di Segni).

(cross) KEO[--] ANΟΥΑΝ[--] TON[--] TAN+[--] NONT[--] ΕΓΕΝ[--] +ΡΙΟΥΙΝ[--] XAΡΙΑ[--]



fig. 2654

κ(ύρι)ε ὁ [θ(εὸ)ς -ca. 8 letters-]|ANOYAN[-ca. 7 letters-]|TON[-ca. 10 letters-]|
TAN+[-ca. 9 letters-]|NONT[-ca. 9 letters-]| ἐγέν[ετο -ca. 10 letters-]|βρίου, ἰν[δ(ικτιῶνος)
-ca. 6 letters- ἐπὶ Ζα]|χαρία [-ca. 9 letters-]

Lord God, ... was made/took place, month of ...ber, indiction ..., under Zacharias ...

Comm.: 5 c. or very early 6 c. AD (see introduction). Ca. 30% of the length of the inscribed portion is preserved; the average length of a line was therefore ca. 13 letters. Di Segni wrote:  $\varkappa(ύρι)$ ε ὁ [θ(εὸ)ς τοῦ ἁγ(ίου) Ἰω?]|άνου, ἀν[άπαυσον] | τὸν [δοῦλον σοῦ] | Τανα[ηλον ἀποθα]|νόντ[α ἐν εἰρήνη?]. | ἐγέν[ετο τὸ πᾶν] | ἔργον [ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγ(ιωτάτου) Ζα]|χαρία [ἐπισκ(όπου)]. She argues for St. John as the titular saint of the church since the names [Σιλου]άνου, [Στεφ]άνου, [Ἰουλι]άνου are too long and the place is called Kh. Burj el-Haniya, preserving the name of John. On the veneration of John the Baptist in Palestine, see Meimaris, Sacred Names 100ff. – l.4: "after TAN, beginning of a slightly sloping line, probably part of an alpha or lambda," Di Segni. LGPN pro-

vides some examples for names with TANA, the most common one is Ἀριστᾶναξ; but more likely seems Tanael, cf. Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 115. – ll.7f.: Di Segni discards Eucharia, which is very rare (as is Pancharia, no. 3860), and opts for Zacharias. "Zacharias may have been the priest in charge of the church, but it seems more likely to identify him with a Bishop of Lydda-Diospolis, in whose territory the monastery was located."

All of this is perfectly possible, but not certain. There are some parallels for  $\varkappa(ύρι)$ ε  $\delta$  [θ(εδ)ς τοῦ ἀγίου/τῆς ἀγίας]: e.g. SEG 8, 1 (Kh. ʿAlija, 539/40 AD); 28, 1377 (Eboda); 36, 1352 (Photis); 30, 1716 (Arabia, 582 AD), but the genitive can perhaps be explained by something like  $\varkappa(ύρι)$ ε  $\delta$  [θ(εδ)ς, μνήσθητι --]ανου ἀν[--]. – The supplements in ll.4 and 5 seem rather short, [--]TANA[--] might be explained differently (πρωταναγνώστης?), and [--]NONT[--] can surely be explained by [ἀποθα]νοντ[--], but this is, again, not really necessary and perhaps not too often found in this kind of inscription (cf. as alternatives e.g. σὺν τῷ ἐνόντι κόσμφ οr καμνοντ-).

ll.5ff.: Di Segni's reconstruction of l.7 is impossible: +PIOYIN[--] can be read quite clearly on the photograph; there is no clearly discernible letter before the rho, and a vacant width of two tesserae at most. – We have surely the rest of a month, which implies that IN[--] is part of the date too (month names without the mention of a specific day are quite usual). The name of the month requires at least four letters in the lacuna of l.6; something like ἐγέν[ετο τὸ πᾶν ἔργον μη--]|βρίου is much too long. If we want to stay with a supplement of this kind, we have to start in l.5: [--]NON τ[ὸ πᾶν ἔργον] | ἐγέν[ετο μη--]|βρίου (lacunae of 9-10 letters in ll.5 and 6) – but this is, of course, speculation.

l.8: Zacharias is quite common, but there are also hundreds of examples of Xαρίας. It is tempting to adopt Di Segni's supplement [-- ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγ(ιωτάτου) Zα]|χαρία [ἐπισκ(όπου)] (with some minor alterations perhaps), were it not for the fact that a date according to a bishop after an indiction is not common. Every supplement at this place is some kind of speculation, but one can expect, e.g., that one or two craftsmen or an overseer of the work are mentioned.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, in: L. Chrupcała - G. Bottini - J. Patrich eds., Knowledge and Wisdom, 2014, 205f. no. 1 (ed. pr.). – Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity I 166ff.; U. Dahari - Y. Zelinger, in: L. Chrupcała - G. Bottini - J. Patrich eds., Knowledge and Wisdom, 2014, 188 fig. 19; Madden, Corpus 72 no. 89.

Photo: IAA.

WA

### 2655. Mosaic with Greek inscription for Cyricus and Ioannes

Rectangle framed by a border in different colors; letters in black and gray, white background.

Meas.: h 54, w 56 cm (frame); h 33.5, w 42.5 cm (inscribed field); letters 6-7 cm.

Findspot: Mosaic floor in the room southeast of the church (L 102), westernmost medallion in the second row from the north.

(cross) Υ+[--]+Ι ΡΙΑΕ[--]ΥΚΟΥ ΙΓΟΥ++ΚΓΙΩΛΝ ΝΟΥΥΙΕΟΥΑΥΤΟΥ



fig. 2655

ύπ[ερ σω]τι|ρία[ς Κυρ]υκοῦ | ΙΓΟΥ++ κ(αὶ) Ἰωτά ν|νου υἱεοῦ αὐτοῦ

For the redemption of Cyricus, ... and of Ioannes, his son.

Comm.: l.3: Di Segni reads at the beginning ISOYYY, i.e. Ἰσοῦ υ(io)ῦ, and comments: "YY in ligature, with a diagonal stroke across the stem of the second *ypsilon*, to indicate the abbreviation." *Sigma* is possible, but *gamma* is not excluded. Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations 107 has only two examples for YY= $\upsilon(io)$ ῦ: G. Lefebvre, Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte, 1907, no. 664 (from Nubia, dating after 664 AD), and CRAI 1909, 155 (which dates to 1181 AD), and the mention of  $\upsilon$ ioῦ ist not really necessary at this place;  $i\gamma$ ου( $\mu$ ένου)? – ll.3f.: Dahari - Zelinger 2008 translated: "and his son the Deacon Yohannes."

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, in: L. Chrupcała - G. Bottini - J. Patrich eds., Knowledge and Wisdom, 2014, 206f. no. 2 (ed. pr.). – U. Dahari, Qadmoniot 36, 2003, 103ff. (ph.) (Hebr.); I. Taxel, BAIAS 26, 2008, 59; U. Dahari - Y. Zelinger, NEAEHL 5, 2008, 1765; iid., in: L. Chrupcała - G. Bottini - J. Patrich eds., Knowledge and Wisdom, 2014, 186, 189 fig. 23. – Cf. L. Di Segni, ARAM 18/19, 2006/7, 391; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity I 166ff.; Madden, Corpus 72 no. 90.

Photo: IAA.

### 2656. Greek inscription commemorating Anasia

Two lines of Greek letters in black tesserae set on a light background without any framing. The letters are not well formed and the lines do not run straight. Meas.: letters 4.2-5.5 cm.

Findspot: "In the upper pavement of the church, looking east, in a patch of small white tesserae ... representing late repairs" (Di Segni).

(staurogram) MNHTH $\Theta$ HKY PHEANA $\Sigma$ IA $\Sigma$ EY $\Sigma$ 

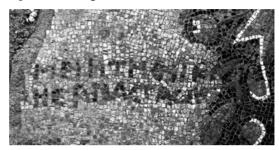


fig. 2656

μνή(σ)τηθη, κύ|ρηε, Άνασίας εὐ(σεβεστάτη)ς

Remember, Lord, the most pious Anasia.

Comm.: l.2: "The name Anasia is unknown. It may be a variant or a misspelling of ἀνυσία ... or of ἄνασ(σ)α, but more likely it is simply a haplography of Anastasia" (Di Segni). "The last letter but one is unclear: it may stand for a cursive gamma or for a misshapen upsilon" (Di Segni), the second variant leading to εὐ(λαβεστάτη)ς, εὐ(σεβεστάτη)ς. Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations offers no parallels to the abbreviations proposed by Di Segni. If one wants to accept the cursive gamma, one may read with Di Segni ἑγ(ουμένη)ς: Anasia, mother superior. This was accepted by Taxel 59: "Based on a Greek inscription found in the chapel's mosaic floor, which blessed the monastery's abbess, the excavator identified Horvat Hani as a women's monastery."

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, in: L. Chrupcała - G. Bottini - J. Patrich eds., Knowledge and Wisdom, 2014, 207 no. 3 (ed. pr.). – U. Dahari, Qadmoniot 36, 2003, 105 (ph.) (Hebr.); Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity I 166ff., fig. 47,3; U. Dahari - Y. Zelinger, in: L. Chrupcała - G. Bottini - J. Patrich eds., Knowledge and Wisdom, 2014, 188, 190 fig. 27. – Cf. I. Taxel, BAIAS 26, 2008, 59.

Photo: IAA.

## V. Wilhelma (mod. Bnei Atarot, near mod. Tirat Yehuda)

### 2657. Greek invocation of the one God

"Der dürftige Überrest einer Säule oder Säulentrommel aus Marmor, ... am unteren Ende des Bruchstücks befinden sich die Anfänge zweier Inschriftzeilen in regelmäßig gebildeten, gerundeten Buchstaben ... Ob noch eine oder mehrere Zeilen folgten, läßt sich ... nicht ausmachen" (Alt).

Meas.: h 30, w 15, d 10 cm; "der Länge nach geborsten" (Guthe), approximately onethird is missing; ø (originally) 50 cm; letters 4.5 cm.

Findspot: Euting recorded the text on October 23rd, 1903, in the Hotel Hardegg in Jaffa, but he was told that it was found "in Wilhelma bei Lydda"; Guthe states "östlich vom Wilhelma, der neuen deutschen Kolonie bei Lydda, liegt ein mit Trümmern bedecktes Feld, von dem die Leute Bausteine holen. Dabei fanden sie das Stück einer Marmorsäule ..." Although Euting saw the column in Jaffa, Alt recovered it 20 years later again in Wilhelma ("erst nach langem Suchen und Fragen gelang mir in Wilhelma seine Wiederauffindung.") Concerning the findspot, he reports: "Als Fundort ... wurde mir mit aller Bestimmtheit die nächste Umgebung des Heiligtums des nebi kifl halbwegs zwischen Wilhelma und der tarif bezeichnet, wo die unverkennbaren Reste einer Ansiedlung und insbesondere auch einer Kirche aus byzantinischer Zeit noch immer zu sehen sind." Cf. Bagatti: "Nebi Kifl, where there is a Samaritan tradition [referring to Conder - Kitchener, SWP 2 Samaria 379 (the tomb of Caleb)], but no ruins ... Deir Tarif is one of the places in the vicinity which have ancient remains. Not far away is also Kh. Jinnis with its Christian ruins." Wilhelma today is Bnei Atarot, Nebi Kifl lies ca. 2 km southeast, at the outskirts of modern Tirat Yehuda.

ΕΙΣΘΣΒΑ[--] ΗΣΥΧΙΑ[--]

εἷς θ(εό)ς, ΒΑ[--] | Ἡσυχία[ς? --]

One God ... of Hesychia(?).



fig. 2657.1 (Euting)

Comm.: Euting's sketch shows a break going through the last letter in l.1 and the second but last letter in l.2; this is evidently the reason for the notice in ZDPV MN: "Es sind zwei zusammengehörende Stücke gefunden worden, aus denen zu ersehen ist, daß die Schrift ringsum eingehauen war." The second fragment with

only one and two letters in a line must have been lost before Alt saw the stone. – ll.1f.:  $\beta[\circ\eta\theta\tilde{\omega}\nu]$  | 'Hσυχ[ί $\omega$ ] – Alt, Peterson,  $\beta[\circ\eta\theta\epsilon\iota]$  | 'Hσυχ[ί $\omega$ ] SEG are both evidently impossible. Two personal names in the genitive? E.g. εἶς θεὸς Βαριχέου καὶ 'Hσυχίας? – Di Segni argued for a Samaritan origin of the stone and says only that "Alt suggested a Byzantine church … however, the column bears no Christian symbols." It is clear that Alt transmitted only what he was told at the site, and most columns in churches do not bear any Christian symbols. Di Segni's argument that the Christian remains in the vicinity are "either late or fragmentary" fails to convince: Alt dates the inscription to the 6 c. AD.



fig. 2657.2 (Alt)

Bibl.: J. Euting, Tagebuch der Reise nach Syrien und Ägypten I 1903, 64 (idb.ub.uni-tuebingen. de/diglit/Md676-14, viewed: 29.3.2017) (ZDPV MN and Peterson record a squeeze made by Euting) (ed. pr.). – A. Alt, ZDPV 47, 1924, 91f. no. 1; Peterson 43 no. 88; SEG 8, 147; E. Mader, Mambre, 1957, 142ff.; B. Bagatti, Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria, 1979, 175; L. Di Segni, SCI 13, 1994, 102 no. 22; Bagatti, Samaria 211; Peterson - Markschies, Heis Theos 426 no. 88. - Cf. H. Guthe, ZDPV MN 9, 1903, 81.

Photo: J. Euting, Tagebuch der Reise nach Syrien und Ägypten I 1903, 64 (dr.); A. Alt, ZDPV 47, 1924, 91 (dr.).

WA

# VI. Thamna (mod. Kh. Tibne)

### 2658. Fragment with Latin(?) letters

Part of the upper edge of a tombstone of white marble. No photograph is available. Meas.: d 3 cm; letters 3-3.5 cm.

Findspot: "In an olive press in the proximity of other tombs" in Thamna (Kh. Tibne), east of Lydda (ed. pr.).

```
[--]CEN+[--]
[--]
```

Comm.: In the absence of more data, the content must be left open. CEN could also be read as the Greek  $...\sigma \epsilon \nu$ ...

Bibl.: S. Applebaum - B. Isaac - Y. Landau, SCI 6, 1982, 98-118 at 107 no. 17 (ed. pr.).

WE

# VII. H. Tinshemet

#### 2659,-2663, Church of St. Bacchus

Byzantine church of St. Bacchus, 300 m south of Ḥ. Tinshemet. No village or monastery was found in the vicinity, and therefore it is believed that the church served the rural population. The church has three aisles, the middle one with an apsis; a narthex and an atrium have been preserved; directly adjacent to the atrium is an olive press with a cistern. The atrium measures 9x10 m and was paved with a white mosaic. The excavators took up a suggestion by Clermont-Ganneau and proposed to identify the place with Betomelgezis, found in the Madaba Map.

Bibl.: U. Dahari, NEAEHL 5, 2008, 2054ff.; id., in: D. Chrupcała ed., "Christ is here!," 2012, 106-30.

### 2659. Mosaic medallion with Greek inscription

Round medallion with a cross made of red tesserae; the name of a saint(?) was written above and below the arms of the cross, but only the upper part can be read. Meas.: ø 1.26 (outer circle), 1.12 m (inner circle); letters 12-15 cm.

Findspot: In the middle of the atrium. Pres. loc.: In situ. Autopsy: 30 May 2014 (WE).

### ΑΓΙΟΣ

[--]

ἄγιος | [--]

St. ...

Bibl.: U. Dahari, NEAEHL 5, 2008, 2055 (ed. pr.). – Id., in: D. Chrupcała ed., "Christ is here!," 2012, 106-30 at 105; id., IAA Gallery of Sites and Finds: The Tyche from the Church of Bacchus near Kh. Tinshemet, www.antiquities. org.il/site\_Item\_eng.asp?id=116 (viewed: 2016); Madden, Corpus 132f. no. 194.

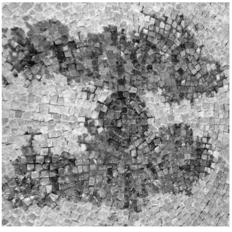


fig. 2659

Photo: WE.

### 2660. Greek mosaic inscription mentioning St. Bacchus

Meas.: h 39, w 125 cm; letters 15 cm.

Findspot: Stairs lead from the atrium to the narthex; the mosaic inscription is in the atrium at the foot of the stairs.

Pres. loc.: In situ. Autopsy: 30 May 2014 (WE).

(cross) ΑΓΙΟΥ ΒΑΚΧΟΥ

άγίου | Βάκχου

(Church) of St. Bacchus.

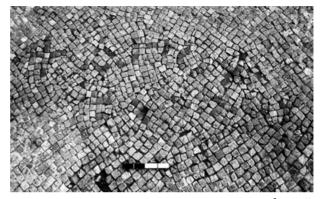


fig. 2660

Comm.: On St. Bacchus, usually worshipped together with St. Sergius, see Meimaris, Sacred Names 116ff.

Bibl.: U. Dahari, ESI 18, 1998, 67f. (=HA 106, 102ff. [Hebr.]) (ed. pr.). – Id., NEAEHL 5, 2008, 2054ff.; id., in: D. Chrupcała ed., "Christ is here!," 2012, 106-30 at 105f.; id., IAA Gallery of Sites and Finds: The Tyche from the Church of Bacchus near Kh. Tinshemet, www.antiquities.org.il/site\_Item\_eng.asp?id=116 (viewed: 2016); Madden, Corpus 132f. no. 194.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WA

### 2661. Greek mosaic inscription mentioning the place of the Lord

Medallion in the middle of a round mosaic carpet; letters in black, background white; the inner circle is framed by an outer circle made of six rows of tesserae in different colors (black, white, 2x red/yellow, white, black).

Meas.: ø 52 (outer circle), 39.5 cm (inner circle); letters 7.4-8.5 cm.

Findspot: Northern side of the nave, in the middle of the western mosaic carpet. Pres. loc.: In situ. Autopsy: 30 May 2014 (WE).

(cross) ΤΟΥ ΤΟΕΣ ΤΙΝΟΤΟ ΠΟΣΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΕΙΣΟΥΣ

τοῦ|τό ἐσ|τιν ὁ τό|πος τοῦ | κυρίου | Εἰσοῦς

This is the place of the Lord Jesus.



fig. 2661

Comm.: ll.1f.: Note the change in gender between ll.1f. and 3f. – ll.3f.: Cf. Lampe s.v.  $\tau \delta \pi \sigma \varsigma$  A 4: of the holy places; A 5: of a church; A 6: of a place in a church. – l.6: This is at least not a widely used spelling of the nomen sacrum (in fact, there seems to be no exact parallel, but see SEG 44, 559 [Thessalonike]: Heiσοῦ).

Bibl.: U. Dahari, NEAEHL 5, 2008, 2055f. with fig. (ed. pr.). – Id., in: D. Chrupcała ed., "Christ is here!," 2012, 106f., 111 fig. 10; id., IAA Gallery of Sites and Finds: The Tyche from the Church of Bacchus near Kh. Tinshemet, www.antiquities.org.il/site\_Item\_eng.asp?id=116 (viewed: 2016); Madden, Corpus 132f. no. 194.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WA

# 2662. Marble medallion with Greek dedication mentioning Flavius Theodorus Procopius

Marble medallion showing the Tyche of the city with a turreted crown, cornucopia and scepter. The inscription is on a band around the medallion; the back is only roughly smoothed. According to an isotopic analysis, the marble came from western Asia Minor, either Aphrodisias or Afyon.

Meas.: ø 67, d 5.5 cm; letters 4.3-4.6 cm.

Findspot: The fragments of the medallion were found "among the ruins of the walls between the north side of the church and the press" (DGI 588).

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1996-3434. Autopsy: 14 October 2013 (WE/DK), 9 April 2017 (WA).

[ἐπ]ὶ Φλ(αουίου) Θεοδώρου Προκο[πίου --] ἐν μηνὶ Ξανθ(ικῷ) τοῦ εμχ' ἔτ(ους)

*Under Flavius Theodorus Procopius ..., in the month of Xanthikos of the year 645.* 

Comm.: The main question is whether this medallion was produced in Palestine or imported. The second question is how and why it came to the church of St. Bacchus, far away from any urban settlement. - Upper part: Di Segni thinks that the person mentioned here was an official of the state ("a provincial governor judging by the name of Flavius," DGI), not of the church, therefore: [τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου?] DGI. – Lower part: If this was a state official, any date later than 638 is excluded: the Pompeian era results in a date of 582-586 AD. But Diospolis/Lydda, which lay ca. 9 km southwest, used the Severan era, and therefore Di Segni concluded that the medallion must have been brought from some other place ("possibly from Gaza"), and that it must have been brought to this church some years after its



fig. 2662.1



fig. 2662.2

making. "One wonders if the medallion was brought here because of its decorative value, or whether the crowned woman, no longer identified as the symbol of a Hellenic polis, may not have been mistaken for a religious figure" (Di Segni, Scythopolis). But one has to remember that we do not know if (and how) the medallion was used in the church. Dahari (2012, 118) believes that the medallion was destroyed in the iconoclastic times of the early 8 c. AD, and points to the emperor's decrees, but perhaps one should rather think of the iconoclastic campaign of Yazid II in 721 AD.

Bibl.: DGI 588f. no. 202 fig. 242 (ed. pr.). – U. Dahari, ESI 18, 1998, 67f., 86 (=HA 106, 102ff. [Hebr.]); Di Segni, Scythopolis 627 (ph.); SEG 49, 2059; Ovadiah - Mucznik, Art and Cult 192 fig. LI; U. Dahari, in: D. Chrupcała ed., "Christ is here!," 2012, 116-9 figs. 18f.; id., IAA Gallery of Sites and Finds: The Tyche from the Church of Bacchus near Kh. Tinshemet, www.antiquities.org.il/site\_Item\_eng.asp?id=116 (viewed: 2016). – Cf. id., in: M. Piccirillo - E. Alliata eds., The Madaba Map Centenary 1987-1997, 1999, 247 pl. 12; Feissel, Chroniques 226f. no. 723; U. Dahari, NEAEHL 5, 2008, 2056; M. Comte, Reliquaires 137f., fig. 44b; Figueras, Pagan Image 158 fig. 904.

Photo: WE; U. Dahari, NEAEHL 5, 2008, 2056 (dr.).

### 2663. Architectural fragment with Greek inscription

Marble; both sides wear the same decoration, therefore perhaps part of a chancel screen; the upper edge is smooth. Perhaps one can see a trace of an dowel hole on the backside.

Meas.: b 35, h 26, d 5.3 cm; letters 3.4-5.9 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 2006-278. Autopsy: 9 October 2013 (WE/DK).

[--]TE $\Lambda$ I $\Omega\Theta$  $\int$  (cross)

[--] τελιωθ(είς)

... completed.



fig. 2663.1



fig. 2663.2

Comm.: [ἐ]τελιώθ(η), either in the sense of "was completed" or "died" seems rather improbable, because we do not expect an abbreviation mark for just one letter. The form of the monument and the overwhelming use made of this verb in Syria and Palestine as designating the completion of a building (or part of it) leads to the assumption of a participle (in whatever case). – If the stone was reused, [ἐ]τελιώθ(ησαν) may be possible as well.

fig. 2663.3

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: WE.

# VIII. Kafr Jinnis

### 2664. Fragment of a chancel screen with Greek inscription

Marble plaque.

Meas.: letters 5 cm.

KEMN[--]

KE MN....

κ(ύρι)ε, μν[ήσθητι --]

fig. 2664

Lord, remember ...

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, RB 4, 1895, 77 (ed. pr.). - Bagatti, Samaria 210.

Photo: J. Germer-Durand, RB 4, 1895, 77 (dr.).

WA

### 2665. Sarcophagus of Victor with Greek inscription

A rather small sarcophagus with a sloping bottom inside, "which indicates that the body was put in a half-sitting position ... The Baron thinks it was the coffin for a Christian bishop, as bishops are often buried in a sitting or half-sitting posture" (Schick).

Meas.: h 0.76, w 1.65 m (1.75 at the top); letters 10-14 cm.

Pres. loc.: Former collection of Baron Ustinov, Jaffa. Removed to Oslo? (Not found there).

(cross) BIKTPOY (cross)

Βίκτρου

Of Victor.

Comm.: The usual genitive would be Βίκτορος. For the frequency of syncope in Latin names, see Gignac I 309f.

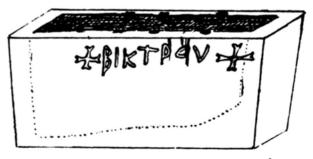


fig. 2665

Bibl.: C. Schick, PEQ 25, 1893, 294f. no. 3 (ed. pr.). – J. Germer-Durand, RB 4, 1895, 77; Bagatti, Samaria 209f., fig. 68.

Photo: J. Germer-Durand, RB 4, 1895, 77 (dr.).

## IX. Shoham

## 2666. Greek prayer for salvation

Inscription on a marble basin.

Findspot: East of the modern town of Shoham, there was an old Hasmonaean fortress and later on a monastery. To the southeast of the fortress a church with narthex and atrium was erected; the basin was found in the atrium.

"For the sake of his salvation ..." (Dahari - 'Ad).

Comm.: No Greek text was given and no photograph is available, but ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας seems a good guess. Since the church was erected at the end of the 5 c., we have a terminus post quem for the basin.

Bibl.: U. Dahari - U. 'Ad, ESI 20, 2000, 56-9 (=HA 108, 79-83 [Hebr.]); iid., NEAEHL 5, 2008, 2039.

WA

# X. Nahal Nevallat

## 2667. Greek(?) inscription on a late antique steelyard

Fragment of a scale made of bronze; letters or scratches on three sides: (a)-(c); the fourth is left blank.

Meas.: w 7.8 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 2000-793. Autopsy: 14 October 2013 (WE/DK).



fig. 2667.4

Comm.: It is not certain that these markers represent Greek letters (despite [b]). – (a) A horizontal bar above the first four strokes.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: WE; DK; IAA.



fig. 2667.5 (imprint)

### 2668. Greek magical gem?

Semi-precious stone, which makes it rather probable that this was an amulet, not a stamp.

Meas.: inscribed field: h 1.3-1.6, w 6.7 cm; h (item) 2 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 2000-780. Autopsy: 9 October 2013 (WE/DK).

 $IA\Sigma + + IAI$ 



fig. 2668.1



fig. 2668.2

Comm.: The stone seems complete. The vertical strokes at the beginning and at the end of the "text" might just indicate a frame; in this case we read only  $A\Sigma$ ++IA – which is not much better to understand. The two "triangles" are not triangles, because the vertical line is in both cases part of the frame (certainly in the case of the first triangle, and very probably in the case of the second one); the first triangle is perhaps a rather angular *sigma*.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: WE; IAA.



fig. 2668.3 (imprint)

## XI. Kefar Truman

### 2669. Greek building inscription of the Abbot Eusebius

Inscription in a tabula ansata; in the tabula a frame with red tesserae; letters black on white. The lines are divided by rows of red tesserae.

Meas.: h 1.12, w 2.16 m; letters 11.5-14 cm.

Findspot: The remains of a church at Kefar Truman with a mosaic floor in the nave. The inscription at the easternmost part of the nave, "in front of the altar" (Ovadiah, Corpus).

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1958-829/1-2. Autopsy: 5 June 2014 (WE).

(cross) ΕΠΙΤΟΥΘΕΟ ΦΙΛΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒ∫ΚΕΗΓΟΜ ΕΝΟΥΕΥΣΕΒΙΟ[--] ΝΕΩΘΗΟΝΑ[--]

έπὶ τοῦ θεο|φιλεστάτου | πρεσβ(υτέρου) κὲ ἡγομ|ένου Εὐσεβίο[υ ἀνε]|νεώθη ὁ να[ός --]



fig. 2669

*Under the most God-loving priest and Abbot Eusebius the sanctuary was renewed* ...

Comm.: The church is said to have been built in the 6 c. AD (RB; NEAEHL), but no reason is given for this date (a few coins found there date the inscription to the 6 c.). – 1.3f. ½γουμ|ένου Meimaris. The title ½γούμενος may indicate that the church belonged to a monastery; cf. Meimaris, Sacred Names 240: "from the fifth century on ... it became customary for the superiors to be presbyters." – 1.5: For ναός as a designation of a Christian church, see Lampe s.v. I. A cross would fill the lacuna at the end of the line.

Bibl.: Meimaris, Sacred Names 194 no. 977 (ll.1-4), 243 no. 1221 (ll.1-4) (ed. pr.). – RB 67, 1960, 402; Ovadiah, MPI 90 no. 146; Bagatti, Samaria 211. – Cf. Ovadiah, Corpus 101 no. 94; B. Bagatti, Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria, 1979, 175; M. Avi-Yonah - R. Cohen - A. Ovadiah, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 311; Ribak, Religious Communities 229; Madden, Corpus 95 no. 129.

Photo: IAA.

# XII. Isana (mod. 'Ein Siniya, Kh. el-Burj el-Isana)

## 2670. Tomb inscription of the family of Ḥananiya son of El azar, 1 c. CE (?)

Inscription in Jewish script carved above a cave entrance, surface very abraded, letters unclear.

Pres. loc.: In situ.



fig. 2670

חנניה בר אלעזר בר ++++++

Translit.: ḥnnyh br 'l'zr br ++++++

Ḥananiya son of Elʿazar son of ...

Comm.: The cave was first described by Drake in 1872: the cave floor was littered with broken ossuaries, bones and other debris; it had been thoroughly looted. The inscription above the cave entrance was not properly described or edited until Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 285ff.; he rightly rejects the earlier interpretation, "Moses bar Eleazar bar Zechariah the priest," which has no basis in the legible letters. Given the inscription's placement, it indicated the owner or purchaser of a family burial-site. The third name, Ḥananiya's grandfather, cannot be deciphered. The letters are typical of the 1 c. CE. The site 'Ein Siniya (Isana) is reported to have been excavated again, with the same inscription noted, since 1967, but no further data are available to supplement the 19 c. descriptions.

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 285ff. (ed. pr.). – C. Tyrwhitt Drake, PEQ 4, 1872, 77-91 at 87; Conder - Kitchener, SWP 2 Samaria 291, 302; C. Conder, PEQ 17, 1885, 10-25 at 14 no. 3; Klein, JPCI 52 no. 158a; CIJ 2, 1170; Y. Selinger, Judea and Samaria Research Studies 13, 2004, 57-70 at 61 (Hebr.); Greenberg - Keinan 2009, 57 no. 222.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 285.

JJP/AY

# XIII. Ḥadid (Adida, mod. el-Ḥaditha)

### Introduction

Ḥadid (el-Ḥaditha, Adida) is a site occupying a commanding position on a hill-top, situated at the edge of the plain and overlooking Lydda and its vicinity.¹ It straddles a branch of the Beit Horon road from the plain to Jerusalem, bypassing Lydda. The hill slopes steeply towards the North, West and South, and is linked by a saddle with the hill country to the East. The site was admirably suited for modest settlement and fortification, but less so for urban development in the Roman and Byzantine period, when Lydda, 5-6 km to the Southwest became one of the important towns of Palestine.

### **Literary Sources**

Hadid is mentioned together with Lod and Ono in the lists of returnees in Ezra 2,33; Nehemiah 7,38. Ibid. 11,34, it is described as inhabited by members of the tribe of Benjamin. Simon the Maccabee (143/2-135/4 BC) "built up Adida in the Shephelah and fortified it, erecting gates and bars." This was merely one element among various activities aimed at controlling access to Jerusalem: the conquest of Gezer, Beit Zur, Jaffa, and the fortress in Jerusalem itself. At the time of the expedition into Judaea made by Tryphon, Simon descended from Jerusalem and "made his camp at Adida on the edge of the plain." The parallel passage in Josephus' *Antiquities* describes it as "a town on a hill below which lies the Plain of Judaea." Both descriptions fit the site under discussion.

About 85 BC the Nabataean king Aretas III gained possession of Damascus and from there he invaded Judaea and "defeated Alexander Jannaeus near Adida." The place next played a military role during Vespasian's suppression of the First Jewish Revolt. After capturing Lydda, Vespasian left the legion V Macedonica at Emmaus (q.v.). Following the subjection of Idumaea, he returned to Emmaus and

<sup>1</sup> This introduction is based on the entry in Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II 173-6.

<sup>2 1</sup> Macc 12,38: καὶ Σίμων ἀκοδόμησεν τὴν Αδιδα ἐν τῆ Σεφηλα καὶ ἀχύρωσεν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπέστησεν θύρας καὶ μοχλούς.

<sup>3 1</sup> Macc 13,13: Σίμων δὲ παρενέβαλεν ἐν Αδιδοις κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ πεδίου.

<sup>4</sup> Jos. AJ 13,6,5: ἀπήντησε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Σίμων μετὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως εἰς Ἄδδιδα πόλιν, ἥτις ἐπ' ὄρους κειμένη τυγχάνει, ὑφ' ἦς ὑπόκειται τὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πεδία.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 15,2. In spite of occasional doubts there can be no question that Ḥadid near Lydda is meant. Shortly before Aretas' campaign Antiochus XII marched from Damascus to Arabia through the coastal plain of Judaea: Ibid. 15,1. Cf. F. Peters, JAOS 97, 1977, 263-75, esp. 266.

then, "cutting off those in Jerusalem from all sides, placed garrisons consisting of legionaries and auxiliaries in camps at Jericho and Adida." Thus army units blocked the single road to Jerusalem from the East through Jericho, and both major routes from the West: the Lydda-Emmaus-Jerusalem road and the Lydda-Beit Horon-Jerusalem road. The legion at Emmaus, the regional headquarters, would further have controlled the Ayalon Valley and the smaller unit at Adida/Ḥadid the plain around Lydda. Hadid occurs twice in the Mishnah: as one of the towns surrounded with walls since the days of Joshua, and as the place of origin of a R. Yakim.

The sources listed so far merely establish Adida as a place on the edge of the plain controlling a road to Jerusalem. The identification of Adida/Ḥadid with el-Ḥaditha is clear from Eusebius and Jerome: "Adiathain of the tribe of Juda. There is also a village Adia near Gaza, and another, Aditha, near Diospolis, east of it." Finally it appears on the Madaba Map east of Lydda. These sources together firmly establish the identification. We have found no references in post-Byzantine sources.

### **Archaeological Remains**

V. Guérin seems to have been the first traveller to identify the site and notice its antiquity. In 1927 A. Alt commented upon the antiquity of the remains on the surface. He noticed much Bronze Age and early Iron Age pottery. According to him later periods were absent on the western part of the site and mainly concentrated

<sup>6</sup> Jos. BJ 4,486: Ὁ δὲ Οὐεσπασιανὸς πανταχόθεν περιτειχίζων τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἔν τε τῆ Ἱεριχοῖ καὶ ἐν Ἀδίδοις ἐγείρει στρατόπεδα καὶ φρουροὺς ἀμφοτέραις ἐγκαθίστησιν ἔκ τε τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ καὶ συμμαχικοῦ συντάγματος.

<sup>7</sup> A. Schlatter, ZDPV 19, 1896, 221, claims the unit at Adida would have been superfluous and therefore chooses to read "Abila," assuming this would refer to a town north of Livias. Schlatter fails to make it clear what useful purpose a unit would have fulfilled in investing Jerusalem, if it was based twenty km east of Jericho. The internal criticism of Josephus on this point has been taken up again by Möller - Schmitt 4ff., who unsuccessfully search for a suitable candidate southeast of Jerusalem and then proceed to argue in favour of Schlatter's theory. It is unwise to correct a good reading in the Greek MSS into a bad one, merely because the former does not suit one's conception of how Vespasian ought to have acted.

<sup>8</sup> M.Arakhin 9,6; the other towns mentioned are the old fort at Sepphoris, the citadel of Gush Halav, Old Yodfat, Gamala, Gedor, Ono, and Jerusalem.

<sup>9</sup> M.Eduyot 7,5.

<sup>10</sup> Eus. Onom. 24,23f.: 'Αδιαθαΐν (Josh 15,36). φυλῆς 'Ιούδα. λέγεται δέ τις κώμη <'Αδία> περὶ τὴν Γάζαν, καὶ ἄλλη 'Αδιθὰ περὶ Διόσπολιν ἐν ἀ<να>τολαῖς. Hier. On. 25,29-31: Adithaim in sorte tribus Iudae. dicitur autem et quaedam uilla Adia iuxta Gazam, et alia Aditha circa Diospolim, quasi ad orientalem plagam respiciens.

<sup>11</sup> Guérin, Samarie 2, 64-7.

further southeast, towards the saddle. <sup>12</sup> J. Ory observed foundations, column fragments, remains of mosaics, cisterns, pools, tombs and caves. In the south-eastern part of the site he discovered a mosaic floor with fine decorations, Nilotic scenes, and three inscriptions (no. 2671). Finally, the remains of what seems to be a church are reported to have been seen on the site. <sup>13</sup>

Fischer, Isaac and Roll surveyed the site in June of 1984. There are three areas to be distinguished: (I) the tell itself; (II) the steep slopes of the hill near the top; (III) the slopes further from the top which fall away gently towards the northeast.

Near the ancient tell they found pottery of the Iron Age, and of the Hellenistic, Herodian, Byzantine and Islamic periods. Northwest, north, and northeast of the hill, Byzantine pottery predominates. Essentially then, the archaeological remains seen on the surface reflect occupation in the periods represented also in the literary sources. To be noted in particular are the remains of a strong town wall, also mentioned in the Mishnah. It is clear that Ḥadid was a fairly strong fort in the Iron Age and perhaps still in the Hellenistic period. What happened in the Roman period we do not know, but it may have been abandoned. In the Byzantine period it developed into one of the numerous prosperous rural settlements in the region. They did not find any remains of the temporary Roman army camp established there by Vespasian. However, the character of the site and the remains of an ancient road found nearby clearly indicate why the site was of military importance, both in the wars of the Maccabees and in the First Revolt.

Southeast of the tell, some 300 m from the modern Modi'in-Lydda (Lod) highway a section of an ancient road was found, some 80 m long. It was paved with large slabs and kerbs along the southern edge were noticed. This almost certainly represents a road from Modi'in to Jaffa passing north of Lydda.

ΒI

<sup>12</sup> A. Alt, Pjb 24, 1928, 71f.

<sup>13</sup> Ovadiah, Corpus Suppl. 1, 217 no. 18.

# Inscriptions

## 2671. Three Greek inscriptions on a mosaic with Egyptian scenery

Mosaic as pavement of a room (5.25x4.25 m); only the northeastern corner is preserved. The border shows an Egyptian scenery, starting with a large bird with curved beak, to the right of which is a man with a raised stick, aiming at a lion or a tiger attacking a buffalo; behind the scene are lotus plants, locating it firmly in Egypt. At the corner, a representation of a walled city with three buildings inside the circuit of the wall; below the city is water with two fishes and inscription (a). Around the corner are two ducks on the water, a boat with two men transporting amphorae. In the water are some fish, always in pairs. The background on the land is again formed by lotus plants, and a crane is at the far right. Below this scenery is a field with two preserved medallions carrying inscriptions (b) and (c).

Findspot: In 1940 found and excavated in el-Ḥaditha, 5 km east of Lydda, "at the foot of a small hill about 200 m southwest of the village threshing floor ... part of a group of structures which have remained unexcavated" (Avi-Yonah, 1972, 118). Pres. loc.: National Maritime Museum, Haifa, IAA inv. no. 1943-103/1-5. Autopsy: 2 June 2014 (WE).

- (a) ΕΓΥΠΤΟΣ
- (b) (cross)
  - [..]ENETOTOΠAN [--]ΥΚΤΗΡΙΟΥ
  - [--]
- (c) (cross)

ΚΕΟΘΣΤΩΝΔΥ ΝΑΜΕΩΝΠΟΙΗΣΟΝΕ ΛΕΟΣΜΕΤΑΠΑΝΤΩΝΤΩ ΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΗΣΑΝΤΩΝ∫ ΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΟΥΝΤΩΝΕΝΤΩ [--]ΠΩ[--]ΡΕΣΒ∫++[--]



fig. 2671.1 (a)

- (a) "Εγυπτος
- (b) [ἐγ]ένετο τὸ πᾶν | [ἔργον τοῦ ε]ὐκτηρίου | [--]
- (c) κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θ(εὸ)ς τῶν δυ|νάμεων, ποίησον ἔ|λεος μετὰ πάντων τῶ(ν) | καρποφορησάντων (καὶ) | καρποφορούντων ἐν τῷ | [--]ΠΩ[--]ΡΕΣΒʃ++[--]
- (a) Egypt.
- (b) The whole work of the place of prayer was made ...
- (c) Lord God of the hosts, have mercy with all those who have made offerings and who give offerings in this ...

Comm.: Avi-Yonah 1972, 120f. gives some instances for Nilotic mosaics in churches (Gerasa, Alexandria, Tabgha); Hachlili 1996, 1997 adds that the synagogue-house complex of Beth She'an shows the same motif. The other three corners may have shown Alexandria, the Pharos and Menuthis. Avi-Yonah dates the mosaic to the second half of the 6 c. AD.

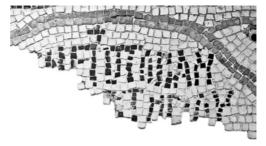


fig. 2671.2 (b)

- (a) ΗΓΥΠΤΟΣ Glueck. Since the inscription locates the city as being in Egypt and not "next to" Egypt, Avi-Yonah thinks it to be Memphis.
- (b) τὸ πᾶν ἔργον means the pavement with mosaics; εὐκτήριον can be used as term for a church (C. Welles, in: C. Kraeling ed., Gerasa, 1938, nos. 306, 314), but Bagatti translates "oratorio/oratory."



fig. 2671.3 (c)

(c) ll.1f.: A quotation from Christian liturgy, using LXX Ps 79,5, 8, 20, 83,9, 88,9, which is often followed by a request. – l.2: [..]NAMEΩN Avi-Yonah. – ll.2f.: ποιεῖν ἔλεος is a typical LXX formula, cf. e.g. Gen 24,12: ποίησον ἔλεος μετὰ κτλ.; Ps 108,21: κύριε, ποίησον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔλεος; Dan 3,42: ἀλλὰ ποίησον μεθ' ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειάν σου καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ἐλέους σου. – ll.3-5: Donceel-Voûte and Baumann explain this formula as indicating accumulating funds and one-time donations at the same time; cf. no. 2854, which makes one sense of this formula abundantly clear: anonymity. – ll.5f.: τω|[ῦτο] ΑΩ [-- π]ΡΕΣΒΥ[τηρ?] Avi-Yonah 1972; τῷ | [τό]πω [-- π]ΡΕΣΒΥ[τηρ?] Ovadiah, MPI, but no word like this exists. In addition, the cited authors did not consider the abbreviation mark behind the beta; πρεσβυτέριον may indicate a "place assigned to the elders in a church," Lampe s.v. III, but this is epigraphically only very rarely attested (G. Laminger-Pascher, Die kaiserzeitlichen Inschriften Lykaoniens I 1992 no. 70: εὐχὴ Βασηλήου πρεσβυτέρου τε[λι]όθη τὸ πρεσβυτέριον), and does not seem to make sense here.



fig. 2671.4 (b, c) ph. taken between 1942-1973



fig. 2671.5

Bibl.: N. Glueck, AJA 47, 1943, 129 (a); M. Avi-Yonah, IEJ 22, 1972, 118ff. pl. 20f. (edd. prr.). – id., EI 11, 1973, 45ff. (ph.) (Hebr.); B. Bagatti, Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria, 1979, 172f.; Meimaris, Sacred Names 22 no. 59 (c l.1-3), 32 no. 146 (c l.1f.), 191 no. 952 (c l.6); Ovadiah, MPI 62f. no. 86; R. Hachlili, in: S. Fine ed., Sacred Realm, 1996, 125f.; ead., ZDPV 113, 1997, 98 pl. 14a; ead., PEQ 130, 1998, 110, 112, 119f., fig. 3; Bagatti, Samaria 208f.; R. Hachlili, AMP 97, 103 pl. 5,2; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity I 220f., figs. 96,1-3; Madden, Corpus 70f. no. 86. – Cf. L. Rahmani, The Museums of Israel, 1976, 164f. (pl.); Ovadiah, Corpus Suppl. 1, 217 no. 18; SEG 37, 1467; Donceel-Voûte, Les pavements, 33 n.8, 474 n.92; Baumann, Spätantike Stifter 308.

Photo: WE; IAA.

WA

# XIV. Archelaïs (mod. al-Bayudat, Kh. el-Beiyudat)

#### Introduction

Archelaïs is identified with Khirbet el-Beiyudat (al-Bayudat) in the Jordan Valley, ca. 12 km north of Jericho. It was a village founded by Archelaus, the son of Herod, near his date plantations. Pliny also comments on these plantations: "But not only are these trees abundant and bear largely in Judaea, but also the most famous are found there, and not in the whole of that country but especially in Jericho, although those growing in the valleys of Archelais and Phaselis and Livias in the same country are also highly spoken of." In other words, this is part of the crown domain that was passed on to the Emperor later on. Archelaïs is mentioned by Ptolemy 5,16,7 and appears on the Peutinger Table as a road-station on the Scythopolis-Jericho road and, again, on the Madaba Map.

In the 5 c. it was a bishopric. It was represented at the synods in Constantinople in 448 and 449, and at the Council of Chalcedon in 451.<sup>3</sup>

ΒI

<sup>1</sup> Jos. AJ 17,340; 18,31. The dates grown there are of the best quality. For the site, see F.-M. Abel, Géographie de la Palestine 2, 3rd ed. 1967, 249; Möller - Schmitt 24f.

<sup>2</sup> Plin. nat. 13,44 (M. Stern, Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism 1, 1974 no. 214): Sed ut copia ibi atque fertilitas, ita nobilitas in Iudaea, nec in tota sed Iericunte maxime, quamquam laudatae et Archelaide et Phaselide atque Livade, gentis eiusdem convallibus.

<sup>3</sup> M. Lequien, Oriens christianus in quatuor Patriarchatus digestus 3, 1740 coll. 673-6.

# Inscriptions

### 2672.-2678. Church at Kh. el-Beiyudat

"The site (Grid Ref. 1945/1522) [scil. Kh. el-Beiyudat] is some 12 km north of Jericho. It is situated in the runoff delta of Wadi 'Aujah in a fertile agricultural area" (Hizmi 1993, 155; cf. id., CAHL 245). There is a church of the basilica type, 23.6x15.5 m, with a central nave and apse, two small aisles, divided from the nave by two rows of columns, a narthex. One reliquary was under the altar mosaic, another one in a niche in the wall of the southern aisle. The floor is decorated with mosaics. The building reveals different stages; mosaic inscription no. 2672 (marking perhaps the later-blocked entrance to the southern aisle) belongs to the first stage. The brick-built room with the mosaic floor and the donor-inscription no. 2673 is a later addition, but is still thought to belong to the first stage. In the second stage the northern aisle and the nave were paved with new mosaic floors including inscription no. 2674 (in front of the bema); the narthex was enlarged and a bit later in this phase a room was built at the western end of the southern nave (with no. 2675). In the third phase, the apse got a new mosaic floor, and no. 2676 marks this event. After a fire, probably at the beginning of the 7 c., the church was abandoned. It almost certainly belonged to the Diocese of Jericho.

Bibl.: H. Hizmi, CAHL 245-63; id., Qadmoniot 25, 1992, 27-33 (Hebr., with ph.); id., in: Y. Tsafrir ed., Ancient Churches Revealed 1993, 155-63; Dauphin, Palestine byzantine 852f. no. 58; Ribak, Religious Communities 159f.; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity I 218f.; Madden, Corpus 18-21 no. 16.

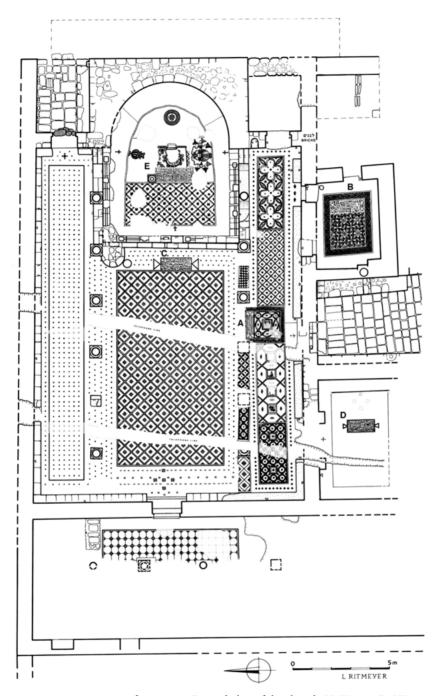


fig. 2672. A Ground plan of the church, H. Hizmi, CAHL 246  $\,$ 

# 2672. Greek mosaic inscription mentioning Aphleus and Lucas, Stephanus and Sama... and Eliseus, 5/6 c. AD

Inscription in a tabula ansata in an intercolumnium between the nave and the southern aisle (marking perhaps the later-blocked entrance). The mosaics in the southern aisle were not covered by others at the time when the central nave and the northern aisle were re-paved.

Meas.: h 38, w 108 cm (tabula without ansae); letters 6-7 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2672-2678 fig. A, no. A.



fig. 2672.1

(cross) ΚΎΒΟΗΘΙΣΟΝΤΟΥΣΔΟΥΛΟΎ ΑΦΛΕΟΣΚΑΙΛΟΥΚΑΣΠΡΕΣΒΙ ΤΕΡΟΥΣΚΑΙΣΤΕΦ∫ΚΑΙΣΑΜΑ∫ ΚΑΙΕΛΙΣΕΟΣΚΑΙΛΥΠΩΝ

κύ(ριε), βοήθισον τοὺς δούλου(ς) | Αφλεος καὶ Λούκας πρεσβι|τέρους καὶ Στέφ(ανος) καὶ Σαμα(--) | καὶ Ἐλισέος καὶ λυπῶν

Lord, help (your) servants, the priests Aphleus and Lucas, and Stephanus and Sama... and Eliseus and (the) rest.

Comm.: Di Segni, ed. pr. 265 dates the inscription to the end of the 5 c. or beginning of the 6 c. on account of its letter forms (but cf. on no. 2676). All abbreviations are indicated. Declension is either wrong or non-existent. -1.2: Di Segni compares Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 30 (Aφλα, Aφλος, Haphal). - II.2f.:Two priests are rarely mentioned simultaneously, and Di Segni, ed. pr. 266 therefore speculates whether the second priest was sent to help organize the building of the church. It seems that this is the Lucas of no. 2673. - 1.3:



fig. 2672.2

Στέφ(ανον) Di Segni, but since she remarks that all the non-abbreviated names are in the nominative,  $\Sigma \tau$ έφ(ανος) seems more appropriate.  $\Sigma$ άμα(ιον) Di Segni; Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 104 on Shamai and its different transcriptions, but Di Segni ed. pr. 266 points at some other possibilities;  $\Sigma$ αμακων seems most likely, and Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia I a, 254, 290 have the genitive  $\Sigma$ αμασέου. – l.4: Eliseus, cf. Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 45. Λύπων Di Segni, (τῶν) λυπῶν BE, SEG, Feissel; for οι > υ cf. Gignac I 197 with a score of examples for  $\lambda$ υπόν= $\lambda$ οιπόν.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, CAHL 265ff. no. 1 (ed. pr.). – SEG 40, 1475; L. Di Segni, in: Y. Tsafrir ed., Ancient Churches Revealed, 1993, 164f. no. 1; DGI 592f. no. 203\*A; Madden, Corpus 18-21 no. 16. – Cf. BE 1991, 749; Feissel, Chroniques 234 no. 752.

Photo: L. Di Segni, in: Y. Tsafrir ed., Ancient Churches Revealed, 1993, 165 no. 1 (ph. and dr.).

WA

### 2673. Greek mosaic inscription of the donor Lucas

Inscription in a tabula ansata; the frame is made of blue tesserae, the lines are divided by red tesserae; letters in blue.

Meas.: h 68, w 138 cm (tabula without ansae); letters ca. 4-9 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2672-2678 fig. A, no. B.

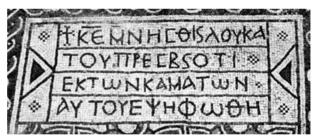


fig. 2673.1

(cross) ΚΕΜΝΗΣΘΙΓΛΟΥΚΑ ΤΟΥΠΡΕΣΒΓΟΤΙ ΕΚΤΩΝΚΑΜΑΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΕΨΉΦΩΘΗ

κ(ύρι)ε, μνήσθι(τι) Λούκα | τοῦ πρεσβ(υτέρου), ὅτι | ἐκ τῶν καμάτων | αὐτοῦ ἐψηφώθη

Lord, remember Lucas, the priest, since (this here) was adorned with a mosaic by his toils.

Comm.: "The shape of the letters here fits a dating not later than the first half of the sixth century" Di Segni, CAHL 267. – l.1f.: For Lucas, cf. no. 2672. – l.3: ἐκ τῶν καμάτων, "from his toils," i.e. from the proceeds of these toils, cf. e.g. CIIP III 2318.

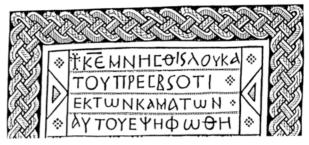


fig. 2673.2

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, CAHL 267f. no. 2 (dr.) (ed. pr.). – SEG 40, 1476; L. Di Segni, in: Y. Tsafrir ed., Ancient Churches Revealed, 1993, 165f. no. 2; DGI 593 no. 203\*B; Madden, Corpus 18-21 no. 16. – Cf. Feissel, Chroniques 234 no. 752.

Photo: L. Di Segni, in: Y. Tsafrir ed., Ancient Churches Revealed, 1993, 166 no. 2; ead., CAHL 267 (dr.).

WA

### 2674. Greek mosaic inscription of the donor Eglon

Inscription in a tabula ansata; frame and letters made of blue tesserae. Meas.: h 70, w 160 cm (tabula ansata); letters 9-10 cm.

Findspot: In front of the bema; see introduction to nos. 2672-2678 fig. A, no. C.



fig. 2674

ΕΠΙΤΟΥΑΓΙΩΤ∫ΚΑΙΟΣΙΩΤ∫ ΗΜΩΝΠΟΡΦΥΡΙΟΥΕΠΙΣΚΟ ΠΟΥΕΨΉΦΩΘΗΟΝΑΟΣΟΥ ΤΟΣΣΠΟΥΔΉΣΕΓΛΩΝΟΣΠΡΕΣΒ∫ ΚΥΠΕΡΣΩΤΉΡΙΑΣΤΩΝΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡ∫

ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγιωτ(άτου) καὶ ὁσιωτ(άτου) | ἡμῶν Πορφυρίου ἐπισκό|που ἐψηφώθη ὁ ναὸς οὖ|τος σπουδῆς Ἐγλῶνος πρεσβ(υτέρου) | κ(αὶ) ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν καρποφορ(οὑντων)

Under our most holy and pious Bishop Porphyrius this church was adorned with mosaics through the zeal of the priest Eglon and for the salvation of the benefactors.

Comm.: ll.2f.: This bishop (of Jericho) is otherwise not known. Di Segni, CAHL 268 notes Eleutherius, attested in 415, Ioannes, attested in 518, and Gregorius, attested in 536. She believes that Porphyrius has to be placed between Gregorius and the year 570 (cf. no. 2676) – but of course we do not know whether, for instance, Gregorius followed immediately on Ioannes. – l.4: For the name Eglon cf. CIIP III 2313 comm. to l.6; the priest coordinated the work, while others had paid for it but presumably did not want to be named. – l.5:  $\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\sigma\phi\rho(\eta\sigma\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu)$ ?

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, CAHL 268 no. 3 (ed. pr.). – SEG 40, 1477; L. Di Segni, in: Y. Tsafrir ed., Ancient Churches Revealed, 1993, 166 no. 3; DGI 593f. no. 203\*C; J. Moralee, For Salvation's Sake, 2004, 166 no. 288; Madden, Corpus 18-21 no. 16. – Cf. Feissel, Chroniques 234 no. 752.

Photo: L. Di Segni, CAHL 268 (dr.).

WA

## 2675. Greek mosaic inscription of the donors Ioannes and Abbosobus, 6 c. AD

White mosaic pavement, the inscription in a tabula ansata; black letters. Meas.: h 62, w 142 cm (frame).

Findspot: In a room at the southwestern corner of the church; see introduction to nos. 2672-2678 fig. A, no. D.



fig. 2675

(cross)ΚΕΊΥΧΕΠΡΟΕΔΕΞΕΤΗΝ ΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΙΑΝΤΩΝΔΟΥΛΩ ΣΟΥΊΩΑΝΝΟΥΤΟΥΠΡΟΥΚΑΙ ΑΒΒΟΣΟΒΟΥΟΤΙΕΞΙΔΊΩΝΚΟ ΠΩΝΗΓΙΡΑΝΤΟΝΟΙΚΟΝΤΟΥΤΟΝ

κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)έ, πρό σ δεξε τὴν | καρποφορίαν τῶν δούλω(ν) | σου Ἰωάννου τοῦ πρ(εσβυτέρ)ου καὶ | Αββοσόβου ὅτι ἐξ ἰδίων κό|πων ἤγιραν τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον

Lord Jesus Christ, receive the offering of your servants Ioannes, the priest, and Abbosobus, because they erected this house by their own labors.

Comm.: Di Segni points especially to the *alphas*, *upsilons* and *omegas*, for which she supplies parallels dating from 562 to 635; this text is somewhat earlier than no. 2676, because Abbosobus is not yet a priest as he is in no. 2676. -1.3: "abréviation ... exceptionelle ... due à l'analogie de  $\pi(\alpha\tau)\rho\delta\varsigma$ " Feissel. -11.4f.: ἐξ ἰδίων κόπων means that they paid for it, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων (ἐκ ἰδίων κόπων is usually found in funerary inscriptions, mostly Macedonian, but cf. IGLS 21,2, 135: κ(ύρι)ε, μνήσθητι καὶ τῶ(ν) [καρποφορησά]ντων καὶ κοπωθέντω(ν), ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα σὺ οἶδας). -1.5: οἶκος=church.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, CAHL 270f. no. 5 (ed. pr.). – SEG 40, 1479; L. Di Segni, in: Y. Tsafrir ed., Ancient Churches Revealed, 1993, 168f. no. 5; DGI 594f. no. 203\*D; Madden, Corpus 18-21 no. 16. – Cf. Feissel, Chroniques 234 no. 752.

Photo: L. Di Segni, CAHL 270 (dr.).

WA

# 2676. Greek mosaic inscription of the donors Abbosubbus and Eliseus, Stephanus and Georgius

Inscription in a frame of blue tesserae; the lines are separated by rows of cubes in red; the letters are blue too.

Meas.: h 75, w 185 cm (frame).

Findspot: On the bema, in front of the altar. At this place, three levels of mosaic can be discerned, the inscription belonging to the last one; see introduction to nos. 2672-2678 fig. A, no. E.



fig. 2676.1

(cross) ΕΠΙΤΗΣΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣΤΟΥ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΟΥΗΜΩΝΦΛ∫ΙΟΥΣΤΙΝΟΥΕΓΡΑ ΦΗΕΝΜΗΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΥΙΒΙΝΔ]Δ]ΔΙΑΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦ∫ΠΡΕΣΒΑΒΒΟΣΟΥΒΒ∫∫ΕΛΙΣΕ[.] ΣΑΟΡΑΣΣΕΛΑΜ̄∫ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ∫ΤΕΩΡΓ∫ΕΨ[.] έπὶ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς βασιλείας τοῦ | δεσπότου ἡμῶν Φλ(αβίου/αουίου) Ἰουστίνου ἐγρά|φη ἐν μη(νὶ) Νοεμβρίου ιβ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ'. (καὶ) διὰ τοῦ | θεοφ(ιλεστάτου) πρεσβ(υτέρου) Αββοσούββ(ου) (καὶ) Ἐλισέ[ου] | Σαορας Σελαμ(άνου) (καὶ) Στέφανος (καὶ) Γεωργ(ίου) ἐψ[(ηφώθη)]

Under the pious rule of our lord Flavius Iustinus (this) was written on November 12th, 4th indiction. And it was paved with a mosaic by the most God-loving priest Abbosubbus and Eliseus, son of Saoras, son of Selamanus, and by Stephanus and Georgius.

Comm.: Di Segni (CAHL 269; 1993, 167) believes that the letters of this inscription cannot belong to the reign of Justin I, and the only 4th indiction in the reign of Justin II falls in 570/1; hence her date of

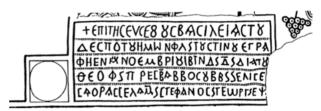


fig. 2676.2

November 12th, 570; she notes especially the paleographic similarity of this inscription with no. 2833 (Jericho; but see also, H. Hizmi, CAHL 263 n.11, who mentions the opinion of R. Talgam that the mosaic belongs stylistically to the beginning of the 5 c. AD [discounted by Hizmi]); alternatively, the only 4th indiction under Justin I would have been in 525. Evidently, nos. 2672, 2673, 2675 and 2676 are (roughly) contemporary: no. 2672 mentions the priest Lucas, Stephanus and Eliseus (neither one of them priest), no. 2673 the priest Lucas; the present text has Eliseus and Stephanus (neither one of them priest) and the priest Abbosubbus; no. 2675 has Abbosubbus (who is not yet a priest). Therefore we can conclude that no. 2675 is earlier than the present text (which is confirmed by Di Segni's paleographical analysis), but we cannot say much about the sequence of the other texts. There is the archaeological fact that this mosaic carpet marks the third phase at the bema; and if one understands Hizmi, CAHL 252 correctly ["The lines where this mosaic joins the others on the same level are clearly visible on all four sides"], the second phase of the bema-mosaic is contemporary with the mosaic of the central nave. In this case, no. 2674 is earlier than the present inscription too, perhaps contemporary with no. 2675(?). However, archaeology does not show how long a period passed between phases two and three of the bema mosaic. No. 2672, which is in all probability solidly connected with the present text (Eliseus and Stephanus), was dated by Di Segni on paleographical grounds to the end of the 5 c. or beginning of the 6 c. But more than one style of writing could be used simultaneously at the same place; however, archaeologically inscription no. 2672 is asigned to the first phase of the church and the present one to third phase (see Hizmi 1993). Paleographically neither the reign of Iustin I nor the reign of Iustin II can be excluded.

l.1f.: The prominent mention of the emperor may have been due to the large imperial properties in the Jordan valley, quite near to this place (Baumann). – l.4: cf. no. 2675. Di Segni (CAHL 269; 1993, 167f.) quotes the names Abesombus (in

an inscription from Beit Shaʿar, see no. 3396) and Abesobeus, Abosobeus (SEG 56, 1939 [Umm er-Rasas]) – father of Sobes, Sobus; SEG 51, 2062:  $A\beta\beta\alpha\sigma\sigma\beta$ ; cf. also, nos. 3899, 3902 this vol. – ll.4f. Ἐλισέ[ου]: it is almost impossible to write a nominative (as in Στέφανος, l.5) because there seems to be room only for *omicron* and *upsilon* in ligature. The lack of an abbreviated (καὶ) after the name makes it very probable that Eliseus was identified not only with his father's, but also with his grandfather's name. Di Segni (CAHL 270; 1993, 168) believes that this was done to distinguish him from the homonymous person in no. 2672. However, it seems unlikely that the two Elisei are homonymous, and more likely that they are the same person – and that there is no particular reason why his forefathers are named here and not in no. 2672. There is a second homonymous person in no. 2672, viz. Stephen, and nothing was done to distinguish these two people, if they are two people, which seems to diminish the force of the argument. – l.5: For the name Saoras, see no. 3835 comm.; for Selam(--) see Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen, p. 102f., 107. – "Or Γεώργ(ιος), if it was undeclined like Στέφανος" Di Segni, DGI.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, CAHL 268ff. no. 4 (ed. pr.). – SEG 40, 1478; Meimaris, Chron. Systems 380 no. 106; L. Di Segni, in: Y. Tsafrir ed., Ancient Churches Revealed, 1993, 166f. no. 4; DGI 595f. no. 204; Madden, Corpus 18-21 no. 16. – Cf. H. Hizmi, in: Y. Tsafrir ed., Ancient Churches Revealed, 1993, 162f.; Baumann, Spätantike Stifter 280; Feissel, Chroniques 234 no. 752.

Photo: L. Di Segni, in: Y. Tsafrir ed., Ancient Churches Revealed, 1993, 167f. no. 4 (ph. and dr.).

WA

### 2677. Staurogram on a doorpost

Findspot: A room at the eastern end of the southern aisle with two doorposts; the staurogram is scratched on the eastern side of the northern doorpost; see introduction to nos. 2672-2678 fig. A.

XP

Χρ(ιστός)

Christ.

Comm.: Hizmi notes that on the "eastern side of the sourthern doorpost, a picture is scratched directly into the plaster (Fig. 14): it depicts a square building with a dome, on top of which is a cross."

Bibl.: H. Hizmi, CAHL 255f. (ed. pr.).

Photo: H. Hizmi, CAHL 256 fig. 15.



fig. 2677

### 2678. Greek inscription on a sundial

Column drum worked into a sundial. Below the dial, a figure of a reclining man, which is very worn; it seems to hold something in its left hand (the River Jordan? or – as Figueras proposed – Heracles resting). Inscription in a frame below the figure. Meas.: h 50, ø 50 cm.

Findspot: In the area of the road leading northwards from the northern entrance to the church – which was built on the remains of earlier buildings.

[.]ΙΣΕΛ[...]ΠΑΓΑΘΩ

[ε]ἴσελ[θε έ]π' ἀγαθῷ

Come in for (your) good.



fig. 2678.2

Comm.: Reading by L. Di Segni apud SEG. – For the formula, see CIIP II 2090 (with comm.).

Bibl.: SEG 42, 1435 (ed. pr.). – H. Hizmi, CAHL 259; id., in: Y. Tsafrir ed., Ancient Churches Revealed, 1993, 161f. – Cf. id., Qadmoniot, 1992, 32 (Hebr.); Figueras, Pagan Image 14 fig. 33.

Photo: H. Hizmi, Qadmoniot 25, 1992, 32 (ph.); id., CAHL 259 fig. 19 (dr.).



fig. 2678.1

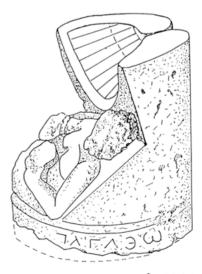


fig. 2678.3

# XV. Gophna (mod. Jifna)

### 2679. Funerary stele of Rufus for his mother Nico

Limestone stele with pediment, only partly preserved acroteria on both sides; frame with profiles. Back roughly smoothed.

Meas.: h 62, w 54.5, d 9.5-10 cm; inscribed field: h 46, w 41 cm; letters 1.8-2 cm.

Findspot: "In the northeast of the village, near the present-day Catholic church, are the remains of a Byzantine church integrated into a Crusader church. ... A square stone slab ... with traces of a Greek inscription was found in the church area" (Magen - Kagan 208). Cf. Schwabe 118 n.45, who describes the discovery of the stone by "une femme grec-orthodoxe."

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. S-839. Autopsy: 14 March 2010 (WA/WE).



fig. 2679

ΡΥΣΑΛΕΗΣΓΡΑΙΗΣΚΑΜΑΤΩΝΑΝΑ ΠΑΥΜΑΜΕΛΕΥΣΕΙΣ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΝΙΔΡΥΣΑΣΤΗΣΔΑΝΕ ΘΗΚΕΤΕΚΟΣ ΥΣΤΑΤΟΝΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙΣΗΔΥΝΠΟ ΝΟΝΕΙΚΟΝΑΔΟΞΗΣ ΦΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΝΖΩΟΙΣΤΕΡΠΝΟ ΤΑΤΟΝΛΙΜΕΝΑ ΟΣΤΙΣΓΑΡΝΑΙΕΙΜΕΠΟΝΩΝΜΟ ΧΘΩΝΤΕΠΕΠΑΥΤΑΙ ΣΗΣΔΕΣΟΡΑΣΒΙΟΤΗΣΠΟΥΛΥΜΕ ΤΕΡΠΝΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΕΝΔΕΤΕΛΟΣΠΑΝΤΩΝΣΕΙΓΗΜΙΑ ΚΟΙΝΟΣΟΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΠΕΝΙΑΠΑΡΕΜΟΙΠΑΣΙΠΕΦΥ ΚΑΛΙΣΟΣ ΤΑΥΤΑΜΑΘΩΝΩΞΕΙΝΕΤΑΓΡΑΜ ΜΑΤΑΤΗΣΔΑΠΟΔΕΛΤΟΥ ΙΣΘΟΤΙΜΟΙΡΑΩΝΟΣΚΟΠΟΣΕΣ ΤΙΝΟΔΕ ΣΗΜΑΔΕΣΟΙΝΙΚΩΚΤΙΣΤΟΥΔΟ ΝΟΜΕΥΘΥΜΑΘΗΣΗ [--]ΔΟΣΛΑΊΝΕΑΣ [--]

ρυσαλέης γραίης καμάτων ἀνά|παυμά με λεύσεις, |
οἶκον, ὃν ἱδρύσας τῆσδ' ἀνέ|θηκε τέκος, |
ὕστατον ἀνθρώποις, ἡδὺν πό|νον, εἰκόνα δόξης, |
φαινόμενον ζωοῖς τερπνό|τατον λιμένα. |
ὅστις γὰρ ναίει με, πόνων μό|χθων τε πέπαυται, |
σῆς δ' ἐσορᾶς βιοτῆς πουλύ με | τερπνότερον. |
εν δὲ τέλος πάντων, σειγὴ μία. | κοινὸς ὁ πλοῦτος |
καὶ πενία παρ' ἐμοί, πᾶσι πέφυ|κα δ' ἴσος. |
ταῦτα μαθών, ὧ ξεῖνε, τὰ γράμ|ματα τῆσδ' ἀπὸ δέλτου |
ἴσθ', ὅτι Μοιράων ὁ σκοπός ἐσ|τιν ὅδε. |
σῆμα δὲ σοί, Νικώ· κτίστου δ' ὄ|νομ' εὐθὺ μαθήσῃ |
[ἐξ ἀκροστιχί]δος λαϊνέας. | [πάραγε].
Αcrostichon: 'Ροῦφος ἔκτισε.

The resting-place from tiresome cares of a wrinkled old woman is what you behold in me, a house which her child erected and dedicated, a last resort for humans, a sweet labor, an image of her fame, seeming a most refreshing port to the living. For whoever dwells in me, he has brought his toils and troubles to an end, and you see that I am much more enjoyable than your life. One is the end of all; one silence; with me wealth and poverty are one and the same thing. To everyone I am equal. Having understood these words from this tablet, stranger, you must know that this is the aim of the Moirai. The grave is yours, Nico; the name of the builder you will learn straightaway from the first stone letters (van Henten - Huitink with a minor change). Acrostichon: Rufus was the builder.

Comm.: Schwabe 99: M. Avi-Yonah "told me that Père Vincent said to him in 1932 – i.e. eleven years after the stone entered the Museum – that he seemed to remember having seen the stone without any inscription on passing Jifna on his way northwards (i.e. before the year 1921) and that on his return through Jifna he saw the stone again but with the inscription on it." The letter quoted by Schwabe (see findspot) should erase any doubts about the origin of the inscription (cf. on the larger question of authenticity J. and L. Robert, BE 1956, 339: "L'authenticité, soutenue par S., nous parait clairement hors de contestation."). Letter forms, some orthographical variants ( $\lambda \epsilon \dot{\nu} \sigma \epsilon i \varsigma$ ,  $\sigma \epsilon i \gamma \dot{\eta}$ ) and what is more important, the poetic diction are strong arguments in favor of genuineness. The letter forms point to the 1-2 c. AD. The middle of ll.13ff. has deteriorated since its first reading.

Distichs; the text is distributed on the stone in the best way to help the reader to recognize the acrostichon; "the part of the verse in excess of each line is centred beneath it in the middle" (Schwabe 100). – vv.1-5 the grave speaking, v.5 begins with a generalization of the earlier sentiment. The inscription must have been part of a larger structure. – Van Henten - Huitink entertain the idea that this was a poem appealing to educated Jews, whereas Price says that Nico was "of uncertain ethnicity."

v.1: ῥυσαλέος was only known from Nikandros, Alexipharm. 181; Schwabe compares γηραλέος which may have been a model. Merkelbach - Stauber, Steinepigramme 4 no. 22/31/99 (Murduk, Syria): [θνητο]ῖς (Merkelbach; [βροτο]ῖς Kaibel) ανάπαυμα μέγιστον; SEG 32, 1025 (Ostia): γηράσας λιπαρῶς ἔλαβον καμάτων ἀνάπαυλαν; Peek 39 no. 132 (Miskamos): δς πολλῶν καμάτων πεπαυμένος. - v.3: ύστατον could refer to ίδρύσας (built for her as the last one), or to οἶκον, an interpretation favored, inter alia, by the Roberts. – v.4: τερπότατον Klein. Bonner has a large selection of examples for the death or the grave as a harbor; among inscriptions cf. G. Kaibel, Epigrammata Graeca, 1878, 263f. no. 647 (Rome); BE 1953, 271 (Portus Traiani); Merkelbach - Stauber, Steinepigramme 1, 03/07/17 (Erythrai); 2, 08/01/33 (Kyzikos); 2, 10/03/06 (Amastris); the general notion is expressed in Epict. 4,10,27 (and for other literary testimonies, see Bonner). Cf. Robert, Hellenica 3, 148; Obryk 152. - v.7: Schwabe 106f.: "Verse 7 and 8 form a unity and are the most beautiful in the whole poem. They are divided into five independent sentences and an equal number of thoughts, of which the first and the last occupy one hemistich each, the first ending with the caesura and the second beginning after it. Πᾶσιν ... resumes πάντων (at the end of the former), thus providing a framework, so to speak, for the others. ... The terseness is an expression of unalterable recognition and truth. The thoughts are topical." Merkelbach - Stauber refer to their numbers 2, 08/06/99 (Hadrianutherai), 3, 16/06/01 (Eumeneia), 4, 18/01/20 (Termessos), 4, 21/24/01 (Philadelphia) for the phrase εν δε τέλος πάντων. – σὸν τόδ[ε]. Πλοῦτος Schwabe, Klein, κοινὸς ὁ πλοῦτος Peek. - v.9: Schwabe 107 n.14: parallels for δέλτον as a term for an inscription. – v.11: Νυσώ Schwabe, Klein, Νικώ Peek. – v.12: [--] $A\Sigma O\Sigma$  Schwabe, Klein, but the first *sigma* cannot be seen; suppl. Peek; [ἀναγνού]ς? Schwabe, suppl. Peek exempli gratia.

Bibl.: M. Schwabe, Scripta Hierosolymitana, 1954, 99ff. (ed. pr.). – W. Peek, Griechische Vers-Inschriften I 1955, 349 no. 1185; SEG 14, 847; G. Mussies, in: Safrai - Stern 2, 1042f.; Merkelbach - Stauber, Steinepigramme 4, 332 no. 21/11/01; J. van Henten - L. Huitink, Bulletin of Judaeo-Greek Studies 32, 2003, 41f. no. 3; SEG 53, 1836.3; Y. Meimaris - N. Makrigiannis, "Ερνος Κύδιμον Παλαιστινής Γαίης. ἀνθολογία Ἑλλενικῶν Ἐπιγραφῶν Παλαιστινής καὶ ἀραβίας, 2008, 151ff. no. 67 pl. 37; C. Luz, Technopaignia, 2010, 36ff.; E. Klein, in: A. Tavger - Z. Amar - M. Billig eds., In the Highland's Depth, 2011, 119, 121ff., 131ff. (ph.) (Hebr. with Engl. transl.); M. Obryk, Unsterblichkeitsglaube in den griechischen Versinschriften, 2012, 151f. no. F,3 (with transl.); V. Garulli, in: J. Kwapisz - D. Petrain - M. Szymański eds., The Muse at Play, 2013, 261 no. 12. – Cf. C. Bonner, HThR 34, 1941, 51ff.; BE 1956, 339; Belayche, Pagan Cults 78f.; J. Price, in: New Studies 1, 19\*-24\*; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity I 209 n.6; J. Geiger, Hellenism in the East, 2014, 56.

Photo: WE.

WA

# 2680. Ossuary lid of Salome, daughter/wife of Iacimus with Greek inscription, 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE

Lid of limestone ossuary with finger-holds on each side, slightly vaulted, chipcarved, roughly finished. Greek inscription deeply incised in block letters on bottom center of lid, in slightly recessed field.

Meas.: h 61, w 24 cm; inscription field: h 1.5, w 16.8 cm; letters 1.5 cm.

Findspot: Among ten ossuaries and strewn bones in a looted two-chamber burial cave to the north of Gophna.

Pres. loc.: École Biblique, Jerusalem, inv. no. 12.2. Autopsy: 19 June 2008 and 5 June 2014.

#### ΣΑΛΩΜΗΙΑΚΙΜΟΥ

Σαλώμη Ἰακίμου

Salome, daughter or wife of Iacimus.



fig. 2680.1

Comm.: The ed. pr. indicates that this was the only inscription found in the tomb, so there is no connection with the three other Jewish funerary inscriptions published here (nos. 2681-2684); letter-forms, including the straight-bar alpha, are not secure enough grounds



fig. 2680.2

for dating this inscription to before or after 70 (contra Wolff 270f.). Vincent and subsequent editors read Ἰακείμου, mistakenly interpreting a flaw in the stone as an

epsilon ligatured to the kappa. The biblical name יקים yqym is Ἰακείμ in LXX, and Josephus spells it Ἰάκειμος (Jos. AJ 12,386; cf. BJ 2,421 and AJ 17,29).

Bibl.: L. Vincent, RB 22, 1913, 103-6 (ed. pr.). – F. Bleckmann, ZDPV 38, 1915, 236-9 at 239; Klein, JPCI 53 no. 162; id., Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 20 no. 4 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 1172; Figueras, Ossuaries 14, 19; S. Wolff, in: E. van den Brink - E. Yannai eds., In Quest of Ancient Settlements and Landscapes, 2002, 269-77 at 270f.; J. Price, in: New Studies 1, 19\*-24\*.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

JJP

### 2681. Sarcophagus of Yehuda, son of El'azar with Aramaic inscription

"Un sarcophage, trouvé à Djifneh, porte l'inscription gravée sur le côté, dans un encadrement simple: יהודה בר אלעזר, Judah, fils d'Éléazar," according to Lagrange, who notes that the *ayin* and *zayin* are ligatured.

יהודה בר אלעזר

Translit.: yhwdh br 'l'zr

Yehuda, son of El'azar.

Bibl.: M.-J. Lagrange, RB 4, 1895, 88-96 at 96 (ed. pr.). – Klein, JPCI 54 no. 162a; id., Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 20 no. 2 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 1171; S. Wolff, in: E. van den Brink - E. Yannai eds., In Quest of Ancient Settlements and Landscapes, 2002, 269-77 at 270; J. Price, in: New Studies 1, 19\*-24\*.

JJP

### 2682. Ossuary of Yo'ezer the scribe with Hebrew/Aramaic inscription, 1 c. CE

Limestone ossuary, front side ornamented with three rosettes, other sides appear smoothed, vaulted lid. Two inscriptions incised in Jewish script by experienced hand to medium depth, the first (a) on the façade above and between the left-hand and middle rosette, the second (b) on the left short side. The left short side bearing the inscription displays a carved molded pattern which preceded the inscription. (All information from ed. pr. and photographs.)

Meas.: h 29, w 67, d 23.5 cm.

Findspot: "Unearthed by a local farmer plowing near the entrance to a shallow cave" (Wolff).

Pres. loc.: Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago, OIM A29791A-B.

- (a) יועזר בר יהוחנן | הסופר
- (b) יועזר הסופר



fig. 2682.1 (a)

Translit.: (a) yw'zr br yhwḥnn | hswpr (b) yw'zr hswpr

- (a) Yo'ezer the son of Yehohanan, the scribe.
- (b) Yo'ezer the scribe.

Comm.: The style of the lettering and the box date the ossuary and its inscriptions to the 1 c. CE, although a date up to the Bar Kochba revolt is also possible. Yo'ezer is a priestly and aristocratic name in Josephus (AJ 17,164; BJ 2,628, Vita 29 and 197) and appears in first-century epitaphs from the Jerusalem necropolis (CIIP I 137, 367-369, 371); see also J. Patrich's notes in RB 92, 1985, 271f., relating to no. 2801 in this vol. Josephus, BJ 6,113-20, reports that many



fig. 2682.2 (b)

of the "well-born," including high priests and sons of high priests, were sent to Gophna by Titus during the siege of Jerusalem for their own security and comfort. Note a certain Rabbi Yoḥanan, the priest and scribe (sofer), son of a priest, in the synagogue floor at Susiya (no. 3870). For the title מופר swpr, which can be variously translated as scribe, secretary or teacher, see comm. to CIIP I 244, and add to the bibl. there C. Schams, Jewish Scribes in the Second Temple Period, 1998 (pointing out the infrequency of the term in the Dead Sea Scrolls) and Levine, Ancient Synagogue 434f., 442-5.

Bibl.: S. Wolff, Judea and Samaria Research Studies 6, 1996, 149-56 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – Id., in: E. van den Brink - E. Yannai eds., In Quest of Ancient Settlements and Landscapes, 2002, 269-77 at 269, 271-4; Y. Selinger, Judea and Samaria Research Studies 13, 2004, 57-70 at 58f. (Hebr.); Hachlili, Funerary Customs 213-6; J. Price, in: New Studies 1, 19\*-24\*; G. Novacek, Ancient Israel, 2011, 102f. no. 51 figs. 51a-c.

Photo: Courtesy of Oriental Institute Museum.

### 2683. Remains of a Greek inscription and a monogram next to a burial cave

Findspot: Bagatti reports that northwest of the site with the ancient ruins at Gophna there is the opening of an underground columbarium; he then continues "a due o tre metri di distanza vi è una tombetta a fossa (lunga m. 12,8) con anello per sostenere il coperchio con piccolissima camera ... che reca sul frontale la croce (cm. 18x18 ...) incavata rozzamente ... Del taglio della roccia a nord della tombetta si vedono delle rozze lettere ... alte cm. 16. Altre lettere simili con monogrammi sono incise sul lato sud (frontone di tomba interrata?) ... alte cm. 24."

Comm.: The "rozze lettere" cannot be identified from Bagatti's drawing; first letter *kappa*? The main element of the monogram connected with a cross is formed by a *nu*.

Bibl.: B. Bagatti, I monumenti di Emmaus el-Qubeibeh e dei dintorni, 1947, 220f. (ed. pr.).

Photo: B. Bagatti, I monumenti di Emmaus el-Qubeibeh e dei dintorni, 1947, 211 fig. 43,14-15 (dr.).



fig. 2683

DK

### 2684. Hebrew letters in a cave

Findspot: Inside wall of a cave at Gophna (Sukenik).

[--]לגה

Translit.: [--]lgh

Comm.: Sukenik reported seeing these three letters incised on the inside wall of a cave. He proposed connecting this inscription with the priestly family Bilga בלגה, suggesting that he thought that part of the inscription was missing to the right.

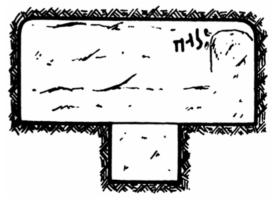


fig. 2684

Bibl.: E. Sukenik, BIES 1, 1933, 7ff. at 8 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 20 no. 3 (Hebr.); S. Wolff, in: E. van den Brink - E. Yannai eds., In Quest of Ancient Settlements and Landscapes, 2002, 269-77 at 271; Y. Selinger, Judea and Samaria Research Studies 13, 2004, 57-70 at 60 (Hebr.); J. Price, in: New Studies 1, 19\*-24\*.

Photo: E. Sukenik, BIES 1, 1933, 9 (dr.).

JJP

### 2685. Fragment of a Latin inscription

Regular limestone fragment, immured in the wall of a house; the left-hand side is preserved.

Meas.: h ca. 35 cm.

Pres. loc.: Immured in a house in Jifna. Seen by B. Zissu and Z. Ehrlich, 30 November 2009.

PI[--]

C[--]

TR[--]

+[--]

L[--]

Comm.: The remains of the inscription show that the text was carefully written. The majority of Latin inscriptions in Iudaea, especially outside the urban centers, is associated with the presence of people belonging to the Roman army or administration. Such an association is likely here as well. But the few letters reveal no specific meaning.

Bibl.: Unpublished. All information by Boaz Zissu.

Photo: B. Zissu.



fig. 2685

WE

### XVI. Ben Shemen

### 2686. Aramaic ossuary of Levi son of Menashe, 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE

Limestone ossuary, façade ornamented with two six-petaled rosettes separated by an abstract "tree" formed by a three-cord trunk and semicircles at either end, each element with interior zigzag patterns; half circles in upper corners, zigzags in bottom corners; zigzag frame; whole façade covered in red wash. Red lattice painted on back and both small sides. One-line Aramaic inscription on right side, slightly above and right of center. Gabled lid.

Meas.: box: h 30, w 60, d 24 cm; l. 11.5 cm; letters 1-2 cm.

Findspot: Road construction site near Ben Shemen.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. 1975-710. Autopsy: 6 October 2008 (JJP).

לוי בר מנשה בגפיה

Translit.: lwy br mnšh bgpyh

Levi, son of Menashe, by himself.



fig. 2686.1

Comm.: This ossuary was one of three found in a burial cave which was uncovered during road-work near Ben Shemen in 1975; it is the only one with an inscription. The cave consists of a single chamber with eight loculi; it had been previously looted. All three boxes were decorated in a similar style, and all three were found in the same loculus.

The writing is a bit jumbled, so that not every letter, nor even the number of letters, is clear. The small vertical line between the *lamed/nun* and *shin* in the father's name seems not to be by the inscriber's hand. The same goes for a small diagonal stroke on the left hasta of the *he* in the father's name. The *pe* in the last word is written above and between the *gimel* and *yod*, as if the inscriber forgot it; the *yod* is as tall as the other letters, as it is in the name of the deceased, Levi.

The main problem of decipherment is the letter after mem in the father's name, which is represented by a single long stroke. Porath in the ed. pr. ignored the problem and read the father's name as מלשה mšh Moshe, against the suggestions of מלשה mlšh by Naveh and מיישה myyšh by Rahmani. Both of them changed their mind since that consultation, for Rahmani published מלשה mlšh "Malosha" in his catalogue, where he cites Naveh as suggesting that the lamed replaces a nun, thus rendering מנשה mnšh, Menashe, which is tentatively preferred here. Rahmani's interpretation renders a nickname based perhaps on מלושה mlwšh, "kneading trough,"

indicating then the man's profession, in line with other nicknames based on food and cooking. While a unique nickname is not per se out of the question, interpreting that single stroke as a *nun*, esp. in light of the well-executed *lamed* at the beginning of the inscription, is the easier option, rendering the biblical name Menashe, in use at that time (cf. CIIP I 328 and Ilan, Lexicon I 1, 188ff.).

The last word seems to indicate the wish of the deceased not to have any other bodies added to his ossuary (or Rahmani: nothing of value inside the box, only the body). A similar provision is seen in the word בלבדא blbd', CIIP I 564, a woman's ossuary (exact findspot unknown). Haggai Misgav has suggested that the two cases are not similar, the present inscription means only that Levi is in the box, thus the preferred reading should be בגוה bgwh, "inside," but the point of adding this is doubtful; the ossuary inscription CIIP I 287, "Whatever benefit a man may derive from this ossuary (is a) qorban (sacrificial offering) to God from him who is in it" (מן דבגוה mn dbgwh) is different in both syntax and intention. See Hachlili on prohibitions against desecration of burial.



fig. 2686.2

Bibl.: J. Porath, Atiqot 10, 1990, 161-4 (Hebr.), 37\* (ES) (ed. pr.). – HA 57/58, 1976, 25 (Hebr.); Rahmani, CJO no. 610; Evans 75; Beyer, Aramäische Texte II 276 no. \*yJE 60; Hachlili, Funerary Customs 170ff., 225f., 500f. no. 10; ead., AASOR 60/61, 2006/7, 243-55 at 250 fig. 15.

Photo: IAA.

JJP/AY

### 2687. Greek funerary inscription

"A Greek inscription in red, found on a boulder that collapsed from the cave wall" (O. Shmueli - E. Yannai - Y. Peleg - Y. Nagar 136). A frame consisting of two red lines marks the margin of the inscription; originally, a tabula ansata was made by creating an unpainted triangle on a red ground; according to Di Segni, the left and upper side of the frame are missing, but a part of the left-hand frame might just be visible on the level of ll.2 and 3 of the text (certainly in a lighter shade). Meas.: h 39, w 58 cm (64 cm with right ansa); letters 5-6.5 cm.

Findspot: Cave 4 (O. Shmueli - E. Yannai - Y. Peleg - Y. Nagar 39\* plan 4, 38\* fig. 19), where a shaft leads to a corridor and a burial chamber with three arcosolia. A white mosaic was on the floor and the burial shelves, the walls were plastered; remnants of some paintings are visible (red bands, reddish-brown wreaths); lamps from the 4-5 c. AD were found in the southern arcosolium.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 1996-3518.



fig. 2687

[.]ΩΕΖΑΡΟΣ[-ca. 5 letters-]ΟΣΚ(stroke)ΘΕΩ
[.]ΤΙΣΤΑΤΕΥΓΙΕΝΩΝΚΤΙΣ (small semicircle)
[..]ΡΑΣΣΕΑΜΑΠΟΜΠΥΛΙΑ
[--]ΣΤΟΥΘΕΡΑΠΟΝΤΕΣ

[Ί]ωέζαρος [-ca. 5 letters-]ος κ(αὶ) Θεω|[κ]τίστα τε· Ύγιένων κτίσ(της) | [ἔπ]ρασσε ἄμα Πομπυλία, | [τοῦ Χρι]στοῦ θεράποντες

Ioezer, ...os and Theoctista; Hygienon, builder (of the tomb), made (this) together with Pompylia, servants of Christ. (Di Segni 68)

Comm.: The letters "belong to the tall and narrow alphabet that was in fashion especially during the second and third centuries CE, and to a lesser extent in the fourth century CE" (Di Segni 68); the type of abbreviation used for  $\kappa(\alpha l)$  in l.1 ("a *kappa* and a vertical, slightly diagonal stroke") is said to be found rarely after the 4 c. AD.

Di Segni's text was kept, even though it is puzzling (and if a part of the frame is indeed visible on the left side [cf. description], there is neither room for two letters at the beginning of l.3 nor for six letters at the beginning of l.4). According to her, the first names are the names of the people buried in the grave, and Hygienon and Pompylia served as builders of the structure, as its founders ( $\kappa\tau$ ( $\sigma\tau\alpha$ ). But: a)  $\kappa$ ( $\alpha$ )  $\Theta$ εω|[ $\kappa$ ] $\tau$ ( $\sigma\tau\alpha$   $\tau$ ε is at least grammatically suspect:  $\tau$ ε is completely unnecessary, and it does not seem likely that it can be used to link Hygienon "with the other three names" (the option was discussed and discarded by Di Segni) – which, in any case, would lead to a problem with the singular [ $\xi\pi$ ] $\rho\alpha\sigma\sigma$ ε; b) Di Segni 67f. comments on the end of l.2: "after an *iota* ... is the upper curve of a *sigma*, followed by

a small semicircle. The latter may represent an abbreviation mark or, more likely, a lifted sigma. Both a lunate sign and a lifted letter were common abbreviation marks." On the photographs there seems to be the upper right part of a lunar letter, not necessarily sigma. κτίσ(της), if read and supplemented correctly (Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations knows no abbreviation for κτίστης whatsoever), seems problematic. Di Segni's examples for the use of κτίστης in the - perfectly normal - sense of "builder" relate to the building of a city wall by a provincial governor (SEG 16, 805 [Adraha, Arabia]), the builders of a synagogue or wine press (no. 3076), the builder of a church (CIIP II 2148), and the builder of a bathhouse (S. Mittmann, ZPDV 82, 1966, 711ff. [Umm Qes]). These κτίσται financed, with one possible exception, only buildings with a public use, designed to accomodate the needs of a community. This seems to be true for other examples from Syria and Arabia, too: IGLS 2, 542 (Dar Quita): εἶς θεὸς καὶ Χριστέ, βοηθὸς γενοῦ Φλίαουίω) Εὐσεβίω υἱοῦ Κυρίλης άγοραστήν, κτίστην. ἔτους ηπτ' (339/40 AD) ήγόρασεν, ηρτ' (350 AD) ἔκτισεν σύν θεῶ; 4, 1532 ter: ἐποίησ(εν) ὁ κτίστης ἐνδοξότατ(ος) Βιγ[--]; see no. 2737; SEG 7, 954 (again from Adraha):  $X(\rho ι \sigma \tau)[\grave{\epsilon}]$  βοήθει Σιλανῷ τῷ κτίστη. ἀμήν. With the possible exception of nos. 2679 and 3807 (used because it fits the meter), there does not seem to exist any κτίστης of a tomb (one might mention the sarcophagus, SEG 55, 1709: 'Ιούστου Ἰούστου Θεοφίλου κτίστου | καὶ Άρχελαείδος Σίμωνος Άλεξάνδρου συνβίου, where the editor understood "founder of the mausoleum," but where Chaniotis added: "or occupation: 'builder' [e.g. P.Oxy. 2144 L.8]"); but Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations 79 has two late examples for an abbreviated κτίσμα. c) ἔπρασσε itself is not without problems: It is not regularly used for the building of a tomb - or for any other kind of building.

l.1: The first letter is either an omicron or an omega. For the name Ioezer, cf. nos. 2818, 2823, 2824 (and Ilan, Lexicon I 168ff.; II 125; III 120). Di Segni stresses the interest of this name: Jewish presence in this region declined after Hadrian, and the "preservation of this name seems to indicate that not all the Jews perished, were deported or fled to other regions. Perhaps some, who had converted to Christianity and did not take part in the revolt, continued to live in the area, preserving family names for generations." But if we believe in a date in the 4 c. AD, these considerations are not really necessary. And perhaps Christian use of an OT name, even a rare one, is not in need of any special explanation. – 1.2: The most surprising name in the series is, if interpreted correctly, the name Pompylia, which is thought to be derived from the Latin nomen gentile Pompilia, almost unknown in the East (MAMA 7, 304). – l.4: The article in [τοῦ Χρι]στοῦ is not necessary, but it serves to transform τοῦ Χριστοῦ θεραπόντες into a metric clause (Di Segni). For the expression, cf. IK 39, 213 (Prusa ad Olympum): πιστὸς θεράπων θ(εο)ῦ ἐνθάδε κατάκιτ[αι]; Merkelbach - Stauber, Steinepigramme 3, 176f. no. 16/06/01 (Christian priest, but 3 c. AD): σὺν Ῥουβῆ μεγάλοιο θ[εοῦ] θεράποντι; MAMA 8, 221 (Kane): πατροκασίγνητοι Χριστοῦ θεράποντες ἔτευξαν; W. Ramsay, Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire, 1906, 161 no. 13 (Savatra): Χ(ριστο)ῦ θεράπων Πα[ῦ]λος ἐν τῷδε τύμβω κατάκι[μ]ε. Cf. also τὴν σεμνὴν φιλάδελφον έμ[οὶ παράκοιτ]!ν ἀρίστην Τηλεφίδην Μαμμειν [ή τε ἦν γενε]ὴ ἱερέων, πισ[τ]ὴν ἐνκρατίης οἰκονόμον, ἐνθάδ' ὁμ]οίας μνή[μης τ]ε μν[ή]μης τε χάριν θεράπεναν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ [θάψας πρ(εσβύτερος) Γαῖ(?)]ος (Isauropolis, Merkelbach - Stauber, Steinepigramme 3 no. 14/12/01 [text follows Calder]); SEG 34, 1341,6 (Konya museum).

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, Atiqot 73, 2013, 67ff., fig. 1 (ed. pr.). – O. Shmueli - E. Yannai, ESI 20, 2000, 60f. (=HA 108, 85f. [Hebr.]); iid. - Y. Peleg - Y. Nagar, Atiqot 73, 2013, 40\*f. (Hebr.), 135f. (ES). Photo: IAA.

WA

## XVII. Kh. Batma

## 2688. Lintel with Greek inscription

Door or window lintel, made of basalt and decorated with two rosettes. Letters before the first and between the first and second rosette.

Meas.: h 0.34, w 1.33 m.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 1987-6205.

[--]+OYS (rosette)  $I\Omega\Sigma H$  (rosette)

 $[--]+O\Upsilon\Sigma'I\omega\sigma\tilde{\eta}$ 

... of Ioses ...



fig. 2688

Comm.: First letter *gamma* or *tau*. The first letters may belong to a personal name ending with -ous.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.

WA

# XVIII. Apharaema (Ephraim, mod. et-Tayyibe)

#### 2689. Reliquary with Greek inscription

A reliquary of Comte's type III with a recess in the front; the upper side has deepened spaces for three oval containers. The upper edge of the stone is raised and carries an inscription. The text starts at the right corner of the front, "aber so, daß die Buchstaben auf dem Kopf stehen; die Inschrift konnte also nur von der Rückseite aus abgelesen werden" (Schneider). Comte 105 adds: "Quelques lettres incompréhensibles se devinent au sommet du petit côté droit du reliquaire." On form, function, and possible place in the church, see Comte 162.

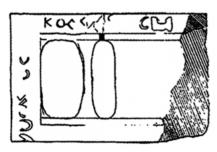
Meas.: (of the reliquary): h 83, w 46, 43 (bottom), d 32, 28 cm (bottom).

Findspot: St. George's church in et-Tayyibe, also known as el-Khadr (on the church: Ovadiah; Comte 160; a plan can be found in Comte 161 fig. 76; cf. Pringle 339ff.; Michel 2014, 78ff. with plans; ibid. 82f. on different traditions concerning its founding and patron saint). Schneider believed the church to date to the first half of the 6 c. AD. A second reliquary without inscription was found together with this one. Pres. loc.: Museum in et-Tayyibe (see Michel 2014, 91ff. with fig. 23 [the reliquary placed in the wall niche]).

 $K\Theta EKI[--]\Gamma A[--]X[--]\Sigma$ 

κ(ύριε) θ(ε)έ, KΙ[--]ΓΑ[--]Χ[--]Σ

Lord God, ...



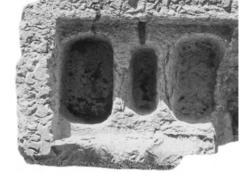


fig. 2689.1

fig. 2689.2

Comm.: Middle of the 6 c. AD, because the reliquary is hardly younger than the church. – The invocation  $\varkappa(\acute{\nu}\rho\imath\epsilon)$   $\theta(\epsilon)\acute{\epsilon}$  (if restored correctly) is usually followed by  $\beta \circ \acute{\eta}\theta\imath \ \varkappa\tau\lambda$ .; perhaps one should not exclude the reading  $\varkappa(\acute{\nu}\rho\imath\epsilon)$ ,  $\acute{\delta}$   $\theta\epsilon(\acute{\delta}\varsigma)\ \varkappa\tau\lambda$ . – [--] PA[--], Comte (instead of [--]ΓA[--]).

Bibl.: A. Schneider, OC 28, 1931, 19f. no. 3 fig. 6 (ed. pr.). – Ovadiah, Corpus 66 no. 56; V. Michel, Le Monde de la Bible 132, 2001, 56 with fig.; Comte, Reliquaires 105, 160-3 fig. 77a, b; V. Michel, in: R. Elter ed., Patrimoine en Palestine, 2014, 77-95. – Cf. D. Pringle, The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem II 1993; Bagatti, Samaria 42; V. Michel, in: F. Baratte - V. Michel eds., Journée internationale d'hommages à Michele Piccirillo (forthcoming); id. ed., Le complexe ecclésiastique d'el-Khadr à Taybeh-Ephraïm (Palestine) (forthcoming).

Photo: V. Michel, in: R. Elter ed., Patrimoine en Palestine, 2014, 84 fig. 7; Comte, Reliquaires 105 fig. 31a (dr.).

WA

### 2690. Greek mosaic inscription with acclamation

Schneider observed remains of a late antique mosaic in the choir of the Greek Orthodox church; Bagatti saw only two fragments of an inscription made of black tesserae, "west of the first pillar of the southern row, near the altar."

Meas.: letters 7 cm.

(cross) KEBOHO[--]KON (cross)

κ(ύρι)ε, βοήθ[ει --]ΚΟΝ

Lord, help ...



fig. 2690.1



fig. 2690.2

Comm.: βοήθ[ει τὸν or βοήθησον Κυρια]κόν Bagatti.

Bibl.: B. Bagatti, Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria, 1979, 33; id., Samaria 40f., pl. 9,1 (edd. prr.). – Meimaris, Sacred Names 37 no. 184 (the first two words). – Cf. A. Schneider, OC 6, 1931, 20; Greenberg - Keinan 2009, 58 no. 231; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity I 213f.

Photo: B. Bagatti, Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria, 1979 pl. 9,1.

WA

## XIX. Kh. el-Thahiriya

#### 2691. Byzantine bronze weight

Square bronze weight. Inscription in the center, surrounded by a wreath; a clover-like symbol in each corner.

Meas.: 3.5x3.4, th 0.4 cm; wt (after cleaning) 22.75 g.

Findspot: "Excavations at Khirbat el-Thahiriya ... exposed a complex consisting of a large building, with an oil press to its northwest and an irrigation system to its west, and a refuse heap and a plastered surface" (Kogan-Zehavi - Hadad 118\*). For the building the excavators identified three phases, the first dating to the Byzantine period (5 to mid-7 c.), the second to the Umayyad period (650-750 AD) and the third to the Abbasid period (between 750 and the 10 c. AD). The weight was found in Room 8 of the building at Locus 384 in the filling of the lime floor dated to the Umayyad period alongside two coins dated to 644-648 AD (Kogan-Zehavi - Hadad 85, 97 and cf. the floor plan ibid.).

ΓΟΑ

(οὐγκία) α'

One ounce.



fig. 2691

Bibl.: E. Kogan-Zehavi - S. Hadad, Atiqot 71, 2012, 81-112 at 85f., 97f. (Hebr.), 118\*-20\* at 118\* (ES) (ed. pr.).

Photo: E. Kogan-Zehavi - S. Hadad, Atiqot 71, 2012, 98 pl. 20 no. 52.

PW

# XX. Kh. el-Qubeibe

### 2692. Greek funerary inscription of Annas

Findspot: Above the entrance to a burial cave situated between Ben Shemen and Deir Abu Sallameh.

## ΑΝΝΑΣΘΥΓΑΤ[..] ΜΑΘΙΘΙΑΒΙΣΑΡΗΝΗ

"Αννας, θυγάτ[ηρ] | Μαθιθία, Βισαρηνή



fig. 2692

Annas, daughter of Mathithias, from Besara.

Comm.: 2 c. AD. – l.1:  $\theta \nu \gamma \alpha \tau [\rho \delta \varsigma]$  Avi-Yonah - Schwabe, Lifshitz; corr. J. Robert - L. Robert, BE. For another person from Beth Sheʿarim see Merkelbach - Stauber, Steinepigramme 4, no. 21/21/01.

Bibl.: M. Avi-Yonah - M. Schwabe, BIES 9, 1941/2, 30ff. (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). - BE 1946/7, 220; B. Lifshitz, ZDPV 68, 1962, 77; id., RB 72, 1965, 531.

Photo: M. Avi-Yonah - M. Schwabe, BIES 9, 1941/2 pl. 3 fig. 3.

WA

## XXI. Kh. el-'Auja el-Fauqa

#### 2693. Dedication to a church

Part of a mosaic made of yellow-brown tesserae; the inscription in black letters appears in a black, rectangular frame; the lines are divided by red lines. Meas.: h 56, w 126 cm (frame); h 51 cm, w 121 cm (inscription); letters 10-11.5 cm.

Findspot: Kh. el-'Auja el-Fauqa, on the northern bank of Naḥal Yitav: a "large rectangular compound of hewn fieldstones ... Rooms were discovered along the compound walls, and a Byzantine church found at the compound's center consisted of a narthex, prayer hall, and chancel. The church floor was paved in a multicolored mosaic" (Magen); the inscription was "adjacent to the prayer hall entrance." Pres. loc.: Good Samaritan Museum, Maʿale Adumim. Autopsy: 22 October 2013 (WE/DK), 14 April 2017 (WA).

(cross) ΑΓΙΕΜΟΥΑΝΑΣ ΤΑΣΙΕΥΛΟΓΉΣΟΝ ΤΗΝΠΗΓΗΝΤΑΥΤΉΝ ΚΕΔΟΣΥΠΟΜΟΝΗΝ (cross)



fig. 2693

ἄγιέ μου Άνασ|τάσι, εὐλόγησον | τὴν πηγὴν ταύτην | κὲ δὸς ὑπομονήν

My saint Anastasius, bless this fount (of baptismal water) and give (me? us?) perseverance!

Comm.: It is not completely clear whether this is the inscription mentioned by Landau (his description is not very accurate): "Two further inscriptions pertaining to churches are dedications ... the other – a very fragmentary one – from Ḥorvat Hoga, 15 km east of Gaza." – l.1: The mention of St. Anastasius does not help the dating (even a late date, relating the invocation to Anastasius the Persian, is not necessarily excluded). – ll.2f.: ἀναστάσι: elision of the last vowel. – l.3: Magen believes that  $\pi\eta\gamma\dot{\eta}$  refers to the spring of el-ʿAuja, "the largest in the vicinity of Jericho"; the translation tries to take the architectural setting into account, and ταύτην implies certainly something which is present and can be seen; for  $\pi\eta\gamma\dot{\eta}$  as "baptismal fount" see Lampe s.v. I c (cf. D. Feissel, Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du IIIe au VIe siècle, 1983, 97ff. no. 103 [Thessaloniki] for  $\pi\eta\gamma\dot{\eta}$  as a metaphor for a church). – l.4: For a prayer for ὑπομον $\dot{\eta}$ , see SEG 51, 1171 (Knossos);

cf., also, C. Wessel, Inscriptiones Graecae Christianae Veteres Occidentis, 1989, 150 no. 634 (Catania): ἡ τῶν πολῶν θλίψεων ὑπωμονὴ ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας κατεργάζετεπᾶσιν οὖν ἡμῖν τοῖς ποθοῦσιν ζωῆς αἰωνίου τυχῖν προσκίσθω καὶ ἡ τῆς ὑπομονῆς πρᾶξις, δι' ἦς κ(αὶ) πολλοὶ ζωῆς οὐρανίου ἔτυχον.

Bibl.: SEG 60, 1719 (ed. pr.). – Magen, Good Samaritan 218f. (ph.) (transl.); Madden, Corpus 23 no. 20. – Cf. Y. Landau, in: Acta of the Fifth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, 1971, 388.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

76

WA

## XXII. Lydda (Diospolis, Georgioupolis, mod. Lod)

#### Introduction

Lydda (Lod, Diospolis, Georgioupolis) was a settlement in a central position, commanding the main intersection of the roads from Caesarea and Jaffa to Jerusalem, and from Caesarea southward. Unlike many other settlements, Lydda was important as a Jewish centre where the institutions of Jewish leadership were active in one form or another in various periods. The importance of the Jewish settlement in Lydda is suggested in the many sources which deal with the activities of the Patriarch, the Sanhedrin and the leading sages in the region, and there is clear evidence of the decisive weight of the Jewish element among the population. The Talmudic sources provide evidence of the daily life of the city, which is different in kind from that available for most cities in the Roman period.<sup>1</sup>

Lydda appears in the list of Canaanite towns conquered by Thutmose II in the 15 c. BC.<sup>2</sup> In early texts it is otherwise mentioned only as a town in the genealogical list of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Chron 8,12). Lod occurs in the lists of the people returning from Babylonian exile: Ezra 2,33, Neh 7,37, and as one of the settlements of the tribe of Benjamin in Neh 11,35. The most important town at that time in the region was Gezer, so that it seems that Lydda came to prominence only when Gezer declined. It occurs again in 1 Macc where it is described as one of the districts which were assigned to Judaea instead of Samaria, as a result of the negotiations between Jonathan and Demetrius in 145 BC.<sup>3</sup>

In the Acts of the Apostles Peter is described as making his way gradually from Jerusalem to Lydda, and thence to Jaffa and Caesarea. $^4$ 

"Now as Peter went here and there among them all, he came down also to the saints that lived at Lydda. There he found a man named Aeneas, who had been bedridden for eight years and was paralyzed. And Peter said to him, 'Aeneas, Jesus Christ heals you; rise and make your bed'.

<sup>1</sup> The discussion of Lydda as a Jewish centre is an abbreviated and somewhat revised version of the article by A. Oppenheimer, HUCA 59, 1988, 115-36 (repr. in: id., Between Rome and Babylon, 2005, 47-65). See on this subject the monograph by J. Schwartz, Lod (Lydda), Israel, 1991. O. Waqrat, Lud, 1977, is unsatisfactory. References in TIR 171, s.v. Lod.

<sup>2</sup> J. Pritchard ed., Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament, 3rd ed. 1969, 242f.

<sup>3 1</sup> Macc 11,34: ἐστάκαμεν αὐτοῖς τά τε ὅρια τῆς Ιουδαίας καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς νομοὺς Αφαιρεμα καὶ Λυδδα καὶ Ραθαμιν· προσετέθησαν τῆ Ιουδαία ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρίτιδος καὶ πάντα τὰ συγκυροῦντα αὐτοῖς πᾶσιν τοῖς θυσιάζουσιν εἰς Ιεροσόλυμα ἀντὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν, ὧν ἐλάμβανεν ὁ βασιλεὺς παρ' αὐτῶν τὸ πρότερον κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν γενημάτων τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν ἀκροδρύων.

<sup>4</sup> Acts 9,32; 9,38; 10,23f.

And immediately he rose. And all the residents of Lydda and Sharon saw him, and they turned to the Lord."  $^5$ 

This passage is of interest for our purposes. Peter was active only among Jews at this stage.<sup>6</sup> It follows that Lydda was a significant Jewish centre at the time. Peter clearly chose the main centres of the various areas for a longer visit and this would apply therefore in the case of Lydda as well, a point reinforced by the expression "all the residents of Lydda and Sharon."

These conclusions follow also from the next episode in which the town is mentioned. In the year 67 AD, at the time of the First Revolt, Cestius Gallus undertook his campaign against Jerusalem. He set out for Antipatris, quickly overcame the Jews who had fortified themselves in adjacent Migdal Afeq, and continued from Antipatris to Lydda. Josephus continues as follows: "From Antipatris Cestius proceeded to Lydda and, on arrival, found the city deserted, for the entire population had gone up to Jerusalem for the Feast of Tabernacles. He killed fifty people whom he found, burned the town and marched on. Ascending through Beit Horon he encamped near a place named Gabao, fifty stades from Jerusalem."

Josephus' narrative testifies to the presence of a large number of Jews among the inhabitants of Lydda, even if we do not simply accept that the population consisted solely of Jews. His account, moreover, provides evidence of their piety, since they all left the city to celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles in Jerusalem, except for fifty people. This picture is the more striking when compared with the description of the Jews who fortified themselves in Migdal Afeq and apparently did not make the journey to celebrate the festival in Jerusalem.<sup>8</sup> The following source also shows the special attachment of the Jews of Lydda to the Temple: "The women of Lydda used to knead their dough and go up [to Jerusalem] to pray and return before it leavened."

<sup>5</sup> Acts 9,32-35.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Acts 10,28.

<sup>7</sup> Jos. BJ 2,515f. For Josephus on Lydda, Möller - Schmitt 131.

<sup>8</sup> S. Safrai, Die Wallfahrt im Zeitalter des Zweiten Tempels, 1981, 39f. Safrai 40 n.81, relying on Josephus, thinks that the residents of Antipatris and Lydda were Jews. A. Jones, on the other hand, believes that the residents of Antipatris were gentiles, partly because they did not make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, unlike the residents of Lydda. A.H.M. Jones, JRS 21, 1931, 80; id., The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces, 2nd ed. 1971, 275. S. Applebaum also discusses the Jewishness of the residents of Antipatris (but not Lod): Flavius Josephus: Historian of Eretz Israel in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods, 1982, 13-8 (Hebr.). The evidence does not justify any conclusion either way, except that the number of Jews was sufficient for them to have thought (wrongly) that they might have been able to put up effective resistance at Migdal Afeq.

<sup>9</sup> J.T. Ma'aser Sheni V 56a, trans. A. Cohen; Lamentations Rabbah III 9. This testimony is one of a series of accounts which describe the frequent pilgrimages to Jerusalem by the residents of various places.

Not only does Josephus' description of Cestius Gallus' campaign emphasize the Jewish character of Lydda, it also indicates Lydda's central position on the main road from Caesarea to Jerusalem. <sup>10</sup> Lydda's status and importance are already clear from a source referring to the 2 c. BC. A letter from Demetrius II to Lasthenes about Jonathan and the Jews confirms the transfer of the districts Aphaerema, Lydda and Ramathaim from Samaria to Judaea. <sup>11</sup>

Lydda now appears to have taken over from Gezer as the central town of the district. <sup>12</sup> Lydda gets special treatment in the agreement between Julius Caesar and Hyrcanus II. <sup>13</sup> It is mentioned as one of four cities whose citizens Cassius enslaved because of their failure to pay taxes in the year 43 BC. <sup>14</sup> Josephus describes the arrival of Ummidius Quadratus in "a village that was in size not inferior to a city" and relates that in 52 AD Quadratus chose Lydda as the place where he conducted trials of Jews and Samaritans. <sup>15</sup> This is additional evidence that Lydda was the most important centre of the region.

Once Cestius Gallus had left, the Zealots appointed commanders in various districts, among them John the Essene in the toparchy of Thamna, "with Lydda, Jaffa and Emmaus also under his charge." Apparently John the Essene was given the task of guarding the communications between Jerusalem and the sea. In this connection Lydda is important, situated as it is on the main road from Jaffa to Jerusalem. Once Vespasian had subjugated Galilee, he turned his attention to Judaea at the beginning of 68 AD. He followed the route from Caesarea to Antipatris and from there to the toparchy of Thamna, to Lydda and finally to Jamnia. This is the line of the main road from Caesarea southward.

On the *Tabula Peutingeriana* Luddis is depicted on the road leading from Caesarea to the southeast. From Lydda onward this road splits, one branch leading to Emmaus (Amavante) and the other back to the coast-road (see above). From all this

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Acts 9,32-35, cited above: Peter travelled from Jerusalem to Caesarea via Lydda and Iaffa.

<sup>11 1</sup> Macc 11,34; cf. Jos. AJ 13,127. For the identity of Aphaerema and Ramathaim and for a general treatment of the document see M. Stern, Ha-Teʻudot le-Mered ha-Hashmonaim, 2nd ed. 1972, 106-10 (Hebr.).

<sup>12</sup> On the position of Lydda: G. Beyer, ZDPV 56, 1933, 218-46. This paper sums up the evidence which refers to Lydda and attempts to establish the boundaries of the territory of the city. The conclusions are not acceptable because of the over-interpretation of Eusebius' Onomasticon. Also: F.-M. Abel, Géographie de la Paléstine 2, 3rd ed. 1967, 370; M. Avi-Yonah, The Holy Land, 2nd ed. 1977, 156-9; id., Gazetteer of Roman Palestine, 1976, 75; Z. Safrai, in: D. Grossman ed., Ben Yarkon va-Ayalon, 1983, 53-6 (Hebr.).

<sup>13</sup> Jos. AJ 14,208. According to Schalit the agreement refers not only to Lydda, but to the same three districts which were mentioned in the letter of Demetrius II (above): A. Schalit, König Herodes, 1969, Anhang 6, 756-9.

<sup>14</sup> Jos. AJ 14,275.

<sup>15</sup> Jos. AJ 20,130; cf. BJ 2,241-245.

<sup>16</sup> Jos. BJ 2,567.

<sup>17</sup> Jos. BJ 4,443-444.

it is clear that Lydda's importance is derived at least partly from the fact that it was situated on the main crossroads commanding the approaches from Caesarea and Jaffa to Jerusalem, and from Caesarea to the south.<sup>18</sup>

A significant change in Lydda's position occurred when Septimius Severus awarded it city status and Lydda was renamed Diospolis. As we can learn from the city coins, this change occurred in the year 199/200. Beit Guvrin became Eleutheropolis at the same time. The earliest literary source which uses the name Diospolis for Lydda is the *Itinerarium Antonini*. Here Lydda is represented as a city in Judaea situated at the spot where the road from Caesarea divides, one branch leading to Jamnia on the coast road, and the other to Eleutheropolis. From Eusebius' *Onomasticon* it appears that the former toparchy of Thamna was included in the territory of Lydda. This change probably dates from the time when Lydda received city status. Lydda is also mentioned in the description by the Pilgrim from Bordeaux of the journey he made in AD 333. Here the city is given its former name – Lidda. 22

### Lydda (Lod) in the Talmudic Literature

A considerable number of sources provide evidence about the Jewish community in Lydda (Lod) in the period of the Mishnah and Talmud, giving information about its institutions as well as its composition and way of life.<sup>23</sup> There were many public institutions in Lod as well as schools, study-houses and synagogues.<sup>24</sup> We also hear of sages meeting in the houses of merchants (see below) while Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus sat in a "bakers' stall."<sup>25</sup>

A few Talmudic sources mention "merchants of Lod." In one case, because of the opposition of these merchants, Rabbi Tarfon did not change the original rule

<sup>18</sup> For Lydda's position see also Josephus' list of toparchiai, BJ 3,55, and Plin. nat. 5,15,70.

<sup>19</sup> BMC Palestine, XXIII and 43; J. Hasebroek, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Septimius Severus, 1921, 120; A. Kindler - A. Stein, A Bibliography of the City Coinage of Palestine: From the 2nd Century B.C. to the 3rd Century A.D., 1987, 96-9. Schwartz (n.1) erroneously states that the city received colonial status.

<sup>20</sup> Itinerarium Antonini 150, 199 (ed. Cuntz, Itineraria Romana, pp. 21 and 27); M. Stern, Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism 2 nos. 470a, 471a, 488-490. Cf. the Tabula Peutingeriana.

<sup>21</sup> Eus. Onom. 24,4: s.v. Αδδαρά: ... ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη κώμη ὁρίου Διοσπόλεως περὶ τὴν Θαμνιτικὴν οὕτω καλουμένην χώραν ἀπὸ Θαμνὰ κώμης.

<sup>22</sup> Itinerarium Burdigalense 600 (ed. Cuntz, Itineraria Romana, 98): "civitas Lidda."

<sup>23</sup> Extensively discussed by Schwartz (n.1), ch. 8 and 9.

<sup>24</sup> For the synagogues at Lod see Tos. Ahilot IV 2; J.T. Berakhot I 3a; B.T. Nazir 52a and at a later date Leviticus Rabbah XXXV (ed. Margulies, pp. 830f.).

<sup>25</sup> Tos. Yadayim II 16. Compare for the time of Rabbi Judah HaNasi, sages "who spent the Sabbath in the stall of Pazzi in Lydda" (Tos. Ahilot XVIII 18).

which the sages instituted concerning the legal limits of "fraud." <sup>26</sup> We are also told the names of some men of property living in Lod who had daily dealings with the sages, either because sages visited their houses and stayed in their courtyards or because they gathered in their attics for discussions. <sup>27</sup>

The sources combine to give an impression of the central position and vitality of Lod in the period after the destruction of the Second Temple. Obviously the transmission to posterity of one particular episode or another is to some extent accidental, but the quantity of evidence regarding Lod, in comparison with the dearth of information of this sort referring to other places, including Yavneh, is significant. There are, for instance, a considerable number of people other than sages from Lod who are mentioned by name, with various traditions associated with them.<sup>28</sup> Lod was thus a Jewish town of central importance both before and after the destruction of the Temple.

After the destruction of the Temple the Jewish leadership passed into the hands of the sages. Most scholars agree that the main Jewish leadership institutions were located in Yavneh (Jamnia) during the period between the First Revolt and the Bar Kochba revolt, at least until the end of Trajan's reign. It seems, however, that Yavneh was not the only centre for the whole of that period, and that Lod also played a central role, while other sages were based in the peripheral communities.

The evidence which carries the greatest weight in demonstrating Lod's central role in the Yavneh Period is to be found in the texts which mention the convening of institutions of the leadership in Lod. The case described in Tosefta Mikva'ot, which deals with halakhic problems concerning purity and impurity, is the most notable: "This was a case, and Rabbi Yose the Galilean declared it clean and Rabbi 'Aqiva declared it unclean. Rabbi Tarfon supported Rabbi Yose the Galilean. Rabbi Simeon ben Nanos supported Rabbi 'Aqiva ... This was a case, and thirty-two elders voted in Lod and declared it clean." The sages who appear in this source are well known as sages active in Lod. The number of sages who were convened is important, as it was unusual for so many members of the leadership institutions to participate in meetings. Throughout the period between the destruction of the Temple and the Bar Kochba revolt Lod was the home of several sages of central importance who attracted pupils to study with them.

<sup>26</sup> M. Bava Metzi'a IV 3.

<sup>27</sup> See e.g. Boethus ben Zonin (Tos. Pesachim X 12, etc.); Bet Geludah (Tos. 'Eruvin IX 2), Bet Nitza (Tos. Shabbat II 5, etc.), Bet Aris (Sifre Deuteronomy XLI, ed. Finkelstein, p. 85, etc.).

<sup>28</sup> Disqos (Tos. Miqva'ot I 17 and parallels); Ben Zaza (B.T. Rosh ha-Shanah 25a) whose family, as can be deduced from the context in which he is mentioned, was of no importance.

<sup>29</sup> Tos. Miqva'ot VII 11, trans. J. Neusner. Cf. "Thirty eight Elders in the vineyard at Yavneh" (Sifre Numbers CXXIV [ed. Horovitz, p. 158]). Cf. also Tos. Miqva'ot VII 10; J.T. Betzah III 62a.

Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, one of the most important sages of the generation of Rabban Gamaliel of Yavneh, lived in Lod. He was a man of property and owned land in the region.<sup>30</sup> Rabbi Eliezer presided over a local study-house: "Our Rabbis taught: 'Justice, justice shalt thou pursue.' (Deut 16,20) [This means:] follow the scholars to their academies, e.g. Rabbi Eliezer to Lod." There are several traditions about Rabbi Tarfon's various halakhic rulings in Lod as well as discussions and fundamental decisions in which he was involved. <sup>32</sup> Rabbi Tarfon's position was especially important: not only did he excel in wisdom, he was also wealthy and belonged to a prominent family.

Even the presence of Rabban Gamaliel in Lod is recorded. He was head of the leadership institutions for part of the Yavneh Period and undoubtedly the most prominent Jewish leader of the time, for Jews and Romans alike. The fact that Rabban Gamaliel of Yavneh is encountered outside Yavneh is not in itself remarkable, but some of the sources which deal with his presence in Lod indicate that he had a special relationship with the town. In one case at least Rabban Gamaliel celebrated the festival of Passover in Lod.<sup>33</sup> It is significant that this was Lod and not Yavneh, since the sessions of the leadership institutions used to take place on the three Pilgrim Festivals.<sup>34</sup>

Various scholars have discussed a number of the sources reasoned above. Some of them agree in siting leadership institutions in Lod during some part of the Yavneh Period.<sup>35</sup> It would seem that the combined evidence of the sources which deal with Lod in the period between the Great Revolt and the revolt of Bar Kochba shows that Lod's Jewish population was larger than that of Yavneh.<sup>36</sup>

While there is evidence of continuity of settlement after this period, there is no further evidence that Lod served as a centre of Torah and leadership until the days of Rabbi Judah HaNasi (end of 2 c. - early 3 c. AD).<sup>37</sup> In this period city status was also conferred upon Lod, as noted above. Before Rabbi Judah HaNasi's time the ceremonies of the sanctification of the new moon and intercalation of the year were

<sup>30 &</sup>quot;Rabbi Eliezer had a vineyard east of Lod on the side of Kefar Tavi" (Tos. Maʻaser Sheni V 16; B.T. Betzah 5a; B.T. Rosh haShanah 31b).

<sup>31</sup> B.T. Sanhedrin 32b.

<sup>32</sup> See e.g. M.Ta'anit III 9 and M.Bava Metzi'a IV 3 cited above.

<sup>33</sup> Tos. Pesachim X 12.

<sup>34</sup> See G. Alon, The Jews in their Land and in the Talmudic Age, vol. 1, 1980, 231. Note Tos. Hullin III 10; Tos. Parah VII 4; Tos. Miqva'ot IV 6.

<sup>35</sup> A. Büchler, Die Priester und der Cultus im letzten Jahrzehnt des jerusalemischen Tempels, 1895, 23-35; I. Halevy, Dorot haRishonim, Part 1, vol. 5, 1966, 355-72; S. Klein, Eretz Yehudah, 1939, 154-61; Alon (n.34), vol. 2, 1984, 464f.; Safrai (n.12) 56f. (Hebr.); see also Schwartz (n.1) 79ff.

<sup>36</sup> For the Jewish population of Lod in the Yavneh period, M. Yudelevitz, 'Ha'Ir Lod', Sinai 11, 1942/3, 32-40, 254-9, 313-7 (Hebr.); A. Büchler, The Economic Conditions in Judaea after the Destruction of the Second Temple, 1912, 18ff. (repr. in: J. Agus ed., The Foundations of Jewish Life, 1973).

<sup>37</sup> See Z. Safrai, in: A. Oppenheimer - U. Rappaport eds., Mered Bar-Kokhva - Mehqarim Hadashim, 1984, 182-214 (Hebr.).

performed wherever the Sanhedrin resided, with the Patriarch as ultimate arbiter. But there are some sources from this time which refer to these ceremonies taking place in and around Lod:

"Rabbi Eliezer related the following in the name of Rabbi Haninah: 'Once a caravan of twenty-four from the household of Rabbi [Judah HaNasi] came to Lod to intercalate the year. The evil eye fell on them and they all died at the same time. From then they removed [the ceremony of the intercalation] from Judaea and established it in Galilee. They even considered abolishing the watchword.' Rabbi Simon said to them: 'Should we not even leave a memory of it in Judaea?' And indeed we find that they sanctified the year in Baʿalat ... Rabbi Jeremiah raised the question before Rabbi Zeʾira. 'But is not Lod itself in the territory of Judaea?' He agreed. 'So why do they not intercalate [the year] there?' He told him that the people there are arrogant and ignorant of Torah. He turned round and saw Rabbi Aha and Rabbi Judah bar Pazzi. He said to him: 'Because of you I have treated rabbis contemptuously'." 38

This source describes the ceremony of the intercalation of the year taking place in Lod in the days of Rabbi Judah HaNasi<sup>39</sup> and testifies to the proclamation of the month in Lod. It also tells us of the transfer of the establishment of the calendar away from Lod, the reinstatement of the intercalation of the year in Galilee and of the proclamation of the month in Baʿalat, or, according to other sources, in ʿEn Tav which was not far from Lod.<sup>40</sup>

At the beginning of the period of the Amora'im (end of the first quarter of the 3 c.) the sages from the South consolidated their power. The separation of Patriarchate and Sanhedrin enabled local study houses to grow in strength, and in this context Lod had a special status.<sup>41</sup> This is made explicit in references to the teachings of the sages from the South who were associated with the study house at Lod. We find expressions like "Elders of the South" or "as the Southerners say" as well as the names of individual sages. Thus B.T. Zevahim contains a whole discussion by the "Elders of the South" on the subjects of purity and sacrifices, matters which are central to the world of thought of the sages.<sup>42</sup>

The Jewish character of Lod is evident throughout the period of the Amora'im. There is evidence for this in an incident referred to by Eusebius in *The Martyrs of Palestine*, where he discusses a trial of Christians which took place in a certain city

<sup>38</sup> J.T. Sanhedrin I 18c-d. For an explanation of the passage see S. Safrai, Tarbiz 35, 1966, 27-38 (Hebr.).

<sup>39</sup> Another testimony to the intercalation of the year in Lod in the same period is the following: "Our Rabbis taught that once Rabbi Simai and Rabbi Tzadoq were on their way to Lod to intercalate the year and spent the Sabbath in Ono" (B.T. Hullin 56b).

<sup>40 &</sup>quot;Rabbi thereupon said to R. Hiyya: Go to En Tab ['En Tav] and sanctify the month and send me the watchword 'David king of Israel is alive and vigorous'." (B.T. Rosh haShanah 25a, trans. Soncino).

<sup>41</sup> On the separation of the Patriarchate and the Sanhedrin, G. Alon, Meqarim beToledot Yisrael II, 1958, 15-57 (Hebr.), with bibliography; id. (n.34), vol. 2, 725ff.; A. Oppenheimer, Cathedra 8, 1978, 80-9 (Hebr.).

<sup>42</sup> B.T. Zevahim 22b-23a. Cf. Schwartz (n.1) 103ff.

in the presence of Jews. In the Greek version the name of the city is not mentioned, whereas in the Syriac version it is specified as follows: "There is in the Land of Palestine a large town with a lot of people in it and all its inhabitants are Jews and in the Aramaic language it is called Lod and in Greek it is called Diocaesarea." Diocaesarea is Sepphoris in Galilee, but Cureton, who edited *The Martyrs of Palestine*, together with Lieberman and others, prefer the reading Lydda, on the assumption that in the Greek "Diocaesarea" is an error for "Diospolis" (Lydda). In the subsequent period the importance of the study house at Lod presumably declined, as happened in other centres, while there is good evidence of the growth of Christianity. 45

In conclusion, we can view Lydda as a city where there was an independent centre of instruction and leadership and which was a place of great importance for almost the full duration of the Roman period. This centre achieved its first full flowering at the time between the First Revolt and the Bar Kochba revolt and a second one in the days of Rabbi Judah HaNasi and the beginning of the period of the Amora'im. It would appear that the importance and stability of the Jewish settlement in Lydda were one of the consequences of the city's location at a main crossroads, of its economic importance derived from its proximity to the heart of a flourishing agricultural region, and the fact that it was a centre for the textile industry.

Several other sources testify to the continued importance of Lydda in the 4 c. The *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium* 31 (ed. Rougé) lists it, together with Sarepta in Lebanon, Caesarea and Neapolis, as a place which exported excellent purple, and together with others, as famous for its fertility in corn, vine and olive. Jerome says: "I have heard the following story, told at Lydda by one of the Jews, one of their learned men, called also 'Deuterotes' [i.e. Tanna]." Jerome came to Palestine in 385.<sup>46</sup>

In AD 415 fourteen bishops convened a synod against Pelagius at Lydda.  $^{47}$  In the Byzantine period Lydda came to be associated with the martyrdom of St. George.  $^{48}$  In the list of Georgius Cyprius the town is called "Diospolis or Georgioupolis,"  $^{49}$ 

<sup>43</sup> W. Cureton ed., History of the Martyrs in Palestine by Eusebius Bishop of Caesarea, 1861, XIX, 27, 65.

<sup>44</sup> S. Lieberman, Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves 7, 1939-1944, 411f., with a bibliographical survey.

<sup>45</sup> Schwartz (n.1) 125-9.

<sup>46</sup> Hier. in Abacuc 1,2 (CCSL 76 A, p. 610). Lydda is also one of the stations in the journey of Paula, Hier. epist. CVIII (PL XXII 882f.).

<sup>47</sup> Aug. adv. Julian. 1,5,19 (PL XLIV 652f.); de gestis Pelagii, c. 35,62 (PL XLIV 355).

<sup>48</sup> Theodosius, de Terra Sancta XXIV (Itinera Hierosolymitana, ed. Tobler - Molinier, p. 71). For further literature on St. George, see The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 2nd ed. 1978, 557.

<sup>49</sup> Georgius Cyprius, Descriptio Orbis Romani, 1001 (ed. Gelzer, p. 51). Hierocles, Synecdemus 718,4 (ed. Burckhardt, p. 41; ed. Parthey, p. 43) and the Notitiae Episcopatuum

which probably indicates that the cult of St. George was fully established by the reign of Justinian. <sup>50</sup> On the Madaba map Lydda appears as a town with two churches and a colonnaded street. In the account of the pilgrim from Placentia (about 570) there is a confused reference to Diospolis as the burial place of St. George. <sup>51</sup> The first descriptions of the church are in eighth-century sources: <sup>52</sup>

"The church is very large and in its chancel lies the torturer's wheel. And on the right side of the nave stands a column to which the wheel is tied. On the day of his memory blood flows for three hours. In the same column there is a crack in the marble which gives signs; if you tell the truth you can go through without hindrance, and without difficulty, but if you do not tell the truth you cannot go through." <sup>53</sup>

The foundation of Ramle as provincial capital in AD 715-717, 3 km from Lydda, led to the decline of the latter as a local centre. Shortly before the Crusaders arrived, the Muslims razed the church which was then rebuilt.<sup>54</sup>

#### Archaeological Remains

Lydda was well known from historical sources and attracted the interest of Biblical scholars at an early stage. Nevertheless the town has not been systematically explored. The available information derives from the description of nineteenth-century scholars and occasional rescue excavations carried out<sup>55</sup> during the last fifty years.

Almost all descriptions of the antiquities of Lydda concentrate on the churches, the Byzantine and Crusader churches of Saint George, and on the mosque, which seems to have been the centre of the town for a long time. One of the earliest de-

<sup>5,83 (</sup>ed. Parthey, p. 143) call it only Diospolis. Nilus, Doxapatrius 143 (ed. Parthey, p. 281) again gives the alternative "Georgioupolis." The two names are used again in Hugeburc, Life of Willibald 25 (AD 725; ed. Tobler - Molinier, p. 268): *et venit in locum Diospolim ad sanctum Georgium*.

<sup>50</sup> For the date of the work of Georgius Cyprius: Jones, Cities (n.8) 515f.

<sup>51</sup> Antoninus Placentinus 25 (ed. Geyer, CSEL 175, p. 176): Et est ad via, quae respicit ad occidentem, quae descendit [from Jerusalem] ad Iopen et Caesarea Palestine vel Diaspoli civitatem, quae antiquitus dicitur Azotus, in qua requiescit sanctus Georgius martyr.

<sup>52</sup> Epiphanius Monachus 5 (ed. H. Donner, ZDPV 87, 1971, 72). The date of this section is established by the reference to Ramle, which was founded AD 715-7.

<sup>53</sup> Trans. J. Wilkinson, Jerusalem Pilgrims, 1977, 119. The church is also mentioned in the Life of Willibald (ed. O. Holder-Egger, Monumenta Germaniae Historica XV 1, 1887, p. 99 with note).

<sup>54</sup> William of Tyre VII 22.

<sup>55</sup> Aerial photographs of Lod and vicinity: B. Kedar, Looking Twice at the Land of Israel: Aerial Photographs of 1917-1918 and 1987-91, 1991, 80f. (Hebr.); Schwartz (n.1), ch. 2: "The Morphology of Ancient Lod."

scriptions is by E. Robinson, who gives the size of the extant walls of the Crusader church. Robinson observed that the town "followed very much the fortunes of the latter place [i.e. Ramleh] during the wars of the crusades." <sup>56</sup>

V. Guérin also mentions the ruins of the Crusader church and noticed that Byzantine elements were re-used when the church was converted into a mosque: "j'y ai observé deux piliers, flanqués chacun de deux colonnes monolithes de marbre, à chapiteau corinthien, qui proviennent probablement de la basilique byzantine; car les colonnes de l'église du moyen âge, à en juger du moins par celles du chœur, étaient en pierre et formées de tambours cylindriques superposés."<sup>57</sup>

C. Wilson mentions seeing catacombs with vaulted roofs and semi-circular arches without the use of mortar.<sup>58</sup> He saw an inscription which mentions the children of Alcius, a name familiar from the boundary inscriptions at Gezer (for the inscription, below, no. 2698; boundary inscriptions of Gezer: nos. 2764-2776). A plan of the church and its vicinity is given in Conder - Kitchener, SWP 2 Samaria 267.

C. Clermont-Ganneau studied the remains at Lydda in detail.<sup>59</sup> His plan (facing p. 104) of the church correctly distinguishes three phases of construction, Byzantine, Crusader and Muslim. Details drawn by him seem to derive from the Crusader church. D. Pringle published a new plan of the Crusader and Byzantine remains.<sup>60</sup>

The excavations carried out in Lydda have been mainly salvage digs. J. Ory visited the site on behalf of the Department of Antiquities. On 4 May 1929 he mentioned a limestone sarcophagus found near the southern edge of the town. On 26 October 1939 he reported on another sarcophagus and a stone slab bearing a Greek inscription (below, no. 2696) which were found in the northern part of the town kept by one of the residents on his property. A third sarcophagus was seen by him in the area east of the town's police station.

Recent years have contributed very little to our information about the city. A funerary cave was cleared near the eastern edge of the town on the Jerusalem road, not far from Ben Shemen. It is a cave with *loculi* and a hole for the collection of bones, typical of the end of the Second Temple Period. Several ossuaries were found, one bearing a Hebrew inscription (above, no. 2686). These and the pottery ("Herodian" lamps) also date the tomb to this period.<sup>61</sup> A rescue excavation was also carried out in an underground cistern in the courtyard of the mosque south of St. George.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>56</sup> E. Robinson - E. Smith, Biblical Researches in Palestine and in the Adjacent Regions 2, 1856, 247.

<sup>57</sup> Guérin, Judée 1, 322-34, the citation from p. 324.

<sup>58</sup> C. Wilson, Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem, 1865 (repr. 1980), 19.

<sup>59</sup> Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 98-118, 342-5.

<sup>60</sup> D. Pringle, in: J. Folda ed., Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century, 1982, 27 no. 11 fig. 1,11 and pl. 1,3b, 1,4b.

<sup>61</sup> HA 57/8, 1976, 25 (Hebr.); see also: Y. Porath, Atiqot 10, 1990, 161-4 (Hebr.), 37\* (ES).

<sup>62</sup> HA 22/3, 1967, 20f. (Hebr.).

J. Kaplan excavated remains mainly from the Early Bronze Age I.<sup>63</sup> In 1981 about 50 graves of the Roman period were excavated at the southwestern edge of the town.<sup>64</sup> Nearby were found the remains of a Byzantine house, possibly a bath house. Rescue excavations in the Old City uncovered part of a mosaic floor and a wall,<sup>65</sup> as well as at the northern edge of the town they brought to light walls and Byzantine sherds.<sup>66</sup> In the eastern quarter of modern Lod, Neve Yereq, further rescue excavations were carried out.<sup>67</sup> Material was found from the Early Islamic down to the Neolithic period. Most of the material was pottery, and few architectural remains were found. Only the Byzantine period had substantial architectural remains: walls of three buildings (Area I) along a narrow street, containing a kitchen, some agricultural installations and a larger building (Area II) with elaborate mosaic pavements.<sup>68</sup> More recently a Byzantine building of the fifth and sixth centuries was excavated in the same quarter.<sup>69</sup> It was erected on a fill containing EB I and prehistoric material. To the Northeast of this building floors of a house of the Persian period were excavated.

#### **Summary**

- (1) *EB I:* The site was occupied in this period and abandoned thereafter. It remained unoccupied during the Late Bronze and Iron Ages and was not resettled until the reign of Josiah. Although Lydda is mentioned as one of the places reoccupied after the return from Babylonian exile no remains from this period have been published.
- (2) *Persian Period*: Recently the remains of a house of this period were excavated.
- (3) *Herodian-Early Roman Period:* In spite of the importance of the place in this period as attested in literary sources the archaeological material is scanty, represented mainly by a number of burial caves with ossuaries, pottery and coinage of the period.
- (4) Roman Period: This period is represented only by the city-coinage which was struck from 199/200 onward.

<sup>63</sup> J. Kaplan, EAEHL 3, 1976, 753f., s.v. Lod. The entry discusses mainly Kaplan's own excavations.

<sup>64</sup> HA 80/1, 1982, 17f. (Hebr.).

<sup>65</sup> HA 96, 1991, 16f. (Hebr.).

<sup>66</sup> HA 96, 1991, 43 (Hebr.).

<sup>67</sup> HA 100, 1993, 46ff. (Hebr.).

<sup>68</sup> Ibid. fig. 53 and p. VI.

<sup>69</sup> HA 101/2, 1994, 74 (Hebr.).

(5) *Byzantine Period:* The extant remains do not reflect the importance of the town as attested in the literary sources which describe it as a centre of the ecclesiastical administration and a focus for pilgrimage. The outstanding monument was the Church of St. George (see above). Other finds include the remains excavated in Neve Yereq as well as burial caves, sarcophagi and a number of inscriptions.

#### Conclusion

As with so many other urban centres there is an obvious discrepancy between the relative wealth of information in literary sources and the paucity of the surviving archaeological material.

ΒI

## **Inscriptions**

#### 2694. Dedication or renovation of a church by Bishop Dionysius

Mosaic, tabula ansata.

Meas.: h 41 (reconstructed), w 150 cm (with ansae; 100 cm without ansae); letters 5.5-6 cm.

Findspot: In the vicinity of the limestone quarry of the Nesher cement factory, 5 km to the south of Lod, a small site was excavated, "on the very last ridge of the low hills overlooking the coastal plain, facing west towards Ramla" (Zelinger - Di Segni). The inscription is part of the mosaic carpet of the nave of a proto-Byzantine basilica; at the eastern side of the nave, in the vicinity of the bema.

ΚΑΙΤΑΥΤΗΝΤΗΝΕΚ ΛΗΣΙΑΝΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟ ΣΟΕΔΕΣΙΜΩΤΑΤΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ+[--] [--]



fig. 2694.1

καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐκ|λησίαν Διονύσιο|ς ὁ ἐδεσιμώτατος | ἐπίσκοπος +[--|--]

Dionysius, most reverend Bishop (of ...?) (built? renovated?) this church, too.

Comm.: l.1: A beginning with καί usually continues the text of another inscription nearby, but this would be impossible here if we follow the restoration of the editors in l.4. – l.3: See CIIP III 2496 on αἰδεσιμώτατος, which is usually used for a public of-

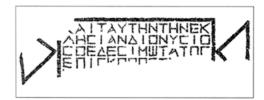


fig. 2694.2

ficial far below the bishop in rank, but ed. pr. n.9 quotes some literary examples and refers to Feissel, Chroniques 182 no. 573 for 4 c. epigraphical examples from Asia Minor. In 381, a Bishop Dionysius of Lydda participated in the council of Constantinople (Turner); a bit later he is attested by Jerome, ep. 92, 94. Jerome, PL 23,393f. calls him a *confessor et episcopus*. Di Segni argues that he must have suffered under the Arian emperor, Valens, hence must have been bishop by 378 at the latest. – l.4: The first letter after the title Bishop has an upper horizontal bar, indicating, e.g. an *epsilon*, *omicron*, sigma;  $\mathring{\epsilon}[\pi ol\eta \sigma \epsilon v]$ ,  $\mathring{\epsilon}[\kappa \tau \iota \sigma \epsilon v]$  vel sim., Di Segni; a further qualification of the bishop,  $\mathring{\epsilon}\pi \iota \sigma \kappa \sigma \sigma \sigma \tau [o\tilde{v}]$ ,  $\tau [\tilde{\eta} \varsigma]$  etc. and a verb in l.5 does not seem impossible.

Bibl.: Y. Zelinger - L. Di Segni, SBF 56, 2006, 462-5 (ed. pr.). – AE 2006, 1618; SEG 56, 1902. - Cf. C. Turner, Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima II 1939, 436f.; BE 2008, 563; Madden, Corpus 100 no. 136.

Photo: Y. Zelinger - L. Di Segni, SBF 56, 2006, pl. 24,6 (ph.), 463 fig. 2 (dr.).

WA

#### 2695. Greek donors' inscription with late letters

On the shaft of a marble column, just below the Corinthian capital (point A in the plan provided by Clermont-Ganneau). The column is built into one of the square pillars of the mosque, which Clermont-Ganneau believed was still in situ, since the mosque, according to him, incorporated the remains of a Byzantine church. Part of the inscription was concealed, but Clermont-Ganneau could dismantle the pillar for a better study and the obtaining of a squeeze. Numerous adornments.

(cross) ΟΙΜΕΝΠΡΟ ΕΔΡΕΥΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΑΣΤΕΟΣΠΑΛΑΙ ΤΟΥΧΡΙΣΤΟΛΑΜ ΠΟΥΤΟΥΔΕΣΕΜΝΟ ΠΟΙΜΕΝΕΣ ΚΑΛΛΟΠΙΣΑΝΤΕΣ +ΟΝΔΕΤΟΝΛΑΜ [.]ΡΟΝΔΟΜΟΝ



fig. 2695

οί μὲν προ|εδρεύσαντες | ἄστεος πάλαι | τοῦ χριστολαμ|π<ρ>οῦ τοῦ δὲ σεμνο|ποίμενες, | καλλοπίσαντες | τόνδε τὸν λαμ|[π]ρὸν δόμον

The worshipful pastors who sit at the head of this city, for long time past illuminated by Christ (of this old and illustrious Christian city), having adorned this illustrious temple (Clermont-Ganneau).

Comm.: Very late letters. Clermont-Ganneau wonders whether the inscription was continued either on this pillar or on another one, but a sequel is not really necessary. – ll.1f.: προεδρεύω, used of civic officials: e.g. IGLS 13,1, 9054f., of church-officials, esp. bishops: Lampe s.v. 1, 2; προεδρία of a presbyter's office, Lampe s.v. B 1.

οί προεδρεύσαντες does not necessarily stand here for a council, but can be understood as the members of a series in time (πάλαι), i.e. all the former bishops or priests of the city. – l.3: ἄστυ is used because of its poetic value. – ll.4ff.: χριστολαμπρός, χριστολαμπής, σεμνοποίμην are not in LSJ, Lampe, Sophocles, nor, it seems, in the TLG (but there is θεολαμπής in very late Greek). Both words are regularly formed; σεμνοποίμην strengthens the interpretation of the προεδρεύσαντες as clerics. – l.7: καλλωπίζω, "moins fréquent dans les dédicaces que les synonymes καλλιεργέω ου φιλοκαλέω" (Feissel, Chroniques 251), is used of all kinds of adornments, including mosaic floors. – l.9: δόμος, i.e. church.

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 107f. (ed. pr.). – Ovadiah, Corpus 130f. no. 134; B. Bagatti, Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria, 1979, 162; id., Samaria 196 fig. 64.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 107 (dr.).

WA

#### 2696. Greek funerary inscription

Cippus made of limestone.

Meas.: h 98, w 42, d 20-24 cm; space below last line 58 cm; letters 4.6-6 cm.

Findspot: "Found together with a stone sarcophagus, during construction of a row of shops in the property of Haj 'Abd el-Hamid Mahmud Darwish in Hareb esh-Shemaliye, E. of the aerodrome road, on N. side of Lydda town: i.e. on N.W. end of the mound of ancient Lydda=(?) its necropolis" (archive card, Rockefeller Museum).

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. 1940-291. Autopsy: 21 October 2013 (WE/DK).

ΟΥΤ[.]ΣΟ ΤΟΠΟΣΙΗ ΤΡΟΘΙΝΟΥ ΦΡΟΝΤΙΣ ΤΟΥΟΡ ΦΑΝΩΝ

οὖτ[ο]ς ὁ | τόπος Ἰη|τρο Θίνου (?), | φροντισ|τοῦ ὀρ|φανῶν

This (is) the place of Ietro Thinu (?), curator of the orphans.



fig. 2696

Comm.: 1.1: Not read by Ben-Zevi; the photographs today only show omicron and perhaps upsilon, and perhaps part of an omicron at the end of the line. – ll.2f.: These two lines comprise the greatest problem in the inscription. Ben-Zevi read τόπος H|TPΩNO[ $\Upsilon$ ] in 1940 and H|TPΩNOI $\Upsilon$ I in 1970; Schwabe, Lifshitz read 'In| $\tau$ ρο Θίνου: WE/DK read I/TPOOINO, which is supported by the photographs (one can see, perhaps, part of an oblique upper left hasta, i.e. perhaps part of an upsilon, at the very end of l.3). Schwabe and Lifshitz thought of Ίητρο as Jethro and gave the following parallels: Ίεθερ (Judges 8,20; 1 Chron 2,32; 4,17), Ίεθηρ (1 Chron 7,38), 'Ιεθραν (Gen 36,26; 1 Chron 1,41), 'Ιοθορ (Ex 3,1; 4,18; 2 Kings 17,25), but Ilan, Lexicon II 140 is not convinced: "this is not how it is transliterated in LXX, or in other Greek translations, and it was not a common name Jews used, so it is hard to decide whether the editor's suggestion is correct." On Θῖνος, -ᾶς Lifshitz refers to Θεέννας (CIIP I 427) and derives it from the Hebrew word for fig (giving parallels of other personal names deriving from fruits); more interesting is perhaps the Θινῶ in Schwabe - Lifshitz, Beth She'arim II 130, which the editors took as female, but Ilan, Lexicon II 404 as male. Faced with this predicament the Roberts in BE asked themselves: "faut-il exclure absolument le nom du médecin sous sa forme ionienne?" But the only answer to this seems to be: yes – even if the question shows that Lifshitz's explanation of the name is far from convincing. Ἰητροθίνου(?) SEG. This solution has in its favor the fact that we may know some other composite names with -θινο-, e.g. SEG 7, 550 (Dura): μνησθή Μανέος Λυσ[ίου] 'Ραθίνου (Persian!); IGLS 5, 2695 (Emesene): υείοὶ Αμμορθιν[ου](?); Θιναβδελλα, Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 54; Μαρθινη, Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia I a, 298, 313. – ll.4ff.: "Les sources hébraiques nous apprennent que c'était le tribunal (juif) qui nommait les curateurs d'orphelins" (Lifshitz). On the strength of the name Ben-Zevi considered this a Samaritan inscription, and it is evidently with the same argument that Lifshitz considers it to be Iewish.

It is, of course, much more probable, that this is a Christian text, because the care for orphans tends to appear mostly in texts dating from the 4 c. onwards (cf. e.g. CIIP II 1168 with comm.); since the discussion of the names has proved inconclusive, the argument for this text to be Jewish or Samaritan is at best inconclusive too.

Bibl.: Y. Ben-Zevi, BIES 8, 1940, 18ff., pl. 2,1 (Hebr.); M. Schwabe, Tarbiz 12, 1941, 230ff. (ph.) (Hebr.) (edd. prr.). – B. Lifshitz, RB 70, 1963, 260f., pl. 13d; BE 1964, 508; SEG 20, 468. – Cf. Y. Ben-Zevi, The Book of the Samaritans, rev. ed., 1970, 193f. (Hebr.); K. Mentzou-Meimaris, Byzantina 11, 1982, 243; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 380f.

Photo: WE.

#### 2697. Greek funerary inscription of Marchion

Block of limestone, the inscription in a deepened field. Meas.: h 54, w 39, d 23 cm; field: h 31, w 25.5 cm; letters 5.5 cm.

Findspot: "environs de Lydda" (Savignac).

Pres. loc.: SBF Museum, Jerusalem. Autopsy: 4 June 2014 (WE).

ΜΑΡΧΙ ΩΝΚΡΟ ΝΙΔΟΥ ΠΕΛΛΕΥΣ

Μαρχί|ων Κρο|νίδου | Πελλεύς

Marchion, son of Cronides, from Pella.

Comm.: ll.1f.: The personal name Μαρχίων is unknown; Clermont-Ganneau divided the letters into  $M(\tilde{\alpha}\rho\kappa\sigma\varsigma)$  'Αρχίων, "nom connu et satisfaisant"; Bagatti accepts this, whereas Savignac understood Μαρχίων=Μαρχίων, and Belayche followed him, perhaps not least because one would expect a nomen gentile to go with M(arcus) [the same holds true

for Μᾶρ(κος) Χίων]; cf. the 4 c. AD epitaph from Cibyra, SEG 48, 1615: Αὐρηλία Μαρχιανή; ΜΑΜΑ 8, 219: Αὐριλία Μαρχιανή. - ll.2f.: Clermont-Ganneau is surprised by the mythological name of the father, but Cronides is a well-known personal name, found especially in Cilicia and Egypt, Robert, Op. Min. 6, 693f.; for other places, see e.g. G. Mihailov, Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae 3,1, 1961 no. 1005: Τιουτα Κρονίδου. – 1.4: Savignac discards a reference to the city in the Decapolis and refers to Jos. BJ 3,54-55: αἱ λοιπαὶ δὲ μετ' αὐτὴν διήρηνται τῆς τοπαρχίας. Γοφνὰ δευτέρα καὶ μετὰ ταύτην Άκραβετά, Θαμνὰ πρὸς ταύταις καὶ Λύδδα, Άμμοῦς καὶ Πέλλη καὶ Ἰδυμαία καὶ Ἐνγαδδαὶ κτλ. His argument is strengthened by the fact that the ethnic of the Pella in the Decapolis is either Πελληνεύς or Πελλαῖος, Cohen 266, 268. The



fig. 2697.1



fig. 2697.2

name implies at least some kind of Macedonian colonization (cf. E. Honigmann, RE 19,1, 350 no. 6; Schürer II,2, 191, 193f. with n.38).

Bibl.: R. Savignac, RB 13, 1904, 83 no. 5 (with ph. of squeeze) (ed. pr.). – PEQ 36, 1904, 177; Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 6, 1905, 209f. no. 5; ZDPV MN 11, 1905, 40; BE 1906 p. 51; Bagatti, Flagellazione 136 no. 236; Belayche, Pagan Cults 78f. – Cf. G. Cohen, The Hellenistic Settlements in Syria, the Red Sea Basin, and North Africa, 2006.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; WE.

WA

# 2698. Ossuary of Pyrinus and Malthace with Greek inscription, 1 c. BCE-2 c. CE (?)

Greek inscription beginning on left short face and continuing on the façade, inscribed horizontally along the upper edge of the container; all sides ornamented, vaulted lid.

Meas.: h 79, w 100, d 51.5 cm (Bel).

Findspot: Discovered in 1871 by C. Clermont-Ganneau in a tomb near Lod, the ossuary was by 1881 in the possession of the French consul at Jaffa, M. Chevarrier, through whom it arrived at the Louvre Museum.

Pres. loc.: Louvre Museum, Paris, inv. no. AO 5048.

#### ΠΥΡΙΝΟΥΝΚΑΙΜΑΛΘΑΚΗΣΥΙΩΝΑΛΚΙΟΥΣΙΜΩΝΟΣΓΩΒΑΡ

Πυρίνου ν(εωτέρου) καὶ Μαλθάκης υἱῶν Ἀλκίου Σίμωνος Γωβαρ

Ossuary of Pyrinus the younger and Malthace, children of Alcius son of Simon Gobar(?).

Comm.: Pyrinus is a rare name. Malthace is more often attested. It should, pace Clermont-Ganneau, be taken as a woman's name meaning "soft" or "tender." This makes the joint appellation νίῶν equivalent to the Hebrew collective form τιν bny (Rahmani, CJO, nos. 75, 76 and 820). Pyrinus and Malthace were siblings, buried together (for this form of ossilegium, see Hachlili 483). This was Clermont-Ganneau's intuition, and he was probably also cor-



fig. 2698.1

rect to read the nu as an abbreviation for νεωτέρου, well known in Greek epigraphy – though much more often νε-. The final name, Gôbar, could be the grandfather of Alcius, but it seems more likely to be a nickname of Simon.

Clermont-Ganneau had speculated that this Alcius, father of the occupants of the ossuary, was the same man whose name appears on the boundary stones from Gezer, see nos. 2764-2776. This idea still persists in scholarship (Rosenfeld 239f.; for the debate, see SEG 38, 1588; 40, 1492). The identification is, however, quite an arbitrary one, because the ossuary and thus the generation of Alcius cannot be dated precisely enough. (For his part, A. Kloner has assigned it a date at the very beginning of the 2 c. CE, see Schwartz 52.)



fig. 2698.2



fig. 2698.3



fig. 2698.4



fig. 2698.5

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, RCr 8, 1883, 141-7 at 145 (ed. pr.). – Id., The Academy 131, 1874, 522; id. PEQ 7, 1875, 56f.; id., AMSL 11, 1885, 157-251 at 243ff. no. 132; id., ARP II 343-9; T. Wright, The Biblical World 20, 1902, 388-92 at 391f.; Dussaud, Louvre 74f. no. 93; Klein, JPCI 58f. no. 172; W. Albright, JBL 56, 1937, 145-76 at 162f.; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 102 no. 49 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 1173; Goodenough, Jewish Symbols I 127 fig. 208; B. Rosenfeld, IEJ 38, 1988, 235-45 at 239f.; SEG 38, 1588; J. Schwartz, IEJ 40, 1990, 47-57 at 52 no. IV; SEG 40, 1492; Rahmani, CJO no. 560; Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II 207; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 380f.; Hachlili, Funerary Customs 483; N. Bel, in: id. - C. Giroire - F. Gombert-Meurice - M.-H. Rutschowscaya eds., L'Orient romain et byzantin au Louvre, 2012, 346-9 at 346ff., figs. 335f.

Photo: T. Ollivier, courtesy of Louvre Museum.

NK

#### 2699. Greek funerary inscription of Thomas

White marble, almost square, probably used to close a grave; all edges seem to be preserved. The back is roughly smoothed.

Meas.: h 21.5, w 22, d 3 cm; letters 2-3.9 cm.

Findspot: The present inscription and no. 2701 were found during the time of the British Mandate in the town area of Lod, at a site called el-'Asmuniya (cf. IAA archives, British Mandate files ATQ 3/4/722 and SRF 127). The circumstances of the discovery and the context in which they were found are unclear.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. 1947-3876. Autopsy: 14 March 2010 (WA/WE).

ΘΩΜΑΥ ΟΣΙΟΥΔΑΣ ΑΝΤΙΩΧΟΣ ΥΟΣΙΟΥ ΔΑΣ

Θωμᾶ ύ|ὸς Ἰούδας. | Ἀντίωχος | ὑὸς Ἰού|δας

Thomas, son of Iudas. Antiochus, son of Iudas.



fig. 2699.1

Comm.: The letter forms point to the 4-6 c. AD. Two brothers, perhaps twins; their father's name points to Jews or Samaritans. For the burial of siblings in the same grave, cf. no. 2698 comm. – l.1: Omission of final *sigma*, Gignac I 124ff.

Bibl.: R. Reich, Atiqot 25, 1994, 47\*ff. no. 1 fig. 1 (Hebr.), 190 (ES) (ed. pr.). – SEG 44, 1362; BE 1997, 656.

Photo: IAA: WE.



fig. 2699.2

WA

## 2700. Fragmentary Greek inscription

Marble; broken at the right and the left, but it looks as though the upper and lower edges are preserved. Roughly worked with a pick at the back. Meas.: h 19.5, w 12 cm.

Findspot: "Vient peut-être de Lydda" (Clermont-Ganneau). Pres. loc.: Louvre Museum. Paris. inv. no. AO 1219. [--]AZA[--]

[--]NNOY[--]

[--]+TEK[--]

[--]OIOY[--]

[--]PIOY[--]

[--]αζα[--|--]ννου [--|--]+ΤΕΚ[--|--]ΟΙΟΥ[--|--] ΡΙΟΥ[--]



fig. 2700.1

Comm.: Lunar letters of Late Antiquity. – 1.1:  $[\Lambda] \dot{\alpha} \zeta \alpha [\rho o \varsigma]$ ,  $[E\lambda] \dot{\alpha} \zeta \alpha [\rho o \varsigma]$ ? – 1.2:  $[N\dot{o}] \nu \nu \sigma \nu$ ? But most likely  $[I\omega\dot{\alpha}] \nu \nu \sigma \nu$ . – 1.3: The first letter is neither *epsilon* nor *nu*; *sigma* is perhaps possible, but what for? Something like +  $\tau \dot{\epsilon} \varkappa [\nu \sigma \iota \varsigma]$ ,  $-\nu \omega \nu$ ] is most probable. – 1.4:  $[--]\theta \iota \sigma \nu$ ? – 1.5: End of a month, e.g.  $[I\alpha \nu \sigma \iota \alpha] \rho \dot{\epsilon} \sigma \nu$ ?

Bibl.: Dussaud, Louvre 81 no. 111 (ed. pr.). – C. Clermont-Ganneau, AMSL 11, 1885, 169 no. 16 (no text given).

Photo: M. Rabeau, courtesy of Louvre Museum.



fig. 2700.2

WA

#### 2701. Fragmentary Greek inscription

Fragment of marble, broken on all sides, the left-hand side particularly weathered; the back is smooth.

Meas.: h 18.5, w 20.7, d 3.1 cm; letters 1.3-3.7 cm.

Findspot: See no. 2699.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. 1947-3877. Autopsy: 17 October 2013 (WE/DK).

[--]++++ [--]İOY++PIX+ A+



fig. 2701.1

Comm.: Reich: "Some of the letters look like lapidary copies of cursive letters, inscribed by an illiterate hand." l.1:  $[K \upsilon] \rho i \omega \nu (?)$  N Reich, but this is not necessarily Greek. – l.2:  $[\upsilon] i \upsilon \widetilde{\upsilon} (?)$  PIK Reich;  $\Sigma \iota \rho \iota \varkappa [\dot{\alpha}] (?)$  Gatier in BE. – l.3: Reich suggested A $\Omega$ .

Bibl.: R. Reich, Atiqot 25, 1994, 47\*ff. (ES) no. 2 fig. 2 (ed. pr.). – SEG 44, 1363; 45, 1955; BE 1997, 656.

Photo: WE.



fig. 2701.2

# XXIII. H. Hermeshit (Kh. Harmush)

## 2702. Mosaic with Greek inscription

"In the mosaic of the southern room, opposite the western entrance, a Latin cross is depicted in alternating white and red tesserae. Below the arms of the cross appear

the letters  $\Omega A$ " (Greenhut - Yron-Lubin).

Findspot: Rectangular structure in the northeast of the ancient settlement consisting of two rooms paved with mosaics. The building is oriented along a northsouth axis and has two entrances, one on each side of its southwestern corner. The excavators took the building to be a chapel which may have been part of a monastery.

## ΑΩ

ἄ(λφα) ὧ(μεγα)

Alpha - Omega.

Bibl.: Z. Greenhut, Atiqot 34, 1998, 121f. (Hebr.), 9\*f. (ES) (ed. pr.). – Z. Greenhut - M. Yron-Lubin, NEAEHL 5, 2008, 1776; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity I 222f.



fig. 2702

Photo: Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity I 223 fig. 97,3.

WA

## 2703. Cross-shaped pendant with Greek inscription

Cross-shaped pendant made of bronze, on one side the inscription, on the other, figures.

Meas.: h (without lug) ca. 4, w ca. 3 cm; letters ca. 0.6-1 cm (all according to scale in the fig. in ed. pr.).

Findspot: In the debris in one of the houses of the ancient settlement.

ΦΩΣ ΖΩΗ

Translit.: φῶς | ζωή

*Light – Life.* fig. 2703.1

Comm.: A common inscription, especially on pendants, whose source is Jn 1,4. For another pendant, cf. e.g. CIIP II 1690, and an earring in CIIP II 1691.

Bibl.: M. Yron-Lubin, ESI 15, 1996, 66 (=HA 103, 58 [Hebr.]) (ed. pr.).

Photo: M. Yron-Lubin, ESI 15, 1996, 66 fig. 66 (ph. and dr.).

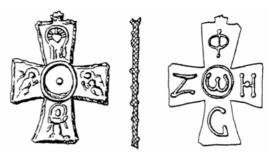


fig. 2703.2

WA

## 2704. Fragment with remains of a Christian Palestinian Aramaic inscription

Fragment of marble with molding, only the upper edge is preserved; "probably a chancel screen panel" (Magen - Kagan). Three letters can be recognized. To the left, after a small blank space and shifted a bit upward some remains that could be part of another letter or an ornament.

Meas.: h 9.1, w 7.7 cm; letters 1.5-1.9 cm.

Findspot: Building structure on the summit of the hill on which the ancient settlement is located; the structure contained rooms with mosaic floors and probably a church

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. 2001-1214.

Comm.: Magen - Kagan only mention that the fragment bears part of an inscription. The reading of the first letter remains uncertain, the second could be *lamed* ( $\Delta$ ) or *ayin* ( $\Delta$ ), the third one can be identified as  $he(\varpi)$ .

Bibl.: Unpublished. – Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity I 222f.

Photo: IAA.



fig. 2704

**EDD** 

# XXIV. el-Janiya

## 2705. Fragmentary Greek inscription mentioning Procopius and Ioannes

Findspot: Used as windowsill in the old mosque.

MNH[--] ΥΣΟΥΠΡΟΚΟ[--] ΚΙΩΑ[.]ΙΝΟΥ

μνή[σθητι τοῦ δούλο]|υ σου Προκο[πίου] | κ(αὶ) Ἰωά[ν]νου



fig. 2705

Remember your servant Procopius and Ioannes.

Comm.: Text by Clermont-Ganneau, apud Sayce, supported by Di Segni apud Bagatti, Samaria. These restorations result in lines of very unequal length: l.2 is at least three letters shorter than l.1 and l.3 is at least seven letters shorter. – Wright suggested:  $\mu\nu\tilde{\eta}[\mu\alpha\delta\circ\dot{\nu}][\nu\sigma\circ\upsilon\Pi\rho\circ\kappa][\pi'\dot{\iota}'\circ\upsilon'\alpha\epsilon\iota\nu\circ\upsilon$  (whatever this means,  $\alpha\dot{\iota}\omega\nu\dot{\iota}\circ\upsilon$ ? Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 13 does not provide a good parallel that could be used as a patronymic). Furthermore, Wright does not come up with any known/common formula. Bagatti toys with Aρίνου as a semitic personal name for which he refers to Schalit, NW 16. Cf. also no. 2706.

Bibl.: J. Peters, JBL 22, 1902, 30 (ed. pr.). – T. Wright, PEQ 36, 1904, 180f.; A. Sayce, ibid., 285f. no. 1; BE 1906 p. 52. – Cf. B. Bagatti, Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria, 1979, 109; id., Samaria 133; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity I 235.

Photo: T. Wright, PEQ 36, 1904, 181 (dr.).

WA

## 2706. Greek invocation (?)

"When passing there [i.e. el-Janiya] seven years ago I saw a ruined church and many antiquities, and many big stones with Greek letters. At the gate of the mosque I saw a plain stone with inscription: 'My Lord, remember your least one, Archbishop Procopius'" (Spyridon). Meimaris visited the village in June 1976, found some fragments indicating a church (inter alia a chancel screen post), but did not find this (or any other) inscription.

Comm.: Something like: κύριε, μνήσθητι τοῦ ταπεινοτάτου vel ἐλαχίστου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Προκοπίου. Cf. MAMA 4, 35 (Ishiklar): μνήσθητι, [κ(ύρι)]ε, τοῦ ἐλαχίστου (vel ταπινοῦ) ἐπισκόπου Αὐξάνοντη, ὅταν ἔλθις ἐν τῆ βασιλία σου. Usually, ἐλάχιστος is not used for the august rank of bishop, but some bishops used the adjective on seals, and cf. G. Laminger-Pascher, TAM Suppl. 15, 62 (Derbe): ἔνθα κατάκιτε Καλλ[ι]πό[δι]ς ἐπίσκοπος ἐλάχιστος. – ταπεινός is mostly used for monks, deacons, presbyters, but cf. Sophocles s.v. ταπεινότης: "a title of assumed humility used by bishops, when they speak of themselves." On humility as a Christian virtue, cf. A. Dihle, RAC 3, 1957, 735ff.

While it seems impossible that this inscription is identical with no. 2705 (if its facsimile is anything to go by), it is still worthwhile to note the existence of two(?) individuals named Procopius at the same place, both of whom shall be remembered by God – but Procopius is, of course, a very common name in Palestine.

Bibl.: S. Spyridon, JPOS 18, 1938, 109 n.1; Meimaris, Sacred Names 218 no. 1084.

# XXV. Bethel (el-Beth, mod. Beitin)

## 2707. Lid of lead sarcophagus of Sabinianus with Greek inscription

Two joining fragments (plus a small one), forming an almost complete coffin lid, whose edges are mostly preserved. The lid is decorated with two diagonal, two horizontal and four vertical cable lines, dividing it into twelve rectangles of which six are crossed by the diagonals. The upper and lower parts not crossed by the cables are adorned with human masks in circles "with wavy strands of hair, deep-set eyes, a wide upper lip and a small, pointed beard" (Rahmani 1987, 136). The central horizontal register bears the inscription, covering four squares.

Meas.: h 60, w 192.5, d 0.2-0.4 cm; letters 7.5-14.5 cm; ø (circle) 9, (masks) 4.5 cm.

Findspot: On private land at Beitin.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1945-88. Autopsy: 17 October 2013

(WE/DK).

 $\Sigma A|BIN|IAN|O\Upsilon$ 

Σαβινιανοῦ

(Sarcophagus) of Sabinianus.



fig. 2707

Comm.: The cable lines are said to be a common decoration on lead coffins of the early 3 c. to the late 5 c. AD. The name Sabinianus can be found from the 1 c. AD on (cf. CIL 4, 9975 and - generally - PIR $^2$  S 15-20 with p. 4f. PLRE 1 Sabinianus 5/6 are from the East, 2 Sabiniana is a nun in Constantinople).

Bibl.: L. Rahmani, IEJ 37, 1987, 136f. no. 6 pl. 15c+d (ed. pr.). – SEG 37, 1473; L. Rahmani, A Catalogue of Roman and Byzantine Lead Coffins from Israel, 1999, 114 no. 93 pl. 47.

Photo: IAA.

# XXVI. el-Habis

## 2708. Greek funerary inscription of Georgius

Findspot: A group of graves 6 km south of Diospolis, 10 km north of Nicopolis. The inscription was found "in a rock-cut tomb of the arcosolium type, with a central trough and two burial arcosolia" (Taxel); the side walls are decorated with two engraved crosses, "one arcosolium has on its back wall another engraved cross and Greek inscription" (Taxel).

(cross) MIMOPIN (cross)  $\Gamma E \Omega P \Gamma IO$ 

μιμόριν | Γεωργίο

Memorial of Georgius.



Comm.: Γεωργίς Conder - Kitchener.

fig. 2708

Bibl.: Conder - Kitchener, SWP 2 Samaria 322 (ed. pr.). – Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 355f. – Cf. id., RAO 7, 1905, 195f.; B. Bagatti, Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria, 1979, 169f.,  $42^*$  fig. 67 (dr.); id., Samaria 205; I. Taxel, BAIAS 26, 2008, 59f.; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity I 230f.

Photo: Bagatti, Samaria 205 fig. 66 (dr.).

## XXVII. Ramleh

## 2709. Latin bronze signaculum of Cn. Aelius Optatus

The signaculum consists of a thin rectangular bronze plate, with rounded corners, cast together with a circular handle (cf. CIIP III 2273). Letters in relief. The inscribed part is framed. Mirror writing. Between CN and AELI a separating virgula (CIL 3, 6653).

Meas.: h 2.3, w 6 cm.

Pres. loc.: Louvre Museum, Paris, inv. no. AO 1230.

Retrograde: CNJAELI OPTATI



Cn(aei) Aeli | Optati

fig. 2709.1

(Property/product) of Gnaeus Aelius Optatus.

Comm.: The stamp declares the ownership of Aelius Optatus, either as a property owned by him or as a product manufactured by him. No other Cn. Aelius Optatus is attested in the province.



fig. 2709.2

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, RA 42, 1881, 251ff. at 252 (ed. pr.). – Id., AMSL 9, 1882, 277-321 at 320; id., PEQ 14, 1882, 16-38 at 18; id., AMSL 11, 1885, 157-251 at 174 no. 27; Ephemeris Epigraphica 5, 1447; CIL 3, 6653; Dussaud, Louvre 75 no. 94.

Photo: M. Rabeau, courtesy of Louvre Museum.

WE

# XXVIII. Kh. Zakhariya

## 2710. Baptismal font with Greek inscription

Stone in a circular form; the basin for baptismal submersion has the shape of a clover-leaf; a hole at the bottom allows the water to get out.

Meas.: h (outside) 90, (inside) 60, ø (outside) 156, (inside) 120 cm.

Findspot: A ruin close to Kh. el-Hummam; tombs, cisterns and the remains of a large building were found.



fig. 2710.1 (Clermont-Ganneau)

## $(cross) \Upsilon\Pi EP\Sigma\Omega THP\Sigma\Omega \Phi PONHA\Sigma \text{[ANA\Pi]} BAP!XA \text{[--]}MOY \text{ (cross?)}$

ύπὲρ σωτηρ(ίας) Σωφρονήας (καὶ) ἀναπ(αύσεως) Βαρίχα [--]ΜΟΥ

For the salvation of Sophronia and the rest of Barichas(?) ...

Comm.: Bagatti (Antichi villaggi; Samaria) dates the font to the 6 c. AD, referring, inter alia, to no. 3320. Sophronia is still alive, whereas the second person is already dead. – Βάριχη Séjourné, ἀναπ(αύσεως) Βαριχί(α) Germer-Durand; Βαρ[ι]χα Clermont-Ganneau ("the iota is doubtful"); Clermont-Ganneau gives the length of the lacuna as ca. four letters; [(καὶ) ἀνα]μου Bagatti, Samaria. On Barichas, with this example, Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 33. Bagatti, Samaria (cf. Antichi villaggi) continues: "The last abbreviation, as it appears in the drawing, is difficult to ex-



fig. 2710.2 (Séjourné)

plain; but if we imagine that the draughtsman had omitted the curve of the vertical stroke, perhaps because it was much worn, we would have an abbreviation of the

112

word πρεσβύτερος." At least Clermont-Ganneau did not see this as an abbreviation, but thought of the letter tau at the end of the text. A carelessly executed cross is certainly possible.

Bibl.: P.-M. Séjourné, RB 1, 1892, 123f. (ed. pr.). – Conder - Kitchener, SWP 2 Samaria 351; J. Germer-Durand, RB 2, 1893, 212; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 355f.; H. Leclercq, DACL 13, 1937, 864 fig. 9486; B. Bagatti, in: Actes du Ve Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrètienne, 1957, 223f.; A. Khatchatrian, Les baptistères paléochrétiens, 1962, 12, 98 fig. 89; B. Bagatti, Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria, 1979, 170, 42\* fig. 66 (dr.); Bagatti, Chiesa II 198, 202 fig. 3; Ben Pechat, L'architecture baptismale II 189ff., III pls. 152f.; ead., SBF 39, 1989, 168f., 184 fig. 1; Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II 218, 256f.; S. Ristow, Frühchristliche Baptisterien, 1998, 271 no. 779; Bagatti, Samaria 205f., fig. 67 (dr.). – Cf. HA 18/19, 1966, 11 (Hebr.); J. Moralee, For Salvation's Sake, 2004, 169 no. 302; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity I 130f., fig. 104,2.

Photo: P.-M. Séjourné, RB 1, 1892, 123; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 357 (drs.).

# XXIX. Kh. Kilya

## 2711. Architectural element with wreath, cross and the letters Alpha and Omega

Roughly rectangular slab with an uneven back; on the smoothed front a round wreath in very high relief; on its surface are indicated the leaves of the wreath while its side wall is decorated with a circumferential ornament of interlacing ribbons. Inside the wreath is a carved cross in high relief; the spaces between the wreath and the arms of the cross are recessed. The latter are gabled at the ends and taper slightly towards the center. The surface of the cross is shallowly hollowed out; underneath the left crossbar the letter *alpha* in high relief, but not quite reaching the surface level of the cross and the wreath; the letter *omega* below the right crossbar is almost completely lost. The slab seems to have been used as a cover stone for a crypt, cf. findspot.

Meas.: h ca. 70, w ca. 64, d (max.) ca. 24 cm; letter ca. 12 cm (from scale in: Magen, Christians and Christianity III 279 fig. 32).

Findspot: The excavator identified the ruins at Kh. Kilya, located around 14 km northwest of Jericho, as a 4 c. Roman fortress later transformed into a monastery. The building is square with 20.5 m long sides. Several rooms are attached to the outer walls and arranged around a central courtyard. According to the excavator, the church was located in the upper story of the building. In the central room (L 4) of the northern suite of rooms several tombs were discovered, and the room was accordingly identified as the burial place of the monastery. While four single burials were covered by the mosaic pavement, Tomb 5 had been designed as a crypt, whose lower part had been hewn from the bedrock while its upper part was constructed in masonry forming a barrel vault. The chamber contained two lateral troughs with 15 skeletons. The entrance to the crypt is roughly in the center of the floor (for Room L 4 and the crypt with plans and sections, see Magen, CAHL 324ff.; id.,

Christians and Christianity III 272ff.). Magen gives the stone three different findspots inside the tomb: "in the crypt" (CAHL 328, caption to ph.), "adjoining the tomb" (Christians and Christianity III 276) and "the stone sealed the entrance to Tomb 5" (ibid. 279, caption to fig. 32).



A (cross)  $\Omega$ 

Alpha (beginning) - Omega (end).

Comm.: cf. CIIP II 1154, comm. on l.2.



Bibl.: Y. Magen, CAHL 321-32 at 325 (ph.), 328 (ph.), 330 (dr.); id., Christians and Christianity III 261-96 at 275f., 279.

Photo: Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity III 279 fig. 32 (ph. and dr.).

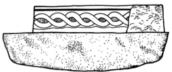


fig. 2711.2

WA/DK

## XXX. Modi'in

## 2712. Stone fragment with Greek letters

Part of a table/altar.

Meas.: h 3.8, w 10.8 cm; letters 2.2 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 2010-3273. Autopsy: 9 October 2013 (WE/DK).

(cross)  $\Delta IA[--]$ 



fig. 2712.2

Comm.: Tybout apud SEG proposed: διὰ [σπουδῆς --]



fig. 2712.1



fig. 2712.3

Bibl.: E. Eisenberg - R. Ovadiah, Atiqot 36, 1998, 16\* fig. 20 (Hebr.), 123f. (ES) (ed. pr.). – SEG 48, 1892 A; I. Taxel, in: P. Preston ed., Mobility, Transition and Change in Prehistory and Classical Antiquity, 2013, 148.

Photo: WE.

WA

## 2713. Fragment of a Greek inscribed table

Part of a stone table, one corner preserved. One artificially made hole (in the middle?) goes through the stone and two other holes are drilled on the backside. The inscription is placed on the rim of the table.

Meas.: h 19, w 13.5, d 4 cm; letters 2-2.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 2010-3269. Autopsy: 9 October 2013 (WE/DK).

(cross)  $O\Theta EIIPO\Sigma[--]$ 

116



fig. 2713.1

Comm.: Eisenberg - Ovadiah propose either  $\delta \theta \epsilon (\delta \varsigma) [\pi] \rho \sigma \sigma [\tau \alpha \tau \eta \varsigma]$  or  $\delta \theta \epsilon (\delta \varsigma)$ ίερός. "Am Ende sicher sigma" (WE). There is at least a parallel for δ θεὸς προσ[δεξάμενος]; but this belongs to a formula common in Sicily only, δ θεὸς (δ) προσδεξάμενος τὸ θυμίαμα τοῦ άγίου Ζαγαρίου πρόσδεξε τοῦτο (Manganaro; SEG 45, 1344 with references to texts without the article; the text quotes the liturgy of St. Peter: ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἄγιος --, ὡς προσδέξω τὸ θυμίαμα τοῦ Ζαχαρίου, οὕτω καὶ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν πρόσδεξαι τὸ θυμίαμα τοῦτο [on this liturgy cf. Brightman, p. XCI, who quotes also similar formulas in other liturgies]) - and we should consider that there is no abbreviation mark above ΘΕ.

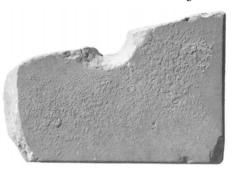


fig. 2713.2

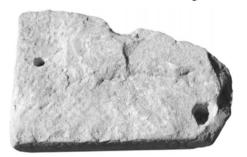


fig. 2713.3

Bibl.: E. Eisenberg - R. Ovadiah, Atiqot 36, 1998, 16\* fig. 19 (Hebr.), 123f. (ES) (ed. pr.). – SEG 48, 1892 B. – Cf. F. Brightman, Liturgies Eastern and Western I 1896; G. Manganaro, Cassiodorus 1, 1995, 51ff.; I. Taxel, in: P. Preston ed., Mobility, Transition and Change in Prehistory and Classical Antiquity, 2013, 148.

Photo: WE.

WA

## 2714.-2725. Modi'in burial complex

Although the following ossuaries have different IAA accession dates (no. 2725 could not be identified), they all were among the ossuaries discovered in a large burial complex in November 1995 next to the then widened Route 443 near Kh. el-

Hummam/Kh. Midieh north of modern Modi'in (see B. Zissu - L. Perry, PEQ 147, 2015, 330ff. with maps 318 fig. 1 and 328 fig. 11 no. 100, plan and section 331 fig. 14), which caused a sensation at the time (cf. BAR 22, 1996, 12ff.). Neither the salvage excavation nor the inscriptions were ever published properly. They are currently housed in the IAA warehouse in Beth Shemesh. The inscriptions, as typical for ossuaries, consist only of names scratched (or in one case painted, no. 2723) unprofessionally on various surfaces of the boxes. All but three of the names are written in Greek letters. Only one name appears in more than one inscription (Menelaus, nos. 2721, 2722), and this may be the same person; thus there is no clear indication of how many generations are represented in this burial site.

## 2714. Ossuary of Celadus with Greek inscription, 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE

Decorated limestone ossuary, back side rough and chip-carved with remains of red paint; slightly curved lid, also chip-carved with many faults and stray marks. Inscription (a) crudely scratched across the back side, very shallow, 6 cm from top rim. Inscription (b) on surface of lid; before the inscribed name, a letter (*kappa*?) started and abandoned. Inscription (c) on inside of lid, *kappa* and *epsilon* overlap but are not ligatured.

Meas.: h 28.5, w 60, d 25 cm; lid: h 25, w 59.5 cm; inscription (a): l. 37 cm, letters 7-8 cm; (b): l. 29 cm, letters 3-6 cm; (c): l. ca. 30 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1997-2472. Autopsy: 12 July 2007.

- (a) KEΛA
- (b) and (c) ΚΕΛΑΔΟΥ
- (a) Κελά(δου)
- (b) and (c) Κελάδου
- (a)-(c) (Ossuary) of Celadus.



fig. 2714.1 (a)



fig. 2714.2 (b)

Comm.: The name  $K \not\in \lambda \alpha \delta \sigma_{S}$  is well-attested in the Greek onomasticon: 27 instances in LGPN; for other instances, Pape, WGE 643. But this is the first documented instance in a Jewish context.

Bibl.: Unpublished. – B. Zissu - L. Perry, PEQ 147, 2015, 316-37 at 332.

Photo: IAA.



fig. 2714.3 (c)

JJP

## 2715. Ossuary of Cyria with Greek inscription, 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE

Limestone ossuary, façade decorated with three rosettes and frame. Greek inscription on chip-carved flat lid, letters incised very clearly and deeply.

Meas.: lid: h 26, w 69 cm; l. 24 cm, letters 6-8 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1997-2465. Autopsy: 12 July 2007.

#### ΚΥΡΙΑΣ

Κυρίας

(Ossuary) of Cyria.



fig. 2715.1 (detail)



Bibl.: Unpublished. – B. Zissu - L. Perry, PEQ 147, 2015, 316-37 at 332.

Photo: IAA.

fig. 2715.2

JJP

# 2716. Ossuary of Domnina with Greek inscription, 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE

Limestone ossuary, façade ornamented with two rosettes in zigzag frame, red wash. Greek inscription on vaulted, chip-carved lid, covering most of the width of the lid. Meas.: lid: h 26, w 61 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1997-2473. Autopsy: October 2013.

#### ΔΟΜΝΕΙΝΑΣ

Δομνείνας

(Ossuary) of Domnina.



fig. 2716

Comm.: The middle hasta was forgotten on the *epsilon*. For the name Domnina in Jewish contexts, see Noy, JIWE II 527 and Noy - Bloedhorn, IJO III 63 (both restored).

Bibl.: Unpublished. - B. Zissu - L. Perry, PEQ 147, 2015, 316-37 at 332.

Photo: IAA.

JJP

## 2717. Lid of the ossuary of Domnus with Greek inscription, 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE

Fragments of a chip-carved limestone ossuary pieced together by the IAA, bearing shallowly incised Greek letters produced by an inexperienced hand.

Meas.: h 24, w 55 cm; l. 35 cm; letters 4-5.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1997-2468. Autopsy: 17 July 2007.

#### ΔΟΜΝΟΥ

Δόμνου

(Ossuary) of Domnus.



fig. 2717

Comm.: For other instances of this name, see Pape, WGE 318 (including a Jewish instance mentioned in the Suda); LGPN 1, 4, 5a, s.v.; Hagedorn, Wörterlisten 41. There are two instances of  $\Delta \delta \mu \nu \sigma \varsigma$  in the Jewish catacombs of Rome: Noy, JIWE II 435, 540.

Bibl.: Unpublished. - B. Zissu - L. Perry, PEQ 147, 2015, 316-37 at 332.

Photo: T. Ashush.

## 2718. Ossuary of Ḥananiya with Aramaic inscription, 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE

Limestone ossuary, all sides very abraded, façade has faint remains of three rosettes, frame and other ornamentation, top of flat lid ornamented by three rosettes within square frame. Aramaic inscription on right short side just beneath upper rim, surface extremely worn and pocked, letters quite difficult to read.

Meas.: h 27, w 68 cm; l. 20 cm, letters 1-4 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1997-2464. Autopsy: 2007.

חנניה בר מתי

Translit.: hnnyh br mty

Ḥananiya son of Mati.

Comm.: The father's name is short for Mattitiyahu, a Hasmonaean name particularly popular in 2 c. BCE - 2 c. CE.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.



fig. 2718

JJP/HM

## 2719. Ossuary of Marona with Greek inscription, 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE

Greek inscription (a) on chip-carved lid of decorated ossuary. Letters incised to medium depth. Second smaller, incomplete inscription (b) below larger one, upside down and to the right.

Meas.: h 28.5, w 59, d 30 cm; lid: h 28, w 59 cm; inscription (a): l. 25 cm, letters 7.5-

9 cm; (b): l. 13 cm, letters 5-6 cm. Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1997-2474. Autopsy: 12 July 2007.

- (a)  $MAP\Omega NA$
- (b) MA
- (a) Μαρώνα
- (b) {MA}



fig. 2719

#### (a) Marona.

Comm.: The inscription of the name was apparently started with the letters MA, then the lid was turned and the whole inscription was produced. As a nominative, (female)  $M\alpha\rho\dot{\omega}\nu\alpha$  is poorly attested (cf.  $M\alpha\rho\dot{\omega}\nu\eta$ , Atiqot 35, 1998, 153), but the name as inscribed could conceivably have been intended as a genitive of the very common (male)  $M\dot{\alpha}\rho\omega\nu$ ; an accusative is much less likely.

Bibl.: Unpublished. – B. Zissu - L. Perry, PEQ 147, 2015, 316-37 at 332, 324 fig. 17 (ph.) (translat.). Photo: IAA.

JJP

## 2720. Ossuary of Maryam with Greek inscription, 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE

Limestone ossuary, façade decorated with three rosette panels, right short side decorated with one rosette, surfaces smooth, vaulted lid. Greek inscription (a) on the undecorated back side, large letters shallowly incised with hastae overlapping, taking up most of the width; to the left, three very faint Greek letters which were apparently meant to be erased. Text (b) on right side very faintly scratched, appears to be by a different hand.

Meas.: h 27, w 59, d 26 cm; inscription (a): l. 22.5 cm, letters 6-7.5 cm; (b): l. 19.5 cm, letters 3-5.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1997-2469. Autopsy: 12 July 2007.

- (a) ΣΕΚΜΑΡΥΑΜ
- (b)  $\Lambda AH\Pi P\Omega I$
- (a) {ΣΕΚ} Μαρυαμ
- (b) Λαηπρωι
- (a) Maryam.
- (b) To Laeprus.

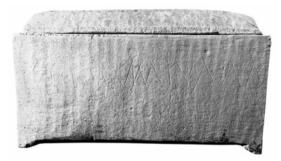


fig. 2720.1 (a)

Comm.: The first three letters before Maryam's name, written very faintly, were probably not intended to be part of the inscription, may not even have been inscribed by the final owners of the box. Mapuau seems to be a unique spelling of Miriam, but on the interchange of  $\iota$  and  $\upsilon$ , see Gignac I 269ff. The nature of the second name on the side of the box (and a later addition?) and its relation to the main inscription remain unclear.



Bibl.: Unpublished. - B. Zissu - L. Perry,

PEQ 147, 2015, 316-37 at 332.

Photo: IAA.

fig. 2720.2 (b)

JJP

## 2721. Ossuary of Philipia with Greek inscription, 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE

Limestone ossuary, façade ornamented with two rosettes and zigzag frame, red wash. Two-line Greek inscription etched faintly on flat, rough-finished lid. Meas.: h 33, w 61.5, d 28 cm; lid: h 29, w 59.5 cm; letters 5.5-9 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1997-4262. Autopsy: 12 July 2007.

ΦΙΛΙΠΙΑΣ ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΥ

Φιλιπίας | Μενελάου

(Ossuary) of Philipia, daughter/wife of Menelaus.



fig. 2721

Comm.: The inscription could also mean that Menelaus' bones were in the ossuary as well. Note Menelaus in no. 2722.

Bibl.: Unpublished. - B. Zissu - L. Perry, PEQ 147, 2015, 316-37 at 332.

Photo: IAA.

## 2722. Ossuary of Sara with Greek inscription, 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE

Limestone ossuary, front and back sides smoothed, sides roughly chiseled; faint traces of three rosettes and frame remain on façade, right side has one rosette, back side unornamented; vaulted lid. On left short side, two-line Greek inscription (a), centered and extending to the right, letters well-formed, l.1 incised to medium depth, first three letters of l.2 incised deeply followed by five shallowly incised letters. Incised across the bottom, slanting down to the left, another Greek inscription (b), written probably by a different hand, letters not entirely clear because of abrasion and roughly chiseled surface.

Meas.: h 30, w 71, d 28 cm. Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1997-4175. Autopsy: 2007.

- (a) ΣΑΡΑ ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΥ (b) ΕΙΣΤΑΛΙΜΙΟΥΚΑΣΑΡ+
- (a) Σάρα | Μενελάου(b) εἰς τὰ (ὀστᾶ) Λιμιου/ Λιλλιου(?) κα(ὶ) Σάρα
- (a) Sara wife/daughter of Menelaus.
- (b) For the (bones) of Limius/Lillius(?) and Sara.

Comm.: Despite the curiously carved first three letters of Menelaus' name, which are much deeper than the rest, the whole inscription (a) seems to have been executed at the same time. This inscription could also be translated "of Sara and of Menelaus," i.e., the bones of both were in the box. The second inscription, in much smaller letters at the bottom, seems to have been a kind of record-keeping; the first name is difficult to construe.



fig. 2722.1 (a)



fig. 2722.2 (b)



fig. 2722.3 (a and b)

One possibility is that Lillius is a nickname of Menelaus; another, remote possibility is that Lillius=Lullius=Iulius.

Bibl.: Unpublished. - B. Zissu - L. Perry, PEQ 147, 2015, 316-37 at 332.

Photo: IAA.

IIP

# 2723. Ossuary of Shim'on son of El'azar with Aramaic inscription, 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE

Plain limestone ossuary, smoothed sides, lid vaulted with raised center section, name painted in cursive Jewish script in now-faded black ink on the upper left-center of one of the long sides; both instances of *ayin* ligatured to following letter. Both box and lid glued together from pieces, seam obscures one letter in inscription.

Meas.: h 28, w 52 cm; l. 34 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1995-4174. Autopsy: 2007.

שמעונ [.]ר אלעזר

שמעונ [ב]ר אלעזר

Translit.: šm'wn [b]r 'l'zr

Shim'on son of El'azar.

Comm.: This is the only painted inscription in the group (if indeed these ossuaries constitute a group). The names are among the most common in the Jewish onomasticon of the period.

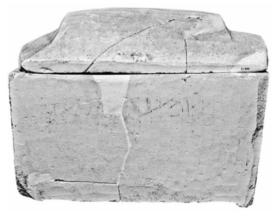


fig. 2723

Bibl.: Unpublished. – B. Zissu - L. Perry, PEQ 147, 2015, 316-37 at 332 fig. 15 (ph.) (translat.). Photo: IAA.

IIP/AY

## 2724. Ossuary of Theodorus with Greek inscription, 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE

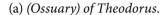
Limestone ossuary decorated on front with two rosettes and zigzag frame and on left side with rosette, short right side crudely finished and back smoothed and undecorated. Just below the rim on the back side are two Greek inscriptions, the first

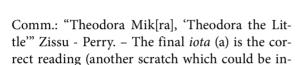
(a) in the upper left-hand corner incised to medium depth and the second (b) in the upper right-hand corner incised more deeply.

Meas.: h 26, w 48, d 18 cm; inscription (a): l. 16 cm, letters 1.5-3 cm; (b): l. 7 cm, letters 2.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1997-2461. Autopsy: 12 July 2007.

- (a) ΘΕΟΔΩΡΙ
- (b) MIK
- (a) Θεοδώρι
- (b) MIK





terpreted as a cross-bar for an alpha ligatured to

the *rho* is a flaw on the stone). As such, it is to be interpreted as a kind of genitive, perhaps influenced by Latin. Inscription (b) cannot be an age or date. Besides the suggestion by Zissu - Perry an abbreviated name is probable, e.g. Μικκή, Μικέλα (Schwabe - Lifshitz, Beth Sheʿarim II 165, 122), Μίκκος (JIGRE 41).

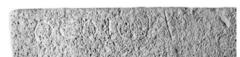


fig. 2724.1 (a)



fig. 2724.2 (b)



fig. 2724.3 (a and b)

Bibl.: B. Zissu - L. Perry, PEQ 147, 2015, 316-37 at 332f. fig. 16A-D (phs.) (translit., translat.). Photo: IAA.

JJP

## 2725. Limestone ossuary with Jewish script, 1 c. BCE

ח+++ בן

Translit.: h+++ bn

H..., son of ...

Comm.: The edition is based on the report by Feldman (14): "Joseph Naveh, of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem ... emphasizes that the inscription is shallow and blurred, so very little is decipherable. He does say that the first letter is definitely a *het*, followed by a space wide enough for three additional letters provided that at least one of them is narrow, such as a *vov*. At the end of the line is the word 'ben', 'son of'."

Bibl.: S. Feldman, BAR 22, 1996, 12ff. (ed. pr.). – B. Zissu - L. Perry, PEQ 147, 2015, 316-37 at 332.

IIP

## 2726. Aramaic seal for vessel containing vinegar, 1 c. CE

Fragment of limestone mug engraved with four letters in cursive Jewish script. Meas.: h 2.5, w 4.5 cm.

Findspot: In excavations at the ancient site at Kh. Umm el-'Umdan, on the southwestern outskirts of modern Modi'in; in a room adjacent to the mikveh.

חמעה

Translit.: hm'h

Vinegar.



fig. 2726

Comm.: The seal was used to mark a stopper for a jar containing vinegar. The writing is not in reverse but from right to left. The large size of the initial letter forced the others to be inscribed in a non-uniform manner, so that the final *he* is small and partial.

Bibl.: S. Weksler-Bdolah - A. Onn, Qadmoniot 38, 2005, 107-16 at 113 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – A. Onn - S. Weksler-Bdolah, NEAEHL 5, 2008, 2061-3; iid., BAR 40, 2014, 52-8, 70 at 56f.; D. Amit, in: Epigraphy and Daily Life 159-74 at 168f.

Photo: D. Amit, in: Epigraphy and Daily Life 229 fig. 4.

## XXXI. Kh. el-Lauz

## 2727. Mosaic with Greek inscription in a church

Mosaic medallion, at least six lines; preserved are parts of the last three lines. Lines divided by rows of tesserae.

Findspot: Byzantine church of Kh. el-Lauz.

[--|--]+Ω[--]|ΩΚΕ πρόσδεξε τὴν δέ|ησιν αὐτῶν



fig. 2727

... receive their supplication.

Comm.: The only available photograph is not good; the first preserved letter in the first preserved line could be either epsilon or sigma; omega at the beginning of l.2 seems certain; there is no abbreviation mark above kappa and epsilon. The easiest solution is [--|--]+Ω[--]|Ω κὲ πρόσδεξε etc., with omega being the end of a personal name. But perhaps one should read: [θ]εω[τ]|ώκε, πρόσδεξε etc. Cf. IGLS 4, 1881 bis and especially IGLS 2, 494: ἀγία Μαρία, πρόσδεξε τὴν δέησιν πονησάντ[ων καὶ καρπο]φορησάντων καὶ κτισάντων ἄγιον οἶκόν σου. For δέησις see also no. 3313; Lampe s.v. quotes the liturgy of St. Chrysostom p. 316, 19 (ed. by F. Brightman, Liturgies Eastern and Western, 1896): προσδέξαι ὁ θεὸς τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν καὶ ποίησον ἡμᾶς ἀξίους γενέσθαι τοῦ προσφέρειν σοι δέησιν καὶ ἰκεσίας καὶ θυσίας ἀναιμάκτους.

Bibl.: S. Al-Houdalieh, SBF 58, 2008, 327-37 (ed. pr.). - SEG 58, 1761; BE 2010, 604.

Photo: S. Al-Houdalieh, SBF 58, 2008, 329 fig. 2.

## XXXII. Kh. et-Tire

## 2728. Greek epitaph and donor's inscription

The stone is said to belong to a chancel screen (cf. Schneider 130: "Das Bema war erhöht und durch Schranken abgeschlossen, der Schrankenstylobat mit Nutrillen ist zum Teil noch erhalten"), but it looks rather more like the top of an altar. There are two different inscriptions, one in the framed central part (b), the other one on the frame (a). The letters of the inscriptions seem to be identical, therefore both should have been inscribed at the same time.

Meas.: w 88 cm; letters 4-5 cm.

Findspot: Schneider described the church at Kh. et-Tire, a place where already Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea 127 saw a church, albeit probably a different one.

- (a) (cross) ΕΝΘΑΚΑΤΑΚΙΤΕ[.]ΕΠΡΕΠΕΝΕΝΝΑΟΙΣ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΥ+ΟΥΝΕΟΥΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΑΣΚΑΙΠΑΝΣΕΜΝΙΗΣ (cross) ΣΩΜΑΤΑΤΕΤΙΜΗΜΕΝΑ (cross)
- (b) ΗΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝΚΑΙΒΙΟΥΑΛΛΑ ΞΑΜΕΝΗΔΙΜΑΤΟΟΙΚΟΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥΤΟΙΣΙΧΝΕΣΙΔΩΡΟΝ ΠΟΡΙΣΑΣΑΤΟΥΤΟ
- (a) ἔνθα κατάκιτε [ἃ] ἔπρεπεν –
   ἐν ναοῖς | Στεφανηφόρου τοῦ
   νέου ἀνδρὸς | Κωσταντίας καὶ
   Πανσεμνίης | σώματα τετιμήμενα
- (b) ή χρημάτων καὶ βίου άλλα-| ξαμένη δίματο οἶκον | Χριστοῦ τοῖς ἴχνεσι δῶρον | πορισάσα τοῦτο



fig. 2728

- (a) Here lie as it becomes them in the naves the honored bodies of the young Stephanephorus, Costantia and Pansemnia.
- (b) She who gave (her) wealth and live, and in exchange built a house for Christ, having procured this gift for his vestiges.

Comm.: Father Cignelli noted the poetic character of the inscriptions and translated (apud Bagatti, Samaria):

(a) "Here lie – it was appropriate in a temple – the honored bodies of Stephanophoros the Young, of Constantia and Pansemnia"; Di Segni (apud Bagatti, Samaria) believes

that this refers to the deposition of relics. – l.1: the letters ΕΠΡΕΠΕΝ pose a problem: the suggested ἔπρεπεν ἐν ναοῖς is in the wrong tense (and Cignelli's translation is not really intelligible). G. Staab (per litt.) pointed out that the drawing of the inscription is not quite correct: the gap between the upper fragments must have been larger than indicated: see l.2: ΦΟΡΟΥ+ΟΥ; l.3: KAIΠAN; since the lower right fragment is – in the drawing – a bit too near to the left fragment, the gap between the upper right fragment and the upper left fragment has to be even larger: one might argue for KITE[.]EПРЕПЕN, which could lead to Staab's suggestion κατάκιτε, [α] ἔπρεπεν. He comments: "Das ergäbe für meine Begriffe einen ... Sinn, weil schon in dem Relativsatz das erst am Ende erscheinende Subjekt σώματα präpariert und zugleich der logische Zusammenhang der Würdigkeit von Bestattungsort und Bestatteten hergestellt würde." The plural ev ναοῖς is a bit difficult too, because the dictionaries do not quote an example of the plural instead of the singular; Lampe s.v. I F has "nave of a church," which might explain the plural. – 1.2: Stephanephorus is a very rare personal name (a son of Herakles in Antiphon, F 44 ed. Blass - Thalheim; Merkelbach - Stauber, Steinepigramme 2, 08/07/11: Στεφανή[φορος]; 08/06/10: ἄνθος ἀνερχόμενον, Στεφανήφορος ἐνθάδε κεῖται), but the word is usually used as an adjective to describe Christ (e.g. Synesios, hymn 8) or martyrs and saints. The combination νέος ἀνήρ is similarly rare; it can perhaps just be understood as "the younger," but normally it just means "young" (ἀνὴρ νεός, scil. τῆ ήλικία). Do all the genitives belong to σώματα, or does the first one depend on ναοῖς? - 1.3: μνήμη Πανσεμνίης (Anatolian Studies 18, 1968, 64); 'Ιουλ. Έ[ρενί(α)] Πανσέμνιον ή γαμετή α[ὐτοῦ] (MAMA 1, 280, 4/5 c. AD). A martyr or saint named Pansemnia/-e can neither be found in the Acta Sanctorum nor in the Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon (the same holds true for Stephanephorus).

(b) This text was translated by Cignelli: "It is Dina who has bought [or ransomed] with (her) money and properties the house of Christ, offering it as a gift to his footprints." Figueras too took Dima as a personal name, but it is difficult to make sense of Cignelli's translation. Di Segni has: "She who has renounced wealth and mundane life, has established herself in Christ's house after she laid this offering at his feet." She interprets this: "The inscription refers to the offering of the screen itself by a woman on entering monastic life, a circumstance that dictated her preserving anonymity." The key to the interpretation lies in the understanding of δίματο=δείματο=ἐδείματο; cf. e.g. IGLS 15,1, 200 (Zorava): δίμαντο τὸ μνῆμα ἐκ πόνων ἰδίων, 248 (Bosora?): τόδε τὸ μνημεῖον δίματο Μαρκιανή, 268 (Harran). The name of the (female) donor is missing, which can be seen as a sign of modesty; her giving both her wealth and her life can refer to her taking up life in a monastery.

Bibl.: Meimaris, Sacred Names 53 no. 312 (ll.5-8) (ed. pr.). – B. Bagatti, Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria, 1979, 103f.; P. Figueras, in: Archéologie Chrétienne 1782; Bagatti, Samaria 126f., fig. 40. – Cf. A. Schneider, OC 31, 1934, 219ff. (repr. in: id., Reticulum, 1998, 130ff.); Ovadiah, Corpus 116f. no. 113 pl. 48 fig. 113; Bagatti, Chiesa II 155; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity I 237f., fig. 110,2.

Photo: B. Bagatti, Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria, 1979, 27\* fig. 40 (dr.).

## XXXIII. Deir Diwan

## 2729. Part of a chancel screen with Greek inscription mentioning Selamon

"Small marble slab, rather prettily carved, broken in several pieces, but now forming part of the floor of a room in the 'Friends' Boys' School' at Ramallah" (Hanauer). Bagatti identified it as a fragment of a chancel screen. No photograph was provided. Meas.: "It is of unequal length, one side being 1.65 cm long, and the other 1.20 cm only. The breadth is 54 cm, the diameter of circular panels 27 cm" (Hanauer). The information given in the ed. pr. concerning the measurements seems somewhat enigmatic but could not be checked.

Findspot: Said to have been brought from Deir Diwan (Hanauer). Pres. loc.: It was not in the school mentioned by Hanauer when Bagatti visited it on April 25th, 1974.

#### (cross) ΥΠΕΡΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΕΩΣΣΗΛΑΜΩΝΟΣΠΡΕΣΒ

ύπὲρ ἀναπαύσεως Σηλάμωνος πρεσβ(υτέρου)

For the repose of Selamon, the priest.

Comm.: For the personal name, cf. Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 102f., 107.

Bibl.: J. Hanauer, PEQ 35, 1903, 270 (ed. pr.). – B. Bagatti, Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria, 1979, 29; Meimaris, Sacred Names 196 no. 984; Bagatti, Samaria 36. – Cf. J. Peters, PEQ 36, 1904, 382; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity I 244.

# XXXIV. Na'aran (Noorath, mod. 'Ein ed-Duq, 'Ein Duyuk)

## 2730.-2736. The synagogue at Na aran

The ancient synagogue at Naʿaran, 5.5 km northwest of Jericho, was discovered in 1918 when a Turkish shell aimed at British military installations near the site exploded (at ʿEin ed-Duq, Biblical Naʿaran, Noopa $\theta$  in Eusebius, On. 136,24; see introduction to Jericho). After preliminary investigations by British archaeologists, L. Vincent and B. Carrière excavated the synagogue and published most of the inscriptions in 1921. The site was excavated again in 1969 by P. Bar-Adon, who uncovered two more inscriptions.

The building, facing south, consists of an atrium and narthex from which the building was entered on the north side, a basilica-like main hall and an annex on the southwest; all were paved with mosaic; there was likely a second floor to the building. The southern end of the floor is missing; it may have contained an apse for a Torah ark. The floor of the narthex depicts a stylized menorah; inscriptions no. 2730 (a) and (b) were placed over and around it. Just inside the entrance, along the north wall, was another two-line dedication, no. 2731, commemorating a woman who seems to have been a general benefactress of the entire building. The main hall, measuring 15 m wide by 21 m long, was divided by two rows of columns into a nave and two aisles. The floor of the nave was paved in a remarkably lavish and richly colored decorative scheme divided into three panels, the first, on the northern end, consisting of geometric designs interspersed with animals, birds and plants inside circles and pentagons. The second, middle panel contains a zodiac whose elements were labeled by Hebrew inscriptions no. 2732; Helios on a quadriga is at the center and the four seasons are at the corners; many of the figures were intentionally mutilated in antiquity in a demonstration of iconoclasm; the consequent damage to the inscriptions was probably unintentional. In the third panel, on the southern end of the mosaic, two seven-branched menorahs with hanging lamps flank a Torah shrine; above each menorah is an Aramaic dedication, nos. 2735 and 2736. Below this group are two lions and a praying man, representing Daniel in the lion's den, the identification confirmed by inscription no. 2733. In addition Aramaic dedications were inserted into the scene, namely nos. 2733 (b) and 2734 (a) and (b). The whole ensemble is surrounded by an elaborate three-segmented border.

It seems that the craftsman who inserted the inscriptions in the nave mosaic was not the same as the artist who composed the mosaic, except for the labels in the zodiac. The design and figures of the carpet are very well composed and expertly executed, whereas the dedicatory inscriptions are inserted clumsily in the open spaces around and between the depicted objects, the lines are crooked and letters unevenly formed, and there are mistakes in spelling and execution. It is not known when precisely the synagogue was built or how long it was in use, but it was in use long

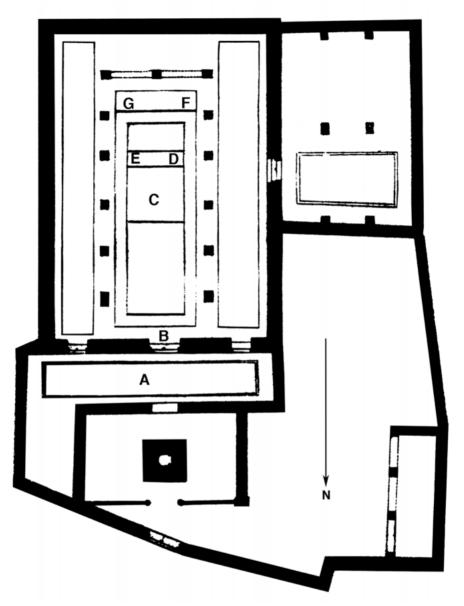


fig. 2730.A Ground plan, L. Vincent - P. Benoit, RB 68, 1961 pl. 5

enough to require repair, if inscription no. 2735 is interpreted correctly. There is no sign that it met a violent end (it has, however, been vandalized in modern times). While paleography allows dating to the 4-7 c. CE, the mosaic is dated to the 5-6 c. CE by comparison to other buildings of similar design and artistic programs from that period. This was a period when construction of new Jewish synagogues was forbidden, although existing ones were allowed to be maintained "in their present

state" (in sua forma permaneant, Codex Theodosianus 16,8,25 from the year 423 CE=A. Linder, The Jews in Roman Imperial Legislation, 1987 no. 47 and pp. 73f.).

Bibl.: L. Vincent, RB 28, 1919, 532-63; C. Clermont-Ganneau, CRAI 1919, 87-120, 298ff.; W. Albright, BASOR 5, 1921, 9-23 at 20f.; M. Fitzgerald, PEQ 53, 1921, 175-86; H. Leclercq, DACL 8, 1928, 1-254 at 209; A. Marmorstein, PEQ 62, 1930, 154-7; C. Watzinger, Der Morgen 6, 1930, 356-67 at 362; Sukenik, Ancient Synagogues 28-31, 72-6; L. Vincent, RB 44, 1935, 111-4 at 114; C. Kopp, Grabungen und Forschungen im Heiligen Land 1867/1938, 1939, 114; L. Vincent - P. Benoit, RB 68, 1961, 161-77; P. Bar-Adon, HA 33, 1970, 8 (Hebr.); Saller, Catalogue, no. 4; B. Lifshitz, JSJ 4-1, 1973, 43-55 at 53f.; G. Stemberger, Kairos 17, 1975, 23-56 at 23, 53; M. Avi-Yonah, EAEHL 3, 1977, 891-4; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1977, 109f. (Hebr.); M. Weinfeld, Shenatôn 4, 1980, 288-95 (Hebr.); Avi-Yonah, Art 302ff., 353f.; G. Foerster, Cathedra 19, 1981, 12-40 (Hebr.); J. Naveh, in: L. Levine ed., Ancient Synagogues Revealed, 1981, 133-9 at 136f.; Chiat, Handbook 256f.; Hachlili, Jewish Art 225-7, 296, 304f., pls. 40b, 64, 67, 71, 73, 74; L. Levine, Cathedra 60, 1991, 36-84 at 72 (Hebr.); J. Branham, in: D. Urman - P. Flesher eds., Ancient Synagogues 2, 1995, 319-45 at 334; A. Ovadiah, in: ibid. 301-18; R. Hachlili, in: S. Fine ed., Sacred Realm, 1996, 96-129 at 119f., fig. 5,17; E. Meyers, in: ibid., 21-47 at 38 fig. 2, 13; A. Ovadiah, Assaph 2, 1996, 49-58; S. Fine, OEANE 5, 1997, 114-8; L. Roussin, in: Edwards -

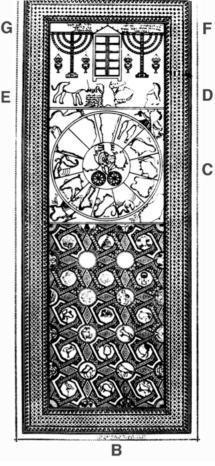


fig. 2730.B Mosaic floor, Hachlili, Ancient Synagogues 358 fig. 11

McCollough 83-96; Dauphin, Palestine byzantine 855 no. 79; H. Mack, Cathedra 88, 1998, 39-56 at 42 (Hebr.); Vriezen, Mosaic Pavements 251; Baumann, Spätantike Stifter 323-7; Levine, Ancient Synagogue 205; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 402f.; Schwartz, Imperialism 284-7; S. Miller, JQR 94, 2004, 27-76; Milson, Art and Architecture 440f.; Hachlili, AMP 19, 211, 233, 237f.; A. Ovadiah, SBF 60, 2010, 307-17; Y. Magen, BAR 38, 2012, 48-57 at 54; S. Fine, Art, History and the Historiography of Judaism in Roman Antiquity, 2014, 215-21; Werlin, Synagogues 29-70.

## 2730. Aramaic donation of Pinhas and Rivka, 5-6 c. CE

Mosaic in black and white tesserae depicting a stylized menorah with ten or eleven lamps, surrounded by diamond-themed ornaments. The first line of inscription (a) extends above the picture while ll.2-3 are broken by the menorah and are meant to be read

across it. Inscription (b) is also written on both sides of the menorah, but the two lines of the right side are meant to be read together, followed by the three lines on the left. Meas.: w (first, longest line of inscription [a]) 164 cm.

Findspot: The menorah and its inscriptions were seen right-side-up by the visitor entering the synagogue through the narthex on the north side; see introduction to nos. 2730-2736 fig. A, no. A.

Pres. loc.: Unknown, cf. Werlin, Synagogues 35 n.31.

- (a) דכיר לטב פינחס כהנה בר יוסטה דיהב טימי (menorah) פסיפסה מן דידה (menorah) ומרושת
- דכירה (b) לטב (menorah) רבקה אתתה



fig. 2730

- (a) (a) דכיר לטב פינחס כהנה בר יוסטה דיהב | טימי פסיפסה | מן דידה ומרושת(ה)
   (b) דכירה | לטב | רבקה | אתתה | (ד)פינחס
- Translit.: (a) dkyr lţb pynḥs khnh br ywsṭh dyhb | ţymy psypsh | mn dydh wmrwšt(h)
  - (b) dkyrh | lţb | rbqh | 'tth | (d)pynḥs
- (a) Remembered for the good be Pinḥas the priest, son of Iusta (Ywsṭh), who donated the cost of the mosaic from his own money and property.
- (b) Remembered for the good be Rivka (=Rebecca), the wife of Pinhas.

Comm.: Pinḥas and his wife Rivka (Rebecca) paid for the mosaic in the narthex. In contrast to the menorah and surrounding ornamentation, the craftsman who executed the inscriptions, perhaps different from the artist of the panel, did not plan well, starting the first line of inscription (a) with spaces between the words but having to squeeze words together at the end of the first line.

Iusta (Ywsth) is a hypocoristic of Latin Iustus (Ἰοῦστος) or Iustinus, a name used by Jews throughout antiquity, but rarely appearing in Hebrew. טימי tymy is a

direct transliteration of τιμή, as found in Jewish literary sources, cf. Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 94; συσση psypsh is also a Greek word, appearing frequently in Jewish inscriptions. The compound form dydh in the expression  $mn\ dydh$  in l.3 ("from his own" [lit. "from what is in his hand"]) is a synonym to the earlier compound form dylh ("that which belongs to him"). The precise date of its appearance is not known but it is not attested in epigraphic finds from the Judaean desert preceding the mid-2 c. CE. Klein had previously read the letters of the last word in l.3 of inscription (a) differently, rendering mryšh "and the roof" (ZDPV 1928) or mrwšh "and the bowl" (Sefer Ha-Yishuv). But the tav seems clear, and supposing a metathesis of vav and shin and the omission of the third-person suffix seems the most convincing solution, yielding wmrwšt(h) "and from his legal property." The word ršw, meaning "permission, authority," is used here with a concrete rather than an abstract meaning, referring to property a person holds legally (see Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 94).

In inscription (b), the final *he* in *'tth* is superfluous unless a *dalet* is missing before Pinḥas' name.

Bibl.: L. Vincent - B. Carrière, RB 30, 1921, 579-601 at 581-4 nos. 1, 2 (ed. pr.). - Klein, JPCI 69-74 no. 3; H. Lietzmann, ZNTW 20, 1921, 252ff. at 252ff. nos. 1f.; S. Klein, BIES 2, 1925, 39f. nos. 17f. (Hebr.); id., ZDPV 51, 1928, 135ff. no. 2; S. Krauss, REJ 89, 1930, 385-413 at 396-9; M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 2, 1933, 136-81 at 155ff. no. 69a,b; Sukenik, Ancient Synagogues 75; id., El-Hammeh 50, 57; L. Vincent, RB 44, 1935, 111-4 at 114; C. Kopp, Grabungen und Forschungen im Heiligen Land 1867/1938, 1939, 114; H. May, Biblical Archaeologist 7, 1944, 1-20 at 9; E. Sukenik, Bulletin of the Rabinowitz Fund 1, 1949, 9ff., pl. III; CIJ 2, 1197, 1198; Goodenough, Jewish Symbols I 253-6 no. 44, III figs. 642-47; Robert, Hellenica 11/12, 381-413 at 382f. n.4; L. Vincent - P. Benoit, RB 68, 1961, 161-77; G. Stemberger, Kairos 17, 1975, 23-56 at 53f.; G. Foerster, Immanuel 6, 1976, 50-54 at 53f.; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 323f. nos. 1f.; M. Avi-Yonah, EAEHL 3, 1977, 891; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1977, 109 (Hebr.); MPAT 254f., 281f. no. A2; Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 93ff. nos. 58f. (Hebr.); Shanks, Judaism in Stone 149; J. Yahalom, Immanuel 10, 1980, 47-56 at 51f.; J. Naveh, in: L. Levine ed., Ancient Synagogues Revealed, 1981, 133-9 at 136f.; Avi-Yonah, Art 302; B. Brooten, Women Leaders in the Ancient Synagogue, 1982, 160; Chiat, Handbook 258f. nos. 1f.; Keel - Küchler 557f.; Beyer, Aramäische Texte 391ff. nos. ggNO 1, ggNO 2; L. Levine, Cathedra 60, 1991, 36-84 at 72 (Hebr.); Naveh, On Sherd and Papyrus 134f., 137 (Hebr.); M. Avi-Yonah, NEAEHL 3, 1993, 1075f.; G. Mussies, in: Early Jewish Epigraphy 242-76 at 252f; A. Ovadiah, Assaph 2, 1996, 49-58 at 54; L. Roussin, in: Edwards - McCollough 87-90; H. Mack, Cathedra 88, 1998, 39-56 at 42 (Hebr.); A. Ovadiah, Deltion ChAE 20, 1998, 55-64 at 55f., 58; Baumann, Spätantike Stifter 323-7; Levine, Ancient Synagogue 205 fig. 24; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 404f., 412f.; Milson, Art and Architecture 440f.; Hachlili, AMP 19, 211, 233, 238; A. Ovadiah, SBF 60, 2010, 307-17 at 317; Sorek 144; Magen, Good Samaritan 118-23; Z. Weiss, in: D. Schwartz - Z. Weiss eds., Was 70 CE a Watershed in Jewish History?, 2012, 91-111 at 100f.; Hachlili, Ancient Synagogues 418ff., 532 fig. VIII,16; S. Fine, Art, History and the Historiography of Judaism in Roman Antiquity, 2014, 215-21; Werlin, Synagogues 37f.

Photo: CIJ 2 p. 234.

#### 2731. Aramaic dedication of Halifu, 5-6 c. CE

Two lines of square Jewish script in mosaic in the narthex to the building; words in black tesserae against a white and tan background, within an ornamental frame whose top line is black and bottom line is red and black, and which was probably once a tabula ansata. Inscription is complete with only a small part of l.2 missing; lines uneven, spaces between words.

Meas.: inscription h 37, w 137 cm; letters 3.5-6.8 cm.

Findspot: This inscription was placed near the edge of the northern wall of the main hall, inside the entrance and just south of a mosaic depicting a pair of gazelles; unlike the gazelles, the text of the dedication is oriented so that the visitor could read it when entering the main hall; see introduction to nos. 2730-2736 figs. A, B, no. B.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. 98.21/2. Replica in Good Samaritan Museum, Ma'ale Adumim. Autopsy: 22 October 2013 (WE/DK).

דכירה לטב חליפו ברת רבי ספרה דאתחזקת בהדין אתרה [...]שה אמן



fig. 2731

דכירה לטב חליפו ברת רבי ספרה | דאתחזקת בהדין אתרה [קדי]שה, אמן

Translit.: dkyrh ltb hlypw brt rby sprh | d'thzqt bhdyn 'trh [qdy]šh, 'mn

Remembered for the good be Ḥalifu, the daughter of Rabbi Safra, who (Ḥalifu) supported this holy place. Amen.

Comm.: It seems that Ḥalifu subsidized the construction and/or maintenance of the building, and perhaps esp. contributed substantially to the expensive mosaic in the main hall. It is interesting that two of the three benefactors whose names a visitor would first see (this text and no. 2730) were women; cf. Brooten.

The feminine name Ḥlypw (l.1), with the final long /ū/ vowel, is built like the Aramaic abstract feminine nouns (e.g., ršu) rather than the Arabic male names ending with vav (e.g., Ḥlpw). The same name, but without a yod (ילפו Ḥlpw), appears on a woman's sixth-century tombstone at Zoar (J. Naveh, Tarbiz 64, 1995, 480 no. 3 [Hebr.]). Males named Ḥlpw are mentioned in synagogue inscriptions from Capernaum (Naveh, Stone and Mosaic, no. 18), Ḥorvat Kanaf (Naveh, no. 19), Ḥamat Gader (Naveh, no. 33) and (as Ḥlpy) from ʿEin Gedi (no. 3853); and note the Nabatean Ḥlypw (Negev, Personal Names, no. 448) and the same in Palmyra (Stark 22); אוֹלִיבּא Ḥlypʾ appears in papyri (Ilan, Lexicon I 381), and אוֹלִיבּא from Jerusalem, CIIP I 224.

The first letter of the father's name may be *samekh* or *tet*, but only *sprh* ('the scribe') is attested also as a private name, as at the synagogue at Dura Europus (Noy - Bloedhorn, IJO III Syr84) and in rabbinic literature (Ilan, Lexicon I 397f., II 372, IV 387f.). Safra is not, however, a sage known in traditional rabbinic sources; on the vexed question of "rabbi" in inscriptions, see F. Millar and also S. Miller 2004 and 2014, citing previous bibliography. The word *d'thzqt* in l.2 is the 'etpa'al stem of *hzq*, functioning as an active verb, and is well attested in the synagogue inscriptions; according to the context it indicates some kind of support, presumably financial (see Naveh, pp. 10 and 96). On the synagogue as a "holy place" in Late Antiquity, a designation based on the reading of biblical scrolls and imagery of the Temple there, and development of the synagogue as a "liturgical space," see Fine 206-9; there are many ancient synagogues designated as "holy place" in Iudaea/Palaestina, e.g. Kefar Ḥananiya, Ḥammat Tiberias, Beth She'an/Scythopolis (Naveh, nos. 16, 26, 46).

Bibl.: L. Vincent - B. Carrière, RB 30, 1921, 579-601 at 585ff. no. 3 (ed. pr.). – H. Lietzmann, ZNTW 20, 1921, 252ff. no. 3; S. Klein, BIES 2, 1925, 40 no. 19 (Hebr.); id., ZDPV 51, 1928, 135ff. at 136 no. 2; S. Krauss, REJ 89, 1930, 385-413 at 400f. no. 3; M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 2, 1933, 136-81 at 155ff. no. 69,2; CIJ 2, 1199; M. Avi-Yonah, EAEHL 3, 1977, 892; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 325 no. 3; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1977, 109f. (Hebr.); MPAT 254f., 282 no. A3; Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 95ff. no. 60 (Hebr.); Avi-Yonah, Art 302; S. Cohen, JQR 72, 1981/2, 1-17 at 6 no. 48; B. Brooten, Women Leaders in the Ancient Synagogue, 1982, 160; Chiat, Handbook 259 no. 3; Keel - Küchler 557ff.; Beyer, Aramäische Texte 391ff. no. ggNO 3; Fine, Holy Place 121, 220; Baumann, Spätantike Stifter 327; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 407f.; S. Miller, JQR 94, 2004, 27-76 at 49f. n.82; F. Millar, JSJ 42, 2011, 253-77 at 266f.; S. Miller, in: S. Fine - A. Koller, eds., Talmuda De-Eretz Israel, 2014, 239-73; Werlin, Synagogues 42f.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

AY/JJP

## 2732. Zodiac and seasons with Aramaic inscriptions, 5-6 c. CE

The central panel of the central mosaic floor is a polychrome zodiac, with Helios in the center and the four seasons in the corners. The names of the signs and the seasons are written in square Jewish script in black tesserae, some have been damaged or erased along with the almost total obliteration of the figures.

Meas.: panel: 4.05x4.05 m.

Findspot: Nave of the main hall; see introduction to nos. 2730-2736 figs. A, B, no. C.

Pres. loc.: In situ.

טלה שור [...]מים סרטן אריה בתולה מוזניים [--] [--] [--] [--] דגים תקו[...]יסן [--] תקופת [..]רי תקופת טיבית



fig. 2732.1

טלה | שור | [תאו]מים | סרטן | אריה | בתולה | מוזניים | [עקרב] | [קשת] | [גדי] | [דלי] | דגים | תקו[פת נ]יסן | [תקופת תמוז] | תקופת [תש]רי | תקופת טיבית

Translit.: tlh | šwr | [t'w]mym | srtn | 'ryh | btwlh | mwznyym | ['qrb] | [qšt] | [gdy] | [dly] | dgym tqw[pt n]ysn | [tqwpt tmwz] | tqwpt [tš]ry | tqwpt tybyt

Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Carpricorn, Aquarius, Pisces.

The season of Nisan (Spring), The season of Tammuz (Summer), The season of Tishrei (Autumn), The season of Tevet (Winter).



fig. 2732.2



fig. 2732.3



fig. 2732.5



fig. 2732.7



fig. 2732.4



fig. 2732.6

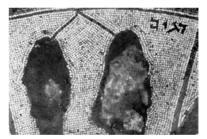


fig. 2732.8



fig. 2732.9

Comm.: The iconoclasts who destroyed the figures of the zodiacal signs and seasons were not as careful in this panel to preserve the Hebrew labels, but there is no problem in their reconstruction. Note the comparative chart of the Hebrew astrological names in the zodiac inscriptions in Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 153. In this panel, the zodiac cycle proceeds in clockwise direction, whereas the seasons are arranged in counter-clockwise order; the sea-



fig. 2732.10

sons Tishrei and Tevet (autumn and winter) are reversed, not placed with their correct signs.

In addition to Naʿaran, zodiacs have been discovered in the synagogues at Hamat Tiberias, Sepphoris, Beth Alfa, Huseifa, and Susiya (nos. 3870-3887; the names of the signs and seasons, without figurative depiction, are written in the ʿEin Gedi synagogue mosaic, no. 3853). Their function in a Jewish building has been intensely debated, see most recently Hachlili, Ancient Synagogues 339-88; Levine, Ancient Synagogue 572-8.

Bibl.: L. Vincent, RB 30, 1921, 442f. (ed. pr.). – M. Fitzgerald, PEQ 53, 1921, 175-86 at 186; S. Klein, BIES 2, 1925, 402f. (Hebr.); A. Marmorstein, PEQ 62, 1930, 154-7; M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 2, 1933, 136-81 at 155ff. no. 69,2; id., QDAP 3, 1934, 26-73 at 51f. no. 342c; Sukenik, Ancient Synagogues 28-31, 72-76; H. May, Biblical Archaeologist 7, 1944, 1-20 at 9, 20; CIJ 2, 1206, 1207; Goodenough, Jewish Symbols I 253-6 no. 44; S. Birnbaum, The Hebrew Scripts, 1971, 185 no. 109,3; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 325f. no. 4; R. Hachlili, BASOR 228, 1977, 61-77 at 65f., figs. 4, 5, 6; M. Avi-Yonah, EAEHL 3, 1977, 893; Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 102 no. 67 (Hebr.); Shanks, Judaism in Stone 149; Avi-Yonah, Art 353; Chiat, Handbook 259 no. 4; G. Foerster, EI 18, 1985, 380-91 (Hebr.); L. Roussin, in: Edwards - McCollough 83-96 fig. 4; Baumann, Spätantike Stifter 325; J. Baumgarten, in: S. Fine ed., Jews, Christians, and Polytheists in the Ancient Synagogue, 1999, 71-86 at 72 fig. 5,3; E. Revel-Neher, in: L. Levine - Z. Weiss eds., From Dura to Sepphoris, 2000, 53-63 at 55 fig. 29; Levine, Ancient Synagogue 205 fig. 24; Schwartz, Imperialism 134f.; R. Hachlili, JSQ 9, 2002, 219-58; Weiss, Sepphoris Synagogue 107f.; Hachlili, AMP 19, 37, 41-6, 211, 233, 238; ead., Ancient Synagogues 572-8; Yuval-Hacham 29, 44f., figs. 1, 2; Werlin, Synagogues 47-56.

Photo: Goodenough, Jewish Symbols III figs. 644, 647 (ph., dr.); Hachlili, AMP 211 fig. 10,1 b,c; Werlin, Synagogues, figs. 16-18, 20, 23, 25.

AY/JJP

#### 2733. Aramaic mosaic inscriptions of Daniel and Shmu'el, 5-6 c. CE

Two words in two lines (a), square Jewish script, black tesserae on white and tan background, placed above and to the right of the head (defaced) and praying arms of the Daniel figure. Two-line inscription (b), square Jewish script, black tesserae on white and tan background, placed between the Daniel figure and the right-hand lion.

Findspot: Nave of the main hall, in the third panel; see introduction to nos. 2730-2736 figs. A, B, no. D.

Pres. loc.: "The remnants of Daniel and the associated inscriptions ... are currently undergoing restoration at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, although they are technically on loan from the École biblique" (Werlin 53 n.121).

- (a) דניא[.] שלום
- (b) דכיר לט שמואל
- (a) שלום דניא[ל], | שלום
- (b) דכיר לט[ב] אמואל

Translit.: (a) dny [l], | šlwm (b) dkyr lt[b] | šmw l

- (a) Daniel, peace.
- (b) May Shmu'el be remembered for the good.

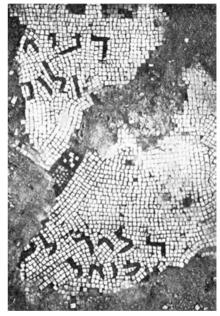


fig. 2733.1

Comm.: The iconoclasts who defaced the mosaic ruined the images of Daniel and the lions but left the two-word inscriptions intact; Klein surmised that the full inscription (a) read דניאל עליו שלום hy'l 'lyw šlwm "Daniel, may peace be upon him," but there seems not have been enough space after "Daniel"; the same problem attends Schwabe's suggestion דניאל שלום ובריא dny'l šlwm wbry'. The

figure of Daniel seems to have been portrayed in a praying position. While Daniel was a common motif in Christian art, he is rarely depicted in Jewish synagogues: aside from this clear ex-



fig. 2733.2

ample, there was one probably in Susiya, with an inscription (no. 3875); and images without inscriptions in 'Ein Samsam in the Golan, and in Sardis (Hachlili, Ancient Synagogues 418; Levine 304, 350). Daniel's praying posture in the Jewish instances has led S. Fine (2005) to suggest that he represented the prayer leader before the Torah ark.

Shmu'el may have been a craftsman or a donor. The inscription is complete, but it may have continued after his name, in the ruined mosaic.

Bibl.: L. Vincent - B. Carrière, RB 30, 1921, 579-601 no. 6 (ed. pr.). - W. Albright, BASOR 5, 1921, 9-23 at 20f.; C. Clermont-Ganneau, CRAI 1921, 141f.; H. Lietzmann, ZNTW 20, 1921, 252ff. no. 6; S. Klein, BIES 2, 1925, 41 nos. 22, 23 (Hebr.); H. Leclercq, DACL 7, 1927, 2231-5 at 2231f.; S. Klein, ZDPV 51, 1928, 135ff. no. 2; S. Krauss, REJ 89, 1930, 385-413 at 403 no. 6; M. Avi-Yonah, BIES 1, 1933, 9-15 (Hebr.); id., QDAP 2, 1933, 136-81 at 155ff. no. 69,2; M. Schwabe, Tarbiz 7, 1936, 345-51 at 349 (Hebr.); H. May, Biblical Archaeologist 7, 1944, 1-20 at 9; CIJ 2, 1200, 1201; Goodenough, Jewish Symbols I 253-6 no. 44, II 129, III figs. 642-7; Mazar, Beth She'arim I 77f.; G. Stemberger, Kairos 17, 1975, 23-56 at 23f.; M. Avi-Yonah, EAEHL 3, 1977, 893; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 326 nos. 5, 6; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1977, 109f. (Hebr.); Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 97 nos. 61, 62 (Hebr.); MPAT 256f., 282 no. A6; Avi-Yonah, Art 303; Chiat, Handbook 259 nos. 5, 6; Keel - Küchler 557ff.; Beyer, Aramäische Texte 391ff. no. ggNO 4; L. Dequeker, Bijdragen 47, 1986, 2-30 at 27f.; Hachlili, Jewish Art 294f.; Z. Ilan, in: D. Urman - P. Flesher eds., Ancient Synagogues 1, 1995, 256-88 at 277ff.; A. Ovadiah, Assaph 2, 1996, 49-58 at 51, 54; R. Hachlili, in: S. Fine ed., Sacred Realm, 1996, 96-129 at 119f., fig. 5,17; G. Stemberger, JBTh 13, 1998, 145-70 at 147f.; Baumann, Spätantike Stifter 316, 325; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 413; S. Fine, Art and Judaism in the Greco-Roman World, 2005, 193; L. Levine, Visual Judaism in Late Anquity, 2012, 350f.; Hachlili, Ancient Synagogues 418ff.; Yuval-Hacham 44f., fig. 29; Werlin, Synagogues 53ff., 61.

Photo: CIJ 2 p. 236; Hachlili, Ancient Synagogues 420 fig. 8,16a (dr.).

AY/JJP

# 2734. Beniamin the *parnas* and general dedication to the synagogue with Aramaic inscriptions, 5-6 c. CE

Three-line inscription (a) in square Jewish script formed by a single line of black tesserae on a white and tan background, squeezed in between the left-hand lion and Daniel's upraised hand. The field of the inscription is damaged on the right and upper left sides, but all letters are legible and no significant text is missing. Eight uneven, narrowly spaced lines (b) of square Jewish script, black tesserae on white and tan background, set just below inscription (a). The right side of the text was damaged when the figure of Daniel was effaced.

Findspot: Nave of the main hall, in the third panel; see introduction to nos. 2730-2736 figs. A, B, no. E.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. S-900.

דכירלטב בינימיןפרנסה בינימיןפרנסה בר יוסה [.]כירין לטב כל מן (b) +מתחזק ויהב או [.]+הב בהדן אתרה [.]דישה בן דהב בן [.]סף בן כל מקמה [.]היא [.]+ן חוקהון אמן



fig. 2734

- (a) דכיר לטב | בינימין פרנסה | בר יוסה
- (b) | [ד]כירין לטב כל מן | דמתחזק ויהב או | [ד]יהב בהדן אתרה | [ק]דישה בן דהב בן | [ד]כירין לטב כל מקמה | [ד]היא, [א]מן. חו<ל>קהון | בהדן אתרה קדישה, | אמן

Translit.: (a) dkyr lţb | bynymyn prnsh | br ywsh

- (b) [d]kyryn lṭb kl mn | dmtḥzq wyhb 'w | [d]yhb bhdn 'trh | [q]dyšh bn dhb bn | [k]sp bn kl mqmh | [d]hy', [']mn. ḥw<l>qhwn | bhdn 'trh qdyšh, 'mn
- (a) Remembered for the good be Beniamin the parnas, son of Yose.
- (b) Remembered for the good be everyone who supports and donates or will donate [or: has donated] in this holy place, whether gold or silver or anything else (of value), Amen. Their share is in this holy place, Amen.

Comm.: (a) In the name *Bynymyn* (l.2), the first *yod* serves as a mater lectionis (in the Bible the name appears without this *yod*, like the word *bn* "son"). The name Yose (l.3), well-attested throughout the Roman period, is a hypocoristic of the biblical name Yosef/Joseph. The title *parnas* indicates an administrator, mid- or even high-level within a community, whose ad hoc functions varied from place to place; it had no fixed meaning or function. Bar Kochba appointed *parnasim*, see e.g., P.Yadin 44 l 6 and 45 l 12, commentary with parallels in: Y. Yadin et al., The Documents from the Bar Kochba Period in the Cave of Letters, 2002, 48f.; the term is

found also on lead weights during the Bar Kochba period (see no. 3426). For the varied later uses, esp. in rabbinic literature, see Z. Safrai, in: I. Gafni ed., Kehal Israel: Jewish Self-Rule Through the Ages 1, 2001, 150-3 (Hebr.). The terms ὁ προνοήτής and ὁ προνούμενος in the synagogue pavement in Ḥammat Tiberias are probable parallels to parnas, Roth-Gerson, Greek Inscriptions, nos. 16 and 18.

- (b) For the many variant readings, see Avi-Yonah, QDAP 2; Naveh's interpretation is adopted here.
- l.3: [d]yhb may be an uncommon use of the verb yhb in the future tense, in which the root ntn dominates. Alternatively, this verb is in the past tense (Kutscher). Naveh's interpretation of the verb as future is based on the synagogue inscription from Ḥammat Tiberias (Naveh, no. 26 and p. 99).
- l.4: *bn* is a defective spelling of the word *byn* appearing here in the structure "*byn* x *byn* y" meaning "whether x or y."
- l.5: *mqmh* is a feminine noun from the root *qwm* (M. Sokoloff, A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, 1990, 327), meaning an object (of value).
- l.6: The reconstruction of this line is conjectural (see Naveh 99f.). If it is correct, the personal feminine pronoun is spelled with a final *alef*, as it is in Hebrew. A *lamed* has been omitted in the word *ḥw<l>qhwn* ("their share"), which begins a new phrase after the damaged and reconstructed word *mn* (Amen; so Naveh 99). In this inscription, "share" refers to the donation to the synagogue, whereas in other inscriptions the same word refers to a place with the righteous in the afterlife, as at Chorazin יהי לה חולק עם צדיקיה (Naveh, no. 17).

Anonymity is a relatively rare phenomenon in euergetistic inscriptions: we know roughly ten instances in Iudaea/Palaestina: in addition to the present inscription in Naʿaran, Ḥamat Gader (Naveh, no. 34), Beth Sheʾan (Naveh, nos. 46, 47), Jericho (no. 2807 this vol.), Ḥ. Susiya (no. 3882 this vol.), Ḥuseifa (Naveh, no. 39), Beth Alfa (Naveh, no. 43), Maon (Naveh, no. 57). These are all Aramaic; the only Greek instance is at Beth Sheʾan (Roth Gerson, Greek Inscriptions, no. 9). Anonymous benefaction indicates a special euergetistic ethic or piety, rather than "community ownership of the synagogue" (Chiat).

Bibl.: L. Vincent, RB 28, 1919, 532-63 at 537f. (dr.); id. - B. Carrière, RB 30, 1921, 579-601 at 587f. nos. 4, 5 (edd. prr.). - C. Clermont-Ganneau, CRAI 1919, 87-120 at 93f.; Klein, JPCI 69-74 no. 3; S. Cook, PEQ 52, 1920, 82-7; N. Slousch, JPOS 1, 1920, 33ff., 215; A. Marmorstein, PEQ 52, 1920, 139ff.; id., PEQ 53, 1921, 187-90 at 189; H. Lietzmann, ZNTW 20, 1921, 252ff. nos. 4, 5; S. Klein, BIES 2, 1925, 42 nos. 24, 25 (Hebr.); H. Leclercq, DACL 7, 1927, 2231-35 at 2232ff., fig. 6173; K. Galling, ZDPV 50, 1927, 298-319 at 313ff.; S. Klein, ZDPV 51, 1928, 135ff. no. 2; S. Krauss, REJ 89, 1930, 385-413 at 401f. nos. 4, 5; M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 2, 1933, 136-81 at 155ff. no. 69,2; Sukenik, Ancient Synagogues 73; H. May, Biblical Archaeologist 7, 1944, 1-20 at 18; CIJ 2, 1202, 1203; E. Kutscher, in: F. Rosenthal ed., An Aramaic Handbook I 1, 1967, 51-70 at 70 no. c; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 326f. nos. 7, 8; M. Avi-Yonah, EAEHL 3, 1977, 891-4; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1977, 109f. (Hebr.); Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 97-100 nos. 63, 64 (Hebr.); MPAT 254f., 282 nos. A4, A5; M. Sokoloff, Maarav 1, 1978, 79-84 at 81 no. 64; Avi-Yonah, Art 303; Keel - Küchler 557ff.; Chiat, Handbook 259 no. 7; Beyer, Aramäische Texte 391ff. no. ggNO 5 and 6; E. Meyers, in: S. Fine ed., Sacred Realm, 1996, 21-47 at 38 fig. 2,13; G. Stemberger, in:

A. Kofsky - G. Stroumsa eds., Sharing the Sacred, 1998, 131-46 at 139; Schwartz, Imperialism 286 n.31; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 402f., 408 n.443; Hachlili, AMP 19, 211, 233, 238; Yuval-Hacham 29, 44f., fig. 1; Werlin, Synagogues 54, 60f., fig. 29.

Photo: IAA.

AY/JJP

#### 2735. Aramaic dedication to the synagogue, 5-6 c. CE

Four uneven lines, the first comprising only three letters (above and to the right of the second line), in black tesserae against a white and tan background, above the right-hand menorah. The left side of the inscription is damaged.

Meas.: w (second line) 135 cm; letters 5.5 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: Nave of the main hall, in the third panel; see introduction to nos. 2730-2736 figs. A, B, no. F.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. 98.21/2.

דכי דיר לטב מרות[--]טינה ויעק[.] ברה דהנון מתחזקין בת[...] אתרה [...]קהָון בהדן אתר[--]ה אמ[.]



fig. 2735

| ד<כ>יר לטב מרות[--]טינה ויעק[ב] | ברה דהנון מתחזקין בת[קון] אתרה. | [חול]קהון בהדן אתר[ה קדיש]ה, אמ[ן]

Translit.: {dky} | d<k>yr lṭb mrwt[--]ṭynh wyʻq[b] | brh dhnwn mtḥzqyn bt[qwn] 'trh. | [ḥwl]qhwn bhdn 'tr[h qdyš]h, 'm[n]

Remembered for the good be mrwt ... tynh and Ya'akov (Jacob) his son, who support the repair of the place. Their share is in this holy place, Amen.

Comm.: The craftsman who inserted this inscription into the mosaic seems to have started with a mistake, forgetting the kaf in the first word דביר dkyr, and instead of lifting up those tiles and starting again he squeezed in דבי dky above and to the right, so that the observer is supposed to read one word, דביר dkyr.

There are not enough legible letters to reconstruct the name of Jacob's father. The first four letters may be part of a name, or alternatively a title, i.e., mrwt as a variant of the more common mr ("lord," "master"). Remains of the same word appear in inscription no. 2736. It is not an abstract noun, as Naveh explains (cf. "lordship" in English). The name  $M\alpha\rho\sigma\dot{\nu}\theta\alpha\varsigma$  is found in a synagogue inscription from Caesarea (CIIP II 1141), and  $M\alpha\rho\sigma\dot{\nu}\tau o\varsigma$  in a papyrus (CPJ 430); indeed, Ilan,

Lexicon II 364 understands the current instance as a personal name by itself, which is less likely given the syntax of the inscription.

The conjectural reconstruction *btqwn* in l.3, suggested by Naveh, instead of *bh[dn]*, is based on his reading the letter after *bet* as *tav* rather than *he*. The present tense of *mthzqyn* is notable, emphasizing perhaps the continuing benefit of their benefaction (and therefore "are supporting" may be a better translation). The first three letters of the word *hwlqhwn* are missing altogether above the decoration, and only parts of *qof* and *he* may be detected. The remains of *qof* and *he* indicate that this part of the mosaic has been repaired and the first letters existed at an earlier stage, thus this inscription was not part of the original design. Moreover, there may not be enough space for the second word in the reconstructed *'tr[h qdyš]h*. See Hüttenmeister - Reeg, MPAT and Beyer for further readings and suggestions by other editors.

Bibl.: L. Vincent - B. Carrière, RB 30, 1921, 579-601 no. 7 (ed. pr.). – H. Lietzmann, ZNTW 20, 1921, 252ff. no. 7; S. Klein, BIES 2, 1925, 25-39 at 40f. no. 21 (Hebr.); id., ZDPV 51, 1928, 135ff. no. 2; S. Krauss, REJ 89, 1930, 385-413 at 403ff. no. 7; M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 2, 1933, 136-81 at 155ff. no. 69,2; id., QDAP 3, 1934, 26-73 at 51f. no. 342c; Sukenik, Ancient Synagogues 76; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 109f. (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 1204; M. Avi-Yonah, EAEHL 3, 1977, 894; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 330ff. no. 9; Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 100f. no. 65 (Hebr.); MPAT 256f., 283 no. A7; Avi-Yonah, Art 303; Keel - Küchler 557ff.; Chiat, Handbook 259 no. 9; Beyer, Aramäische Texte 391ff. no. ggNO 7; Vriezen, Mosaic Pavements 251; Baumann, Spätantike Stifter 325; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 408; Hachlili, AMP 19, 211, 233, 238; Yuval-Hacham 29, 44f., fig. 1; Werlin, Synagogues 55f., fig. 31.

Photo: CIJ 2 p. 239.

AY/JJP

#### 2736. Aramaic dedication to the synagogue, 5-6 c. CE

Three uneven lines of square Jewish script squeezed in above the left-hand menorah, black tesserae against a white and tan background. The left side of the inscription is damaged and missing.

Meas.: w (longest preserved line) 80 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: Nave of the main hall, in the third panel; see introduction to nos. 2730-2736 figs. A, B, no. G.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

דכיר לטב מרו[--] בר כריס[--] חולקהון בה[--]



fig. 2736

דכיר לטב מרו[--] | בר כריס[-- ו-- ברה?]. | חולקהון בה[דן אתרה קדישה, אמן]

Translit.: dkyr ltb mrw[--] | br krys[-- w-- brh?]. | hwlqhwn bh[dn 'trh qdyšh, 'mn]

Remembered for the good be mrw... the son of Krys... and ... his son(?). Their share is in this holy place, Amen.

Comm.: The identical mrw- at the beginning of a personal name in this inscription and no. 2735 may indicate the same title, mrwt, if not the same person in each text. This inscription was probably shorter than no. 2735, since there is not enough room for a subordinate clause in l.2. The father's name, beginning with krys-, could be completed Krispus (=Crispus, a Latin name), Krispinus, Krispianus, vel sim. (see LGPN KPIΣ-); a Rabbi Krospai, sometimes rendered Krispai קריספאי, is mentioned several times in the Jerusalem Talmud (see Kosovsky, Yer. ad loc.), and Jews named Κρίσπος can be found in the synagogue inscription in Tiberias (Roth-Gerson, Greek inscriptions, no. 15), in Jos. Vita 33, in Acts 18,8 (an archisynagogos), and in an epitaph from Cyrene (Lüderitz - Reynolds, no. 12). A Jewish name beginning Chris- is not likely. See Avi-Yonah, QDAP 2 for variant readings and editorial suggestions. The fragmentary condition of the inscription makes it impossible to know what the donors actually gave, but given the similar styles of this inscription and no. 2735 and the rather haphazard insertion of both in a place apparently not originally intended for such inscriptions, the donors here may also have been involved in repairs.

Bibl.: L. Vincent - B. Carrière, RB 30, 1921, 579-601 at 600f. no. 8 (ed. pr.). - H. Lietzmann, ZNTW 20, 1921, 252ff. no. 8; S. Klein, BIES 2, 1925, 40 no. 19 (Hebr.); id., ZDPV 51, 1928, 135ff. no. 2; S. Krauss, REJ 89, 1930, 385-413 at 405 no. 8; M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 2, 1933, 136-81 at 155ff. no. 69,2; id., QDAP 3, 1934, 26-73 at 51f. no. 342c; CIJ 2, 1205; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 332ff. no. 10; M. Avi-Yonah, EAEHL 3, 1977, 894; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1977, 109 (Hebr.); Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 101f. no. 66 (Hebr.); MPAT 256f., 283 no. A8; Avi-Yonah, Art 303; Keel - Küchler 557ff.; Chiat, Handbook 259 no. 10; Beyer, Aramäische Texte 391ff. no. ggNO 8; Baumann, Spätantike Stifter 325; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 408 n.443; Hachlili, AMP 19, 211, 233, 238; Yuval-Hacham 29, 44f., fig. 1; Werlin, Synagogues 56, 62f.

Photo: CIJ 2 p. 240.

AY/JJP

# XXXV. Kh. el-Hadatha

#### 2737. LXX Ps 41,2 on a mosaic

Mosaic pavement, inscription in a rectangular frame.

Findspot: A fifth-century basilica with a nave and two aisles, an atrium to the west; see Ribak for a description of the whole structure. The western part of the nave has a white mosaic; the eastern part contains the inscription at the steps leading to the bema. Baumann 289 notes the importance of this place, the last one to be reached by the non-clergy.



fig. 2737

- [...]ΡΟΠΟΝΕΠΙΠΟΘΙΗΕΛΑΦΟΣΕΠΙΤΑΣΠΗ
- [...]ΤΩΝΥΔΑΤΩΝΟΥΤΩΣΕΠΙΠΟΘΙΗΨΥ
- [...]ΟΥΠΡΟΣΣΕΟ $\overline{\Theta\Sigma}$ ΧΡΒΟΗ $\Theta$ ΙΤΩΚΤΙΣΤΗ

[δν τ]ρόπον ἐπιποθῖ ἡ ἔλαφος ἐπὶ τὰς πη|[γὰς] τῶν ὑδάτων, οὕτως ἐπιποθῖ ἡ ψυ|[χή μ]ου πρός σε, ὁ θ(εό)ς. Χρ(ίστε), βοήθι τῶ κτίστη

As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God (King James Version). Christ, help the founder.

Comm.: The ed. pr. and later on Felle and Madden present different line divisions. – Dated to the 5/6 c. AD. Felle notes that this is the only quotation of this passage in the East. l.3: The quotation includes  $\delta \theta(\epsilon \delta)\varsigma$ , which is decisive for the significance of this place (see findspot). Baumann 297 on the anonymity of the  $\varkappa\tau$ ίστης.

Bibl.: Ovadiah, MPI 93f. no. 156 (ed. pr.). – HA 5, 1963, 17f. (Hebr.); RB 70, 1963, 559f.; SEG 37, 1497; Ovadiah, Corpus 110 no. 107; Vriezen, Mosaic Pacements 259; Felle, Biblia epigraphica 119 no. 184; Madden, Corpus 70 no. 85. – Cf. M. Avi-Yonah - R. Cohen - A. Ovadiah, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 310; Baumann, Spätantike Stifter 289, 297; Ribak, Religious Communities 167.

Photo: IAA.

## XXXVI. Kh. el-Misbah

## 2738. Greek mosaic inscription mentioning Gelasis

Findspot: Kh. el-Misbah is "2 km southwest of the village of Beit 'Ur et-Taḥta" (Magen - Kagan). Unpublished excavation of 1941 with plans and photographs in the IAA archive. "A large hall, northwest-southeast in orientation, was most likely divided by columns, traces of which were found in the mosaic floor. Two of the colorful hall mosaic carpets are decorated with geometric patterns; the northern carpet contains a Greek inscription set in an octagon" (Magen - Kagan). They believe the structure to be a monastery, and in case of a different orientation the large hall could well have been a chapel or even a church.

ΛΩ ΓΕΛΑΣΙΣ PΟΥΦΩ+++ ΕΔΩΚ ΛΤΗ (cross)

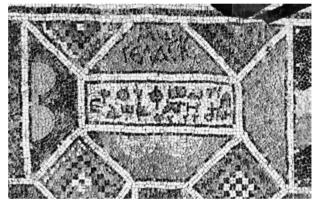


fig. 2738

 $\mathring{a}(\lambda \Phi \alpha)$ .  $\mathring{\omega}$  (μέγα). | Γελάσις. | Ῥού $\Phi \omega$  ... | ἔδωκα τῆ | ++++++

Alpha. Omega. Gelasis. For Rufus ... I gave to the ...

Bibl.: Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 14 fig. 166. – Cf. Y. Magen - I. Finkelstein, Archaeological Survey of the Hill Country of Benjamin, 1993, 119f. no. 132 (Hebr.).

Photo: IAA.

# XXXVII. Bethoron (mod. Beit 'Ur et-Tahta)

## 2739. Fragment of a sarcophagus with Greek inscriptions

Fragment of a sarcophagus, made of white marble; inscription (a) "à la bande supérieure," (b) "dans un registre inférieur au-dessus des rosaces qui décorent la paroi" (Séjourné).

Meas.: letters (a) 3.5, (b) 2 cm.

Findspot: In the neighborhood of the new mosque among the ruins of a Christian church.

(a) [--]ΑΣΙΑΣ[--](b) [--]ΠΡΟΒΟΥΑΝΔΡ[--]

fig. 2739.1 (a)

(a) [--]ασίας [--](b) [--]προβου 'Ανδρ[--]

////ΠΡΟΒΟ**ΥΑΝΔΡ////**/

fig. 2739.2 (b)

- (a) ... of ... asia ...
- (b) ... son of Andr...

Comm.: It cannot be determined whether (a) and (b) belong to a single text or to two different burials. (a)  $[Ava\sigma\tau]\alpha\sigma i\alpha\varsigma$ ,  $[\Delta o\xi]\alpha\sigma i\alpha\varsigma$  vel sim. (b) almost certainly  $\Pi\rho i\beta o\upsilon$ .

Bibl.: P.-M. Séjourné, RB 7, 1898, 122 nos. 1, 2 (ed. pr.).

Photo: P.-M. Séjourné, RB 7, 1898, 122 (dr.).

WA

# XXXVIII. Masepha (Mizpeh, mod. Tell en-Nasbeh)

#### 2740. Lintel with Greek funerary inscription

Left part of a lintel from the entrance of a tomb; the upper, left and lower edge of the stone are preserved.

Findspot: Atrium of a church, covered with a flagstone pavement, which, in its eastern part, "provides the covering of an arcosolia-type tomb" (Abu Khalaf - Abu A'mar - Al-Houdalieh - Hoyland 58). A door to the tomb is built into the southern wall of the church. This tomb belongs to phase 2 of the church, dated by ceramics to the 5 c. AD.

MNH+[--] ΔIAΦ+[--]ΠΑΥΛ[--]

Grave belonging to Paul...

Comm.: The sense is clear, but the single words are not: μνῆμα, μνημεῖον, διαφέρουσα, διαφέροντα – with or without abbreviation; Paulus, Paula, Paulinus etc.?



fig. 2740

Bibl.: M. Abu Khalaf - I. Abu A'mar - S. Al-Houdalieh - R. Hoyland, Web Journal of Cultural Patrimony 1-2, 2006, 65f., 69 fig. 27 (www.webjournal.unior.it/Articoli.php?IdVolume=18, viewed: 5.4.2017) (ed. pr.). – R. Hoyland, in: Proche-Orient 224.

Photo: R. Hoyland, in: Proche-Orient 226 fig. 9.

WA

#### 2741. Greek inscribed bone in a lead case

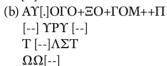
Fragment of the femur, split in two; inscription in black ink on both sides of the bone; square lead case, two sides incomplete. Inscription (a) on the exterior; (b) on the interior. McCown 173: "Photographs taken with various types of lenses and filters could only partially recover the faded characters."

Meas.: h 3.3, w 8.5 cm.

Findspot: Tell en-Nasbeh, west cemetery, Tomb 15 X 12 no. 1612; according to the finds in the tomb, the place was used more than one time.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1934-104. Autopsy: 1 June 2014 (WE).

(a) ΛΛΛΛΛΛ
[--]ΓΛΓΑΓ ΑΓΛ[--]L
ΥΙΩ ΥΗ ΕΑ ΑΟΗ
ΙΩ ΥΗ ΕΑ ΕΥΙ
ΗΩ ΥΗ ΕΑ ΗΩΗΕ
[--] ΥΜ [--]
ΠΜΩΡΩ [--]Τ[--]
[--]Α ΕḤΤ [--]ḤΜ[.]
[--]
[--]
(b) ΑΥ[.]ΟΓΟ+ΞΟ+ΓΟΜ++]



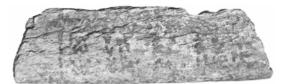


fig. 2741.1 (a)

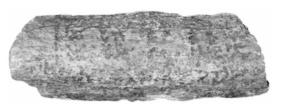


fig. 2741.2 (a)

Comm.: Transcription according to McCown and the Rockefeller Museum archive card; Bagatti's reconstruction is a bit different. It is perhaps best to quote McCown's remarks on the single lines: (a) l.1 "appears to be a succession of loops, like the ligature



fig. 2741.3 (b)

for *omicron upsilon* upside down"; l.3 fin.: "or AOIP"; l.4 fin.: "or EKP"; l.5 fin.: "or M $\Omega$ PE"; ll.7-10: "At the lower edge of photograph a appears a line which begins farther to the left and which in photograph b and near the top of c shows a M or an H, perhaps H $\Omega$ P again, or les probably, M $\Omega$ PE ... I can make nothing of the remainder of the line nor of the characters which seem to fill the space of two lines at the right. Perhaps there is TO with HM or H $\Omega$  below it. Possibly  $\Lambda$ E.T are to be seen in the center of the line. I can make nothing of ll. 9 and 10." – (b) is read with "a liberal use of the imagination."

"Such enumeration of letters (in this case at least mostly consisting of vowels) represent either a magical text or school exercises; arrangement and material (lead) are rather in favour of the former explanation" (archive card; Bagatti, on the other hand, sees a fish at the end of l.2 and believes that some of the letters might have a christological explanation). The text is almost impossible to date, but the bulk of known magica is from the times of the high Roman empire or Late Antiquity.

Bibl.: C. McCown, Tell En-Nasbeh I 1947, 110, 172f., pl. 58,1 A-F (ph.) (ed. pr.). – B. Bagatti, Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria, 1979, 100, 26\* fig. 39,5; id., Samaria 122 fig. 39,5.

Photo: WE.

## XXXIX. Kh. 'Asafira

#### 2742. Samaritan inscription mentioning the Ten Commandments, 6-7 c. CE

Fragment of a marble tablet embedded in a mosaic floor. It contained 11 lines of Samaritan script.

Meas.: h 38, w 42.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. 1954-4.

בראשית ברא אלהים אנכי יהוה אלהיך לא יהיה לך אלהים אחרים לא תעשה לך פסל לא תשא לא תרצא לא תנף לא תגנב לא תענה לא תח



fig. 2742

Translit.: br'šyt br' | 'lhym 'nky | YHWH 'lhyk | 1' yhyh lk | 'lhym 'ḥrym | 1' t'śh lk | psl 1' tś' | 1' trṣ' 1' | tnp 1' tgnb | 1' t'nh 1' tḥ | md

In the beginning God created. I am the Lord thy God. Thou shalt have no other gods. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image. Thou shalt not take (the name of the Lord thy God in vain). Thou shalt not murder. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not bear (false witness against thy neighbor). Thou shalt not covet.

Comm.: The text is an abbreviated version of the Ten Commandments, with the addition at the beginning of the first three words of Genesis. Two commandments are missing: "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy," and "Honor thy father and thy mother." There are two spelling mistakes: מרצא trṣʾ instead of תרצה trṣḥ, and תונף instead of תנאף. Both mistakes could be explained as a result of weakening of guttural consonants. The addition of the sentence from the world's

creation story (l.1) and omission of two commandments approximates the list of "ten sayings."

Bibl.: Y. Ben-Zevi, BIES 18, 1954, 223-9 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – N. Avigad, IEJ 4, 1954, 129; IEJ 5, 1955, 199; Y. Ben-Zevi, The Book of the Samaritans, rev. ed., 1970, 190-3 (Hebr.); Saller, Catalogue 49 no. 53; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 612f.; Chiat, Handbook 211f.; M. Fischer - I. Taxel - D. Amit, BASOR 350, 2008, 7-35 at 20.

Photo: Israel Museum.

НМ

### XL. Na'ana

#### 2743. Greek dedication to Moses in Samaritan synagogue, 5 c. CE

Two-line Greek inscription within medallion in mosaic floor.

Findspot: Tel Ni ana, west of Lod-Na ana railroad line; Stratum IV.

## ΜΗΘ ΜΟΣΗΣ

 $\mu(\nu)\eta(\sigma)\theta(\tilde{\eta}) \mid Mo\sigma\eta\varsigma$ 

May Moses be remembered (for the good).



fig. 2743

Comm.: The excavators identified the site as a Samaritan synagogue; they note that when the nearby railway tracks were laid in 1893, in addition to the capital inscribed  $\tilde{eig}$  (no. 2744), a bronze bowl decorated with a seven-branched menorah and gabled Torah ark were discovered. In this inscription, the word  $\mu\nu\eta\sigma\theta\tilde{\eta}$  was abbreviated by writing every other letter. The *theta* is missing its horizontal bar. In contrast to its rarity among Jews (M. Williams, Jews in a Graeco-Roman Environment, 2013, 337-43), Moses was a name used regularly by Samaritans and was widespread among Christians.

Bibl.: H. Torgë, HA-ESI 122, 2010 fig. 2 (www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\_detail\_eng.aspx?id=1455&mag\_id=117, viewed: 6.4.2017); Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 13 (both publications give only English translations of the inscription).

Photo: Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 13 fig. 165.

IJΡ

#### 2744. Capital with Greek invocation

Rectangular capital, inscription in a wreath on one of the small sides. The other small side is decorated with an ivy branch(?), ending in two leaves. Meas.: h 22, w 70, d 45 cm.

Findspot: Niane (see comm).

Pres. loc.: Louvre Museum, Paris, inv. no. AO 1220.

ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ

εἷς | θεός

One god!



fig. 2744

Comm.: The capital dates to the 5 c. or 6 c. AD. – Dussaud remarked: "Notre chapiteau a dû appartenir à une église chrétienne des Ve-VIe siècles." Sukenik (1931 and 1932) was the first to think that the capital might belong to a synagogue, which was accepted by (inter alia) Saller, Frey (CIJ), Goodenough (with some doubts), Hüttenmeister - Reeg (with a modification). The argument is summarized by Saller: "A round bronze plate decorated with a seven-branched candlestick and an ark of the law, and two capitals ... suggested to Sukenik that they may have come from a synagogue." A description of the plate can be found in Goodenough, Jewish Symbols I 173, III fig. 434, who is a bit more sceptical about its identification as a synagogue: "Except that this too turned up as a stray item in Naaneh ... nothing is known of it. Sukenik thought it had belonged to a synagogue there, which may be so, but as with the glasses it is hard to think how it would have been preserved all these centuries if it had not been buried in a grave, since it did not come out of the excavations of a synagogue." Hüttenmeister - Reeg remark that the formula is not known in Jewish synagogues and opt for a Samaritan synagogue, which is iconographically possible. But Clermont-Ganneau does not inform us that the capitals and the bronze plate were found together, which makes a synagogue – Jewish or Samaritan – as source of the capital much less likely.

Clermont-Ganneau's accounts concerning the findspot are not quite identical. a) "A Ramli, j'ai découvert deux chapiteaux dont l'un porte dans une couronne et en caractères identiques la même formule que le fameux chapiteau d'Amwas" (Clermont-Ganneau 1881; for the capital from 'Amwas/Emmaus, see no. 3079); b) "From Ramleh I have brought back fragments of a Greek inscription and a pair of capitals from Niane, a neighbouring village, on one of which is the same inscription that we found on the capital at Amwās ... I have also a bronze seal with the name *Cucius Aelius Optatus*" (Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 1882; the latter is no. 2709); c) "J'ai rapporté de Ramlé un fragment d'inscription grecque, une paire de chapiteaux provenant de Niʿāné (village voisin), dont l'un offre, inscrite dans une couronne, la même formule que le chapiteau de Amwas ..., et un sceau-matrice en bronze au nom de *Cneius Aelius Optatus*" (Clermont-Ganneau, AMSL 1882).

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, RA NS 42, 1881, 252 (ed. pr.). – Id., PEQ 14, 1882, 18; id., AMSL 9, 1882, 320; id., AMSL 11, 1885, 169f. no. 17 (dr.); id., RAO 3, 1900, 126 (dr.); Dussaud, Louvre 75f. no. 95 fig. 95; Peterson, no. 89; CIJ 2, 1174; Goodenough, Jewish Symbols I 224f., III fig. 590; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 621f.; L. Di Segni, SCI 13, 1994, 102 no. 24; Peterson - Markschies, Heis Theos 44, 427 no. 89. – Cf. C. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 31, 1899, 127 n.2; E. Sukenik, PEQ 63, 1931, 22 n.2; id., The Ancient Synagogue of Beth-Alpha, 1932, 23 n.3; Saller, Catalogue 66 no. 95; Chiat, Handbook 212f.; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 13.

Photo: R. Chipault, courtesy of Louvre Museum.

WA

# 2745. Molding form for lamps with Greek inscription

Brick with a molding form for lamps. The lamp had a palm leaf between the holes and an inscription running round.

Meas.: h 35, w 15, d 11 cm.

Pres. loc.: Louvre Museum, Paris, inv. no. AO 1211.

"Lettres grecques qui sont une déformation grossière de la formule:  $\Phi\Omega\Sigma XY$  $\Phi$ ENI  $\Pi$ A $\Sigma$ IN" (Dussaud).

May the light of Jesus shine for all.

Comm.: Macalister took the palm leave as menorah. – Cf. SEG 8, 216 (Jerusalem):  $\Phi$ ως X(ριστο)ῦ φένη πᾶσιν and the material assembled in CIIP I 2 p. 570 (App. 54\*).

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, AMSL 11, 1885, 182f. no. 58 (ed. pr.). – Id., ARP I 511; Dussaud, Louvre 127f. no. 222. – Cf. Macalister, Gezer II 227.

Photo: M. Rabeau, courtesy of Louvre Museum.



fig. 2745

WA

#### XLI. Kh. Beit Sila

#### 2746.-2750. The church of Kh. Beit Sila

The church of Kh. Beit Sila (south of Beturia in the Wadi el-Tlahbus, 10 km northwest of Jerusalem) was built on the ruins of an earlier building (1 c. BC/1 c. AD), perhaps a bath. The basilica, 20x12 m, with nave, two aisles, a middle apsis (rectangular rooms to the right and left of the apse: diakonikon and baptistery), and a narthex. Batz recognized two phases of the altar, the first one connected with a reliquary, the second one carrying the inscription relating to the relics (?), no. 2746, on its base and a vow, no. 2747, on the outer rim of its table. About the time of the altar's renewal, the ambo – and therefore the mosaic floor – were made. The form of the ambo, and perhaps also the letter forms of its inscription, no. 2748, point to a date in the second half of the 6 c. AD, and the church was abandoned about a century later.

Bibl.: Magen, Good Samaritan 202ff.; S. Batz, Christians and Christianity III 373-408; Comte, Reliquaires 149ff.

# 2746. Remember the benefactors Petrus, Ioannes, Maria, Anastasia, Maria and Andreas

Altar base of marble set into a mosaic (see no. 2749 fig. 3); broken into many fragments; guidelines; l.3 set on the inner profile of the table's frame; l.1: small pi and nu written above upsilon and mu, another small pi below the line between upsilon and mu. A hole in the middle of the plaque was perhaps used to produce relics by contact. In the four corners chiseled squares to accommodate the colonnettes supporting the tabletop of the altar with inscription no. 2747.

Meas.: h 86, w 119 cm; letters 3.5-4.4 cm.

Findspot: In situ, in the floor of the chancel.

Pres. loc.: Good Samaritan Museum, Maʿale Adumim. Autopsy: 22 October 2013 (WE/DK), 14 April 2017 (WA).

(cross) ΥΠΠΜΝΚΑΝΑΠΑΥΣ∫ΤΩΝΑΔΕΛΦΩΗΜΩΝ ΠΕΤΡΟΥΙΩΑΝΝΟΥΜΑΡΙΑΣΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΑΣ ΜΑΡΙΑΣΚΑΝΔΡΕΟΥΤΩΝΦΙΛΟΧΡΙΣΤΟΝ (ivy leaf)

ύπ{π}(ὲρ) μν(ήμης) κ(αὶ) ἀναπαύσ(εως) τῶν ἀδελφῶ(ν) ἡμῶν | Πέτρου, Ἰωάννου, Μαρίας, Ἀναστασίας, | Μαρίας κ(αὶ) Ἀνδρέου, τῶν φιλοχριστον For the memory and resurrection of our brothers (and sisters), the Christ-loving Petrus, Ioannes, Maria, Anastasia, Maria and Andreas.



fig. 2746

Comm.: l.1:  $\mu\nu\eta(\mu\eta\varsigma)$  Di Segni. – The first interpretation as a burial inscription was corrected by Di Segni apud SEG 55, 1724 (but seems still to be held by those who take the people mentioned here to be martyrs whose relics were placed under the altar [Batz, Comte]); Di Segni insists on taking ἀδελφοί literally, indicating kinship, not membership of the same monastery.  $\phi\iota\lambda\delta\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\sigma\varsigma$  is normally used of emperors, but can be applied to the dead, to members of the clergy or to donors (e.g. CIIP I 808).

Bibl.: SEG 52, 1663 (readings by Di Segni) (ed. pr.). – S. Batz, IMSA 1, 2002, 48 (only transl.); id., Qadmoniot 37, 2004, 116 (ph., dr.) (Hebr.); id., NEAEHL 5, 2008, 1598ff.; Magen, Good Samaritan 203, 206f., 209 (dr., ph.); Comte, Reliquaires 149ff., fig. 61; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity I 260-3; S. Batz, Christians and Christianity III 383ff., fig. 16, 391f., figs. 25f.; L. Di Segni, ibid. 412f. no. 3 (dr.).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

#### 2747. The vow of Chry...

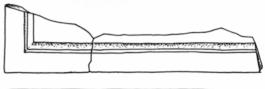
"The new [altar] table ... had a rounded outer rim, and its corners were decorated in relief. The upper frame had marked ridges and a wide slant; on the side that faced the congregation (this side is only partially intact) is an inscription ... and on the underside are an engraved monogram and cross" (Batz, IMSA). The monogram is described as "a stone cutter's mark monogram" by Batz, Christians and Christianity III 384 and as "formed by a *xi* and a *chi*, followed by a small cross" by Di Segni. Two adjoining fragments of the front left corner of the marble table are preserved. Meas.: h 4, w (left fragment) 18, (right fragment) 36 cm; letters 1.6-2.6 cm (Di Segni).

(cross)  $\Upsilon \Pi E P E \Upsilon X H \Sigma X P \Upsilon [--]$ 

ύπὲρ εὐχῆς Χρυ[--]

On behalf of the vow of Chry...

fig. 2747.1



Comm.: "Chry[sippus? --]" Batz,

Di Segni. Note the form of the rho.



+ ₹

fig. 2747.3

fig. 2747.2

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, Christians and Christianity III 413f. no. 4 (dr.) (ed. pr.). - S. Batz, IMSA 1, 2002, 48 (only transl.); SEG 52, introduction to nos. 1662-1664; S. Batz, NEAEHL 5, 2008, 1599f.; id., Christians and Christianity III 383ff.

Photo: S. Batz, Christians and Christianity III 385 fig. 15 (ph. and dr.).

WA

### 2748. Ambo with dedicatory inscription of Petrus

"The beautifully carved platform and panels of the ambo ... were the showpieces of the church. The hexagonal platform is 110 cm long and 8.5 cm thick; each of its sides measures 59 cm. In five of the six sides, a 3 cm wide track was carved, into which the ambo panels were inserted. A dedicatory inscription was engraved over the three sides of the platform that faced the congregation ... The inscription ... ends with a decoration consisting of a cross with tendrils." (Batz 2002). The ambo was made of chalk, and the makers tried to imitate carvings in wood.

Meas.: see descr.; letters 2.2-3.4 cm.

Findspot: The ambo was installed in front of the northwestern corner of the chancel; to its right was the mosaic with inscription no. 2749.

Pres. loc.: Good Samaritan Museum, Maʿale Adumim. Autopsy: 22 October 2013 (WE/DK), 14 April 2017 (WA).

\*KETIYOCACSAFT



fig. 2748.1

# (cross) ΚΕΠΡΟΣΔΕΞΑΊΤΗ[.]ΚΑΡΠΟΦΟ ΡΙΑΝΤΟΥΔΟΥΛΟΥΣΟΥΠΕΤΡΟΥΤ ΟΥΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ (cross)



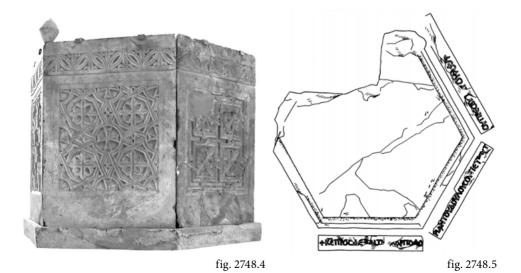
fig. 2748.2

κ(ύρι)ε, πρόσδεξαι τὴ[ν] καρποφο|ρίαν τοῦ δούλου σου Πέτρου, τ|οῦ πρεσβυτέρου



fig. 2748.3

 $Lord, \, receive \, the \, offering \, of \, your \, servant \, Petrus, \, the \, priest.$ 



Comm.: If the reported reconstruction of the building's history is correct, this priest Petrus cannot be identified with the one in no. 2749. For  $\varepsilon > \alpha \iota$ , cf. Gignac I 193.

Bibl.: SEG 52, 1664 (readings by Di Segni) (ed. pr.). – S. Batz, IMSA 1, 2002, 46f. fig. 8f. (only transl.); id., Qadmoniot 37, 2004, 115 (ph.) (Hebr.); id., NEAEHL 5, 2008, 1598ff.; Magen, Good Samaritan 208 (ph.); Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity I 260-3; S. Batz, Christians and Christianity III 394ff.; L. Di Segni, ibid. 414f. no. 5 (dr.).

Photo: WE; DK; S. Batz, Christians and Christianity III 395 fig. 31 (dr.).

WA

## 2749. For the salvation of Petrus the priest

Mosaic with an inscription in a tabula ansata; from l.7 on, the text continues outside the frame of the tabula ( $\kappa | \alpha \tau \alpha| \theta \acute{\epsilon} \sigma \alpha$ : the *kappa* is the last letter in the tabula). Letters in black tesserae, the frame in red and white tesserae. Fig. 3 below shows the complete mosaic in which the altar base no. 2746 was inserted.

Meas.: h 0.57, w 1.69 (with ansae), 1.1 m (without ansae); letters ca. 4.8-6.3 cm.

Findspot: Directly to the right side of the ambo (see no. 2748), at the eastern end of the nave and at the foot of the bema.

Pres. loc.: Good Samaritan Museum, Maʿale Adumim. Autopsy: 22 October 2013 (WE/DK), 14 April 2017 (WA).

(cross) ΥΠΕΡΣΩΤ[--]ΝΤΙΛΗ ΜΨΕΩΣΠΕΤΡΟΥ[.]ΟΥΠΡΕ ΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥΕΞΩΝΠΑΡΙΣΧ ΕΝΑΥΤΟΥΟΑΓΙΟΣΘΕΟΔ ΩΡΟΣΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝΤΗΝΠΡΟ ΣΘΙΚΗΝΤΗΣΕΚΛΕΣΙΑΣΚΤΗ ΝΚΩΝΧΗΝΚΓΗΝΟΝΤΕΤΑΚ ΑΤΑ ΘΕΣΙΑ ΜΗΝΟΕΙ ΒΡΙΩΔ

EKATH (sprig)

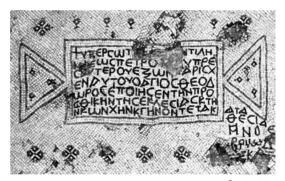


fig. 2749.1

ύπὲρ σωτ[ητρίας κ(αὶ) ἀ]ντιλή|μψεως Πέτρου, [τ]οῦ πρε|σβυτέρου. ἐξ ὧν παρίσχ|εν αὐτοῦ ὁ ἄγιος Θεόδ|ωρος ἐποίησεν τὴν προ|σθίκην τῆς ἐκλεσίας κ(αὶ) τὴ|ν κώνχην. κ(αὶ) γήνοντε τὰ κ¦ατα|θέσια | μη(νὶ) Νοει|βρίω δ|εκάτη

For the salvation and succor of Petrus, the priest. From the things (funds) which Saint Theodore granted him, he made the addition to the church and the apse; and the depositions(?) are on November 10th.

Comm.: Di Segni believes that the letters are not later than the first third of the 6 c. AD. - 1.2: Since this inscription belongs to the first phase of the church, it would be imprudent to identify this Petrus with the Petrus of no. 2748 (Comte). - 11.3f.: For the veneration of the military martyr Theodore, see Meimaris, Sacred Names 131f.; Di Segni 411 nn.11, 12. Clearly, St. Theodore is seen as the source of Petrus' wealth (in what way, we do not know). The deposited relics were not necessarily those of St. Theodore, and since there is "no necessary connection between the relics and the saint to whom the church was dedicated" (Di Segni) and since we do not know to whom the church was dedicated (again: not necessarily to St. Theodore), there is no reason to look for the periods in which St. Theodore was worshipped in Jerusalem and elsewhere for dating. – ll.5f.: προσθήκη: see CIIP III 2318, comm. to l.4. - ll.7ff.: καταθέσιον means, according to the lexica, a repository for a dead body or perhaps a relic. The plural is thought to imply (Di Segni) that more than one reliquary



fig. 2749.2



fig. 2749.3

was brought to the church (and two reliquaries were discovered in it). But can this meaning be reconciled with the verb γήνοντε and its tense? The lack of an indiction is perhaps no problem, but it would be much easier to understand  $\tau \dot{\alpha}$  καταθέσια as the yearly celebration of the κατάθεσις of the relics. – ll.9f.: Νοεμ|βρίω Di Segni.

Bibl.: SEG 52, 1662 (readings by Di Segni) (ed. pr.). – S. Batz, IMSA 1, 2002, 41f. (only transl.); id., Qadmoniot 37, 2004, 114, 118 (ph., dr.) (Hebr.); id., NEAEHL 5, 2008, 1599f.; Magen, Good

Samaritan 203, 206 (ph., dr.); Comte, Reliquaires 149ff., fig. 60; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity I 260-3 fig. 127,4; S. Batz, Christians and Christianity III 379f.; L. Di Segni, ibid. 409ff. (dr.); Madden, Corpus 29f. no. 27.

Photo: S. Batz, Christians and Christianity III 380 fig. 8 (ph. and dr.); 496 pl. 7.

WA

#### 2750. Monogram in mosaic floor with name of Ioannes

An unframed mosaic inscription, clearly a monogram. Meas.: letters 2.5-10 cm.

Findspot: "Near the entrance to the nave" (Batz 2002); "in the central passage between the narthex and the nave ... the script faces east" (Di Segni).

θυ(--) Ίωάννου (?)

Offering of John (Batz, Di Segni).

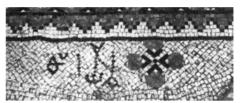


fig. 2750.1

Comm.: This inscription is on the same carpet as no. 2749, and is therefore contemporary to the building of the church. – It is perhaps easiest to quote Di Segni: "Part of the inscription is abbreviated, part is monogrammed, but all the letters forming the script can be identified without dif-



fig. 2750.2

ficulty, and no part of the inscription is missing. The text reads ΘΥΙΩΑΝ. The second letter, a small *upsilon*, is overwritten, which clearly marks an abbreviation"; since  $\theta(\epsilon o)\tilde{v}$  is excluded, she discusses (taking the examples from Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations 70f.)  $\theta v(\gamma \dot{\alpha} \tau \eta \rho)$ ,  $\theta \dot{v}(\rho \alpha)$ ,  $\theta \dot{v}(\mu \alpha)$ , and concludes: "abbreviation of  $\theta \dot{v} \mu \alpha$  or another word of the same root:  $\theta v \mu \dot{v} \alpha \alpha$  or  $\theta v \sigma \dot{v} \alpha$ ." A bit curious is the fact that the isolated initial *iota* should be part of the monogram; perhaps rather ΘΥ Ι Ἰωάννου?

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, Christians and Christianity III 411f. no. 2 (ed. pr.). – S. Batz, IMSA 1, 2002, 48 (only transl.); SEG 52, introduction to nos. 1662-1664; S. Batz, NEAEHL 5, 2008, 1599f.; id., Christians and Christianity III 383ff. at 385 fig. 15.

Photo: S. Batz, Christians and Christianity III 379 fig. 7 (ph. and dr.).

# XLII. To Ennaton (mod. Kh. el-Lațațin)

#### 2751. Greek mosaic inscription from a church

Mosaic inscription in a tabula ansata. The frame was made of red and black tesserae; each line of the inscription has its own frame of red tesserae. The inscription had at least six lines (or eight), and some letters are visible above the left ansa.

Findspot: In the remains of a church in Kh. el-Laṭaṭin, whose first phase is dated to the 5 c. It is a basilica church with narthex and prayer hall consisting of a central nave with internal semicircular apse and two lateral aisles with pastophoria. In its second phase, dated to the 6 c., a chapel of the same length as the church was annexed to its north side. In front of the bema of this northern chapel a fragment of a mosaic floor with a tabula ansata was preserved, a bird at the left ansa (cf. Greenfeld 417ff. with floor plan p. 418 fig. 1).

above the left ansa:  $KPK\Delta I+$  in the frame: (cross)  $E\Pi[--]$   $\Sigma TA[--]$  AP[--] [--]

[--]



fig. 2751.1

in the frame:  $\dot{\epsilon}\pi[\dot{\iota}-] \mid \Sigma TA[--] \mid AP[--|--|--]$ 

in the frame: *Under* ...

Comm.: Above the left ansa: if one were to take the first and the third letters as ligatures, one could read: Kup(ia)m(o)  $\delta \text{ia}(\text{mboun})$  – as Di Segni did, who took this to be the signature of the person in charge of the work.



fig. 2751.2

In the frame: Di Segni suggests two restorations based on the general pattern of mosaic inscriptions in churches: (a)  $\dot{\epsilon}\pi[i$  τοῦ ἁγιωτ. καὶ θεοφιλ. ἀνα]|στα[σίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου καὶ πατρι]|άρ[χου ἐγένετο τὸ πᾶν ἔργον --]; (b) ἐπ[ὶ τοῦ ὁσιωτ. vel θεοφιλ. ἀνα]|στα[σίου πρεσβ. καὶ]| ἀρ[χιμανδρίτου ἐγένετο | τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον --]. Numerous other restorations are possible, for instance those that take AP as part of a name – or read the equally possible AB at this place.

Greenfeld dates the mosaic by "the quality of the animal's details" to the third quarter of the 6 c. AD.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, Christians and Christianity III 429ff. (dr.) (ed. pr.). – U. Greenfeld, ibid. 424f. Photo: U. Greenfeld, Christians and Christianity III 425 fig. 14 (ph. and dr.).

WA

# XLIII. Machmas (mod. Mukhmas)

### 2752. Greek mosaic inscription mentioning Valentinus

Letters in black tesserae, lines divided by rows of red tesserae. Meas.: letters 5 cm.

Findspot: Byzantine church with a mosaic floor in the nave and aisles. The inscription is located in the easternmost part of the nave.

ΚΥΡΙΕΜΝΗΣΘΗΘΙΤΟΝ [.]ΟΥΛΟΝΣΟΥΟΥΑΛΕΝΤΙ [...]ΑΜΑΣΥΝΒΙΩΚΕΤΕΚΝ [--]ΩΣΠΟΥΔΑΣΑΝΤΙΓΕ [...]ΘΕΚΕΨΗΦΩΘΗΝΕΤΗ [--]ΩΤΑΤΗΝΕΚΛΗΣΙΑΝ



fig. 2752

κύριε, μνήσθηθι τὸν | [δ]οῦλόν σου Οὐαλεντῖ|[νον] ἄμα συνβίω κὲ τέκν|[οις, τ]ῷ σπουδάσαντι γε|[νέσ]θε κὲ ψηφοθῆνε τὴ|[ν άγι]ωτάτην ἐκλησίαν

Lord, remember your servant Valentinus together with (his) wife and children, whose zealousness brought this most holy church into being and had it laid out with mosaics.

Comm.: Ovadiah dates the letters to the 6 c. AD. – ll.1f.: τοῦ δούλου σου Meimaris. – l.2: Οὐαλέντι (?) Mallon, Burrows. – ll.3f.: κὰ τέκν|[ω] Mallon. – l.4: σπουδάσαντι, case attraction to the preceding datives. Cf. Iliria 6, 1976, 344f. (Antigoneia in Illyria): κύριε, μνήσθητι τοῦ δούλου τοῦ συνσπουδάσοντος εἰς τὴν <δ>απάν[η]ν. – l.6: [ὁσι]ωτάτην Hamilton; [άγι]ωτάτην Mouterde apud Mallon. Cf. IGLS 4, 1820 (Apamene): ἡ ἁγιοτ(άτη) ἠκλεσία (from ἄγιος τόπος and similar expressions), whereas ὁσιώτατος seems to be used almost exclusively for people of ecclesiastical rank.

Bibl.: A. Mallon, Biblica 12, 1931, 117ff. (ed. pr.). – R. Hamilton, QDAP 1, 1932, 103f.; L. Vincent, RB 41, 1932, 482; BE 1934, p. 217; M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 3, 1934, 35f. no. 266 (=M. Avi-Yonah, Art in Ancient Palestine, 1981, 338f. no. 266); SEG 8, 150; B. Bagatti, Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria, 1979, 18 pl. 2,2 (ph.); Meimaris, Sacred Names 67 no. 425 (ll.1f.), 148 no. 763; Bagatti, Samaria 23; Madden, Corpus 101 no. 138. – Cf. M. Burrows, BASOR 45, 1932, 24; M. Bonfioli, RivAC 33, 1957, 179 fig. 3; id., East and West 10, 1959, 64 fig. 3; SEG 20, 476; Ovadiah, Corpus 142

no. 144; Bagatti, Church 276f., fig. 167; id., Chiesa II 155; Ribak, Religious Communities 194; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity I 265f., fig. 130,2.

Photo: Bagatti, Samaria 23 pl. 2 fig. 2,13.

WA

#### 2753.-2754. Ossuaries from a tomb in Machmas

In 1914 G. Dalman (ZDPV 37, 135) published three ossuaries preserved in the museum of the German Protestant Institute, Jerusalem. For the third ossuary he just gave a short note, see comm to no. 2754. According to this report they came from a tomb im Machmas but Dalman provides no further details about the location, the circumstances of discovery or the type of tomb.

# 2753. Ossuary of Shim'on with Hebrew/Aramaic inscription, 1 c. BCE - 1 c. CE (?)

Pres. loc.: Formerly German Protestant Institute, Jerusalem, inv. no. VI,5 (no longer there).

שמעון לי+ שמעון לי+ (?) שמעון לוי(?) באר איינער אי

Shim'on Levi(?).

Comm.: Dalman remarked: "Die Ergänzung des ל zu ל ist natürlich unsicher, aber doch recht wahrscheinlich"; it is at least not impossible. Dalman interprets the marks below the *lamed* as numerals amounting to six, interpreting the signs on no. 2754 also as numerals, see ad loc. If the reading Shim on Levi is correct, then it is probably one person with two names or the title Levi; less likely, two persons are recorded.

Bibl.: G. Dalman, ZDPV 37, 1914, 135-50 at 135 no. 2 (ed. pr.). – Klein, JPCI 56 no. 165; CIJ 2, 1191; B. Bagatti, Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria, 1979, 18; id., Samaria 22; V. Fritz - R. Deines, IEJ 49, 1999, 222-41 at 227 n.13.

Photo: G. Dalman, ZDPV 37, 1914 pl. 40 fig. 2.

#### 2754. Single Hebrew letter on ossuary, 1 c. BCE - 1 c. CE

Single Hebrew letter  $\pi$  on ornamented façade of limestone ossuary.

Meas.: h 32, w 59, d 27 cm.

Pres. loc.: German Protestant Institute of Archaeology, Jerusalem, inv. no. VI,6. Autopsy.

ה

Translit.: h

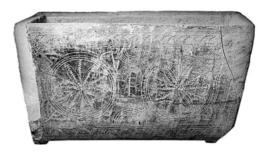


fig. 2754

Comm.: This ossuary had a gabled lid, now lost, which must have been marked with the *shin* and *bet* noted by Dalman for this box; he remarks further that a third ossuary found in the same burial cave was marked with N. He interprets these stray letters as numerals, more likely they were mason's marks.

Bibl.: G. Dalman, ZDPV 37, 1914, 135-50 at 135 no. 2 (ed. pr.). – V. Fritz - R. Deines, IEJ 49, 1999, 222-41 at 227 no. 3.

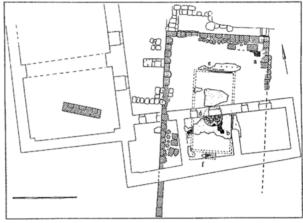
Photo: V. Fritz - R. Deines, IEJ 49, 1999, 228 fig. 3.

JJP

# XLIV. Selebi (Selbit, mod. Sha'albim)

#### 2755.-2757. Samaritan synagogue at Selebi

Three inscriptions were laid in a mosaic floor of a Samaritan synagogue discovered in 1948. The building is rectangular, 8x15.4 m, facing northeast, towards Mt. Gerizim. Dating to the 5 c. CE is based on letter-forms, esp. of the Samaritan inscription (no. 2756).



- a-c = Patches of upper floor
- d = Central circle with Greek inscription
- e = Samaritan inscription
- f = Inscription in uncertain script

fig. 2755.A Ground plan, R. Reich, IEJ 44, 228 fig. 1

## 2755. Greek mosaic inscription from a Samaritan synagogue, 5 c. CE

One partial and one full line of Greek formed with black tesserae in a polychrome mosaic floor. The inscription is inside a medallion, above two menorahs flanking a stylized mountain; horizontal lines separate the lines of the text; the beginning of the text is missing.

Meas.: h 62, w 187 cm; letters 4-7 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2755-2757 fig. A, no. d. Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1948-3001. Replica in Good Samaritan Museum, Ma'ale Adumim. Autopsy: 9 April 2017 (WA).





[--|-- ά]νενεώθη | τὸ ὐκτήρην

... the prayer hall was renovated.

Comm.: ἀκτήρην is phonetically equivalent to οἰκτήριον and is paralleled in other inscriptions, as Feissel points out (BE 1989, 998), so that there is no need to emend as εὐκτήριον οr τοὐκτήρην.

Bibl.: B. Isserlin, PEQ 82, 1950, 92-101 at 99f. (ed. pr.). – M. Tod, Bulletin of the Rabinowitz Fund 2, 1951, 27f.; Goodenough, Jewish Symbols I 262f., III figs. 661, 663 no. 48; B. Kanael, Die Kunst der antiken Synagoge, 1961, 83f.; B. Lifshitz, ZDPV 82, 1966, 57-63 at 59; id., Donateurs 71f. no. 80; Kippenberg, Garizim und Synagoge 150f.; Saller, Catalogue 76f. no. 113; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 635ff. no. 1; Y. Safrai, Cathedra 4, 1977, 84-112 (Hebr.); Ovadiah, MPI 126 no. 213; SEG 37, 1528; BE 1989, 998; D. Barag, NEAEHL 4, 1993, 1338; R. Reich, IEJ 44, 1994, 228-33; Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II 249 no. 1; Dauphin, Palestine byzantine 842 no. 422; J. Naveh, IEJ 48, 1998, 91-100 at 96f.; R. Pummer, BAR 24, 1998, 24-35; S. Laurant, Le monde de la Bible 164, 2005, 43; Feissel, Chroniques 215 no. 691; Magen, Good Samaritan 164f.; SEG 60, 1745.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

JJP

### 2756. Samaritan mosaic inscription from a Samaritan synagogue, 5 c. CE

A single line of Samaritan script, black tesserae against a white background, in the mosaic floor.

Meas.: fragment in museum: h 62, w 187 cm; letters 4-7 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2755-2757 fig. A, no. e.

Pres. loc.: Good Samaritan Museum, Ma'ale Adumim. Autopsy: 22 October 2013 (WE/DK).

יהוה - ימלד - עולם - ועד

Translit.: YHWH ymlk 'wlm w'd

The Lord shall reign for ever and ever.



fig. 2756

Comm.: This is the Samaritan version of Ex 15,18.

Bibl.: E. Sukenik, Bulletin of the Rabinowitz Fund 1, 1949, 26-30 at 26, 29f. (ed. pr.). – J. Perrot, Syria 26, 1949, 155-8 at 155; B. Isserlin, PEQ 82, 1950, 92-101 at 99; E. Perkins, AJA 54, 1950, 58-61 at 58f.; H. Senès, Biblica 31, 1950, 112-6 at 112 no. 1; J. Perrot, Syria 27, 1950, 188-96 at 192f., 195f.;

P. Lemaire, SBF 1, 1950/1, 54-9 at 57f.; Goodenough, Jewish Symbols I 262f., III fig. 665 no. 48; J. Purvis, The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Origin of the Samarittan Sect, 1968, 27; Kippenberg, Garizim und Synagoge 150f.; S. Birnbaum, The Hebrew Scripts, 1971, 106f. no. 65; Saller, Catalogue 76f. no. 113; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 635ff. no. 2; Y. Safrai, Cathedra 4, 1977, 84-112 (Hebr.); A. Crown, BRL 62, 1979/80, 37-60 at 42f.; R. Anderson, Biblical Archaeologist 43, 1980, 217-21 at 220; Chiat, Handbook 216f.; G. Stemberger, Juden und Christen im Heiligen Land, 1987, 182f.; Ovadiah, MPI 126 no. 213; Naveh, On Sherd and Papyrus 178-81 (Hebr.); D. Barag, NEAEHL 4, 1993, 1338; R. Reich, IEJ 44, 1994, 228-33; Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II 249 no. 2; J. Naveh, IEJ 48, 1998, 91-100 at 96f.; R. Pummer, BAR 24, 1998, 24-35; S. Trzcionka, Magic and the Supernatural in Fourth-Century Syria, 2007, 111f.; D. Barag, in: From Hellenism to Islam 303-23 at 316; Magen, Good Samaritan 164f.; O. Tal, ZPE 194, 2015, 169-75 at 175.

Photo: WE.

НМ

# 2757. Fragment of a mosaic with inscription in uncertain script from a Samaritan synagogue, 5 c. CE

Three fragmentary lines of text in uncertain script, fragment of mosaic floor. The lines of the text are separated by single lines of tesserae.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2755-2757 fig. A, no. f.

Comm.: The language of the fragment is uncertain. The mosaic style resembles that of no. 2755, and the second line could possibly be read NOY, but this is not secure.



fig. 2757

Bibl.: B. Isserlin, PEQ 82, 1950, 92-101 at 99f. (ed. pr.). – Saller, Catalogue 76f. no. 113; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 635ff. no. 3; R. Anderson, Biblical Archaeologist 43, 1980, 217-21 at 220; G. Stemberger, Juden und Christen im Heiligen Land, 1987, 182f.; Ovadiah, MPI 126 no. 213; Naveh, On Sherd and Papyrus 178-81 (Hebr.); R. Reich, IEJ 44, 1994, 228-33.

Photo: R. Reich, IEJ 44, 1994, 233 fig. 8.

### XLV. Kh. en-Nitle

#### 2758. Mosaic with Greek inscription

"Greek inscription of six lines" (Ovadiah). The inscription is in a frame; the lines are divided by rows of tesserae.

Findspot: Three-aisled basilica which was built in the 4 c. or 5 c. AD and destroyed in the 6 c. AD (first church, cf. introduction to nos. 2759-2760); mosaic pavement in the apse, consisting "of a series of hexagons and squares, in red, blue and white" (Kelso); the inscription was in the middle of the apse, "but the inscriptional material is only fragmentary" (Kelso).

```
ΕΒΣΒΥ+[--]
[--]Η[--]
ΟΛΤ[--]
ΙΚΤ[--]
ἐπὶ το[ῦ --]|ΕΒΣΒΥ+[--|--]Η[--|--]|
ΟΛΤ[-- ἰνδ]|ιχτ[ιῶνος? --]
```

ЕПІТО[--]

Comm.: Part of the frame can be seen to the left of the initial *epsilon* in l.1; perhaps the frame can also be seen at the beginning of l.2 too. If this is correct, not too many letters are missing at the beginning of each line. – l.2: a



fig. 2758

variant of πρεσβυτέρου is tempting, but one cannot make the traces of the letters fit the supplement; the last traces may possibly belong to an abbreviation sign. – l.6: suppl. DK.

Bibl.: Unpublished. – J. Kelso, BASOR 121, 1951, 6; D. Baramki, in: J. Kelso - D. Baramki eds., Excavations at New Testament Jericho and Kh. en-Nitla, 1955, 50; Ovadiah, Corpus 115 no. 112a; G. Foerster - G. Bacchi, EAEHL 2, 1976, 574; Ovadiah, MPI 95 no. 158; G. Foerster, NEAEHL 2, 1993, 696; Madden, Corpus 115 no. 157 (all publications only mention a six-line Greek inscription but no reading is given).

Photo: D. Baramki, in: J. L. Kelso - D. Baramki eds., Excavations at New Testament Jericho and Kh. en-Nitla, 1955 pl. 10.

#### 2759.-2760. Mosaic pavements of the third church

The remains of several successive churches, built one over the other between the 4 c. and 9 c., were excavated in Kh. en-Nitle. Two inscriptions were found laid out in the mosaic pavements of the third church: in the narthex (no. 2759) and in the prayer hall (no. 2760). At first there was a debate whether the texts were written in cursive Greek or in Latin. It now seems to be agreed that the language is Latin. The church was probably built between 614 and 636, and destroyed by the earthquake of 747 AD.

Bibl.: D. Baramki, in: J. Kelso - D. Baramki eds., Excavations at New Testament Jericho and Kh. en-Nitla, 1955, 50f. para. 207f., 211.

### 2759. Latin quotation from Ps 50 in the narthex

A two-line Latin inscription of black tesserae set into the broad white band framing the rectangular carpet composed of geometrical patterns in the center of the narthex.

Meas.: w max. of inscription ca. 1 m; letters ca. 20-25 cm.

Findspot: In the narthex of the church, in front of the doorway leading into the prayer hall.

DO MESE RERE

Do(mine) mese rere

Lord, have mercy.

Comm.: The inscription is a quotation from the beginning of Psalm 50. For the date see comm. to no. 2760.

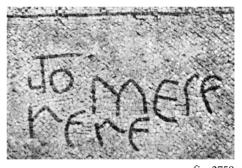


fig. 2759

Bibl.: A. Jeffrey - W. Albright, in: J. Kelso - D. Baramki eds., Excavations at New Testament Jericho and Kh. en-Nitla, 1955, 53-6 at 55f. para. 226 pl. 12 (ph.) (ed. pr.). – F.-M. Abel, in: Memorial J. Chaine, 1950, 398; J. Kelso, BASOR 121, 1951, 6ff., fig. 1 (ph.); A. Augustinović, Gerico e Dintorni, 1951, 165; B. Bagatti, SBF 3, 1952/3, 126f. no. 26; D. Baramki, in: J. Kelso - D. Baramki eds., Excavations at New Testament Jericho and Kh. en-Nitla, 1955, 50ff. para. 208ff.; Ovadiah, Corpus 115 no. 112c; B. Bagatti, Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria, 1979, 85 pl. 29,1 (ph.); Ovadiah, MPI 95 no. 159; Bagatti, Samaria 103 pl. 29,2; H. Taha - A. Qleibo, Jericho: A Living History, 2010, 64; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity I 286; Madden, Corpus 115 no. 158 (confusing the locations of nos. 2759 and 2760).

Photo: B. Bagatti, SBF 3, 1952/3, 127 fig. 1.

#### 2760. Latin inscription in the prayer hall

Mosaic with an inscription in black tesserae without a frame. "The mosaic also contains a bunch of grapes with a bird on either side facing the grapes. The inscription faces one direction and the birds the other, although they appear to be a common composition" (Kelso 1951, 8). At the right end of the inscription the mosaic is broken away.

Meas.: w of inscription ca. 80 cm; letters ca. 5-10 cm.

Findspot: In the prayer hall of the church, close to the doorway leading into it from the narthex.

TO FECILETODIELE[..]

To(to) feci leto die le[to]

I did it all happily on a happy day.



fig. 2760

Comm.: There has been much debate about the meaning of the sentence. F.-M. Abel (1950 and in a communication of 7 May 1951 quoted in Jeffrey - Albright, para. 228) first took Letus to be a name and proceeded to identify the Letus of the inscription with a Letus known to him from the Commemoratorium de casis dei vel monasteriis as abbot of the monastery of St. Mary in Choziba (ed. T. Tobler -A. Molinier, Itinera Hierosolymitana et descriptiones Terrae Sanctae Bellis Sacris anteriora et latina lingua exarata I, 1879, 303: In monasterio Sancte Marie in Coziba abba [nomine] Letus ...). Therefore he dated the Letus to around 800 AD. But the Commemoratorium cannot be the clue for understanding the sentence, since the new edition by M. McCormick (2011) reads the text: in monasterio sanctae Mariae in Coziba abba n<omine Teofi>lactus (information from WA). Furthermore, according to the excavators the archaeological record shows that the church had been built much earlier, and destroyed some time before (cf. the introduction to nos. 2759-2760), a chronology which totally undermines Abel's identification. Abel finally agreed to read letus as an adjective (as suggested by W. Albright and W. Moran), and dated the inscriptions to the time of Pope Gregory I., who had been in touch with the monasteries in Palestine (letter to Albright of 30 July 1950 quoted in Jeffrey - Albright, para. 227). Admittedly, these considerations cannot be used to date the inscription safely. The sense of the phrase remains enigmatic. Jeffrey -Albright thought of a quotation from a sacred poem, but could not identify the source.

Bibl.: A. Jeffrey - W. Albright, in: J. Kelso - D. Baramki eds., Excavations at New Testament Jericho and Kh. en-Nitla, 1955, 53-6 at 55f. para. 226ff., pl. 12 (ph.) (ed. pr.). – F.-M. Abel, in: Memorial J. Chaine, 1950, 398; J. Kelso, BASOR 121, 1951, 6ff.; A. Augustinović, Gerico e Dintorni, 1951, 165; B. Bagatti, SBF 3, 1952/3, 111-48 at 126f. no. 26; D. Baramki, in: J. Kelso - D. Baramki eds., Excavations at New Testament Jericho and Kh. en-Nitla, 1955, 50ff. para. 208ff.; Ovadiah, Corpus 115 no. 112c; Bagatti, Church 132 fig. 33 (ph.); id., Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria, 1979, 85 pl. 29,2 (ph.); Ovadiah, MPI 95 no. 159; Bagatti, Samaria 103 pl. 29,2 (ph.); H. Taha - A. Qleibo, Jericho: A Living History, 2010, 64; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity I 286; Madden, Corpus 115 no. 158 (confusing the locations of nos. 2759 and 2760).

Photo: J. Kelso, BASOR 121, 1951, 7 fig. 3.

WE

## XLVI. Gezer (Gazara)

#### Introduction

"It is one of the few remarkable bastions which the Shephelah flings out to the west. ... It is high and isolated, but fertile and well watered, a very strong post and striking landmark." Gezer/Gazara is located 8 kilometres south-southeast of Ramle, situated at the edge of the foothills of Judaea. The site affords a splendid view across the coastal plain. To the north the road to Jerusalem passes through a fertile valley 2.5 km broad, which links the coastal plain with the valley of Ayalon. Clermont-Ganneau, who discovered the site in 1873, describes Gezer's excellent water-supply: the magnificent spring of 'Ain Yardeh, the spring of 'Ain et-Tannur, dried up in his time, and 'Ain el-Bothmeh, which was less important.<sup>2</sup>

Gezer is first mentioned on the walls of the great Temple of Amon at Karnak among the cities listed by Thutmoses III (ca. 1490-1436 BC).<sup>3</sup> It is then mentioned frequently in the Amarna letters. There are complaints by the neighbouring rulers about the behaviour of the king Milkilu,<sup>4</sup> who complains himself about other neighbours.<sup>5</sup> There is a letter from the pharaoh to Milkilu about a commercial transaction.<sup>6</sup> Of particular interest for the subject of this book is a letter by the vassal prince in Jerusalem, who complains about the lack of control exercised by the Egyptian authorities. His main enemies are Milkilu, prince of Gezer, Lab'ayu of Shekhem, and Tagu, whose domain apparently lay south of Carmel. Among other statements, he claims that his last caravan, which contained tribute and captives for the king was attacked and robbed near Ayalon, presumably by the men of Milkilu of Gezer and the sons of Lab'ayu (of Shekhem). The king of Gezer was ruler of Ayalon.

The last Egyptian source to mention Gezer is the Victory Hymn of Merneptah (about 1208 BC): "Plundered is the Canaan with every evil; carried off is Ashkelon; seized upon is Gezer; Yanoam is made as that which does not exist; Israel is laid waste, his seed is not." <sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> G. Smith, The Historical Geography of the Holy Land, 1894, 215f.

<sup>2</sup> Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 249.

<sup>3</sup> J. Pritchard ed., Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament, 3rd ed. 1969, 242f.; perhaps also in an inscription from the time of Thutmose IV: ibid. 248.

<sup>4</sup> Armana letter EA, no. 250, transl. in Pritchard (n.3) 485f.; EA, no. 254, Pritchard (n.3) 486; EA nos. 287, 289f., Pritchard (n.3) 488f. On Gezer in the Amarna letters: J. Ross, Bulletin Museum Haaretz 8, 1966, 45-54.

<sup>5</sup> EA, nos. 270f., transl. in Pritchard (n.3) 486f. Milkilu's successor: EA, no. 292, Pritchard (n.3) 489f.

<sup>6</sup> EA no. 287, 50-60, transl. in Pritchard (n.3) 488.

<sup>7</sup> Pritchard (n.3) 378.

Gezer lay at the periphery of Jewish territory and was incorporated rather late. Joshua is reported to have defeated the king of Gezer, without expelling the inhabitants. It is listed as a Levitical city. After conquering Jerusalem David defeated the Philistines from Geva until you come to Gezer. Solomon built a number of forts on key sites: Jerusalem, Hazor, Megiddo and Gezer. Gezer had been attacked and captured by Pharaoh [Siamun], king of Egypt, who had burnt it to the ground, put its Canaanite inhabitants to death, and given it as a marriage gift to his daughter, Solomon's wife. Gezer thus became a significant border town.

From there (sc. Gezer) Shishak ascended via Ayalon and Beit Horon to Gibeon, which is northwest of Jerusalem. This implies that Pharaoh Shishak went up to the hill country in 927 BC by the ascent of Beit Horon. <sup>14</sup> After the division of the Kingdom Gezer belonged to the Kingdom of Israel. <sup>15</sup>

A relief of Tiglath-pileser III depicting a campaign in Philistia in 734/3 shows the siege and capture of a city called Ga-az-ru. <sup>16</sup> It is assumed that this is Gezer. <sup>17</sup>

In 1 Maccabees we read that, following his first successful encounter with the Seleucid troops, Judas Maccabaeus pursued them as far as "Gazer, the plains of Idumaea, Azotus and Jamnia." Gezer is mentioned again in a similar context. In the battle of Adasa the enemy was routed "and they chased them a day's journey all the way from Adasa to Gazera." This was one of the famous pursuits along the Beit Horon road.

In the books of the Maccabees Gazara is first mentioned as a place of significance when it is listed among the towns that were fortified by Bacchides during his campaign in 160 BC.<sup>20</sup> It is mentioned together with, and as comparable to Beth Zur and the Acra. In 142 Simon the Maccabee besieged and captured Gazara:<sup>21</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Josh 10,33.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 16,10.

<sup>10</sup> Josh 21,21; 1 Chron 6.

<sup>11 2</sup> Sam 5,25; 1 Chron 14,16: "from Gibeon to Gezer."

<sup>12 1</sup> Kings 9,15; 17.

<sup>13</sup> According to N. Na'aman Gezer became a border town as a result of these transactions, see N. Na'aman, Borders and Districts in Biblical Historiography, 1986, 61f.

<sup>14 1</sup> Kings 14,25-8; 2 Chron 12,1-12.

<sup>15 1</sup> Chron 7,28.

<sup>16</sup> R. Barnett - M. Falkner, The Sculptures of Assur-Nasir-Apli II (883-859 B.C.), Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727 B.C.), Esarhaddon (681-669 B.C.), 1962, 112.

<sup>17</sup> For the remains of this period: R. Reich - B. Brandl, PEQ 117, 1985, 41-54.

<sup>18 1</sup> Macc 4,15.

<sup>19 1</sup> Macc 7,39; 45; Jos. AJ 12,406-11. The site of Judas Maccabaeus' last battle, near his camp at Elasa, may have been to the south of modern Ramalla, southwest of al-Bira, cf. B. Bar-Kochva, Judas Maccabaeus, 1989, 386ff.

<sup>20 1</sup> Macc 9,52.

<sup>21 1</sup> Macc 13,43-8; cf. Jos. AJ 13,215-7; BJ 1,50. Cf. F.-M. Abel, RB 35, 1926, 515ff.

"In those days he invested Gazara<sup>22</sup> and surrounded it with his army. He made a *helepolis* [siege tower] and brought it up against the city, made a breach in one of the towers and captured it. ... Simon ... expelled them [sc. the townspeople] from the town and purified the houses in which there were idols and thus he entered, singing hymns and songs of praise. He banished everything that was impure and settled men in it who kept the law and he strengthened it and built a house in it for himself."

Then followed the capture and purification of the Acra in Jerusalem where Simon lived himself. "And Simon saw that John, his son, was a man and he made him commander of all his forces and he lived in Gazara." In 2 Maccabees the capture of Gazara, refuge of Timotheus, is ascribed to Judas Maccabaeus, a claim which is incompatible with the plausible account in 1 Maccabees. It has therefore been suggested that 2 Maccabees actually refers to Iazer in Transjordan, alternatively, that it has a confused chronology, the result of obfuscation on the part of Jason of Cyrene. In a later passage 1 Macc states that Simon fortified "Jaffa on the sea and Gazara which is on the border of Azotus." This seems redundant and it is hard to understand how our Gezer could have been said to be situated on the border of Azotus. It is possible that another place is meant here.

John Hyrcanus was still at Gezer when the pretender Ptolemy attempted to kill him following the murder of his father, in 135/4.<sup>28</sup> A decree of the senate reported by Josephus probably belongs to this period.<sup>29</sup> This grants a request that "Jaffa and its harbors, Gazara and Pegai [i.e. the later Antipatris] and other cities and places that Antiochus had taken from them be restored to them."

Next we should turn to a passage concerning Vespasian's activities in the spring of 68, at the time of the First Revolt.

"Vespasian who blockaded those in Jerusalem on all sides built camps in Jericho and Adida and placed garrisons from the Roman and allied troops in both. He also sent Lucius Annius to Gerasa with a unit of cavalry and a large body of infantry. He stormed the town, took it and killed a thousand youths ... Since the war now encompassed all the hill-country and the coastal plain, those in Jerusalem were cut off in all directions." <sup>30</sup>

<sup>22</sup> See the critical apparatus in F.-M. Abel, Livres des Maccabées, 1949, 173: Γάζαρα (R F) avec Josèphe et non Γαζάραν (K), ni Γαζαν de tous les mss.

<sup>23 1</sup> Macc 13,53.

<sup>24</sup> So, most recently, Bar-Kochva (n.19) 512, and cf. Abel (n.22) 415.

<sup>25</sup> So Abel (n.22) 415; J. Dancy, A Commentary on I Maccabees, 1954, 17f.

<sup>26 1</sup> Macc 14,34.

<sup>27</sup> However, Abel (n.22) 258, rejects this suggestion.

<sup>28 1</sup> Macc 16,19.

<sup>29</sup> Jos. AJ 13,260-6; cf. Schürer II,1, 204f.; Möller - Schmitt 62f.

<sup>30</sup> Jos. BJ 4,486-90: Ὁ δὲ Οὐεσπασιανὸς πανταχόθεν περιτειχίζων τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἔν τε τῆ Ἱεριχοῖ καὶ ἐν Ἀδίδοις ἐγείρει στρατόπεδα καὶ φρουροὺς ἀμφοτέραις ἐγκαθίστησιν ἔκ τε τοῦ Ἡωμαϊκοῦ καὶ συμμαχικοῦ συντάγματος. πέμπει δὲ καὶ εἰς Γέρασα Λούκιον Ἄννιον παραδοὺς μοῖραν ἱππέων καὶ συχνοὺς πεζούς. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἐφόδου τὴν πόλιν ἑλὼν ἀποκτείνει μὲν χιλίους τῶν νέων, ὅσοι μὴ διαφυγεῖν ἔφθασαν, γενεὰς δὲ ἠχμαλωτίσατο καὶ τὰς κτήσεις διαρπάσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπέτρεψεν· ἔπειτα τὰς οἰκίας ἐμπρήσας ἐπὶ

This cannot be Gerasa of the Decapolis. According to Josephus, Vita 341f. the Decapolis supported Rome and many of the local Jews evacuated Gerasa early in the war.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, Josephus makes it clear that, as a result of the capture of this place and the surrounding villages, Jerusalem was under total blockade. We must therefore look for a settlement on a road to Jerusalem. Reland has offered a persuasive solution: for the name of the town taken by Lucius Annius we should read "Gezara," i.e. Gezer.<sup>32</sup> There is some support, unknown to Reland, in the earliest edition (Augsburg 1470) of Rufinus' (ancient) Latin translation: "Mittit autem gesaron." This translation has some authority, particularly as regards placenames, because it was transmitted independently of the Greek text. This is a satisfactory solution, for Gezer was an important site on the Lydda-Jerusalem road. It was no longer a significant town in this period, but in the war it would still have offered the best refuge available in the region, even if in this period occupation had moved off the mound proper onto the plains surrounding the site, as stated in a recent archaeological publication (see below). The place regained some importance in the Byzantine period.<sup>33</sup>

### **Archaeological Remains**

The identification of biblical Gezer with Tel Gezer was first proposed by Clermont-Ganneau and later proved by his own discovery of the first of the boundary inscriptions that mention the name of the city (see below, nos. 2764-2776 with introduction).<sup>34</sup>

Since R. Macalister's first excavations at Gezer (1902-1909) the site was investigated more intensively than any other site of ancient Israel. It also became a training and research centre of archaeological methodology in the Holy Land.<sup>35</sup> The results of this investigation cover almost all of the periods represented in Israeli archaeology.<sup>36</sup>

From 1902 till 1909 R. Macalister dug broad (up to 10 meters) east-west trenches across the mound, revealing 9 strata with 7 general periods called by him pre-Semitic, Semitic I-IV, Hellenistic and Roman-Byzantine, published in: The Excava-

τὰς πέριξ κώμας ἐχώρει. Φυγαὶ δ' ἦσαν τῶν δυνατῶν καὶ Φθοραὶ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων, τὸ καταλειφθὲν δὲ πᾶν ἐνεπίμπρατο. καὶ διειληφότος τοῦ πολέμου τήν τε ὀρεινὴν ὅλην καὶ τὴν πεδιάδα πάσας οἱ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις τὰς ἐξόδους ἀφήρηντο.

<sup>31</sup> Jos. BJ 2,480. For a full discussion: Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II 162f.

<sup>32</sup> H. Reland, Palaestina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata 2, 1714, 808.

<sup>33</sup> It is mentioned by Hierocles, Synecdemus 719,10; Georgius Cyprius 1019.

<sup>34</sup> Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 224-75, on the identification of the site esp. pp. 251ff.; RB 8, 1894, 109-17.

<sup>35</sup> W. Dever - H. Lance eds., A Manual of Field Excavation, 1978.

<sup>36</sup> For a detailed summary: W. Dever, NEAEHL 2, 1993, 496-506, plan on p. 496; 5, 2008, 2094: additional bibliography.

tions of Gezer 1-3, 1912. A. Rowe excavated west of the Acropolis in 1934.<sup>37</sup> Since 1964 the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, has systematically explored the site. The excavations were directed by G. Wright (1964/5), W. Dever (1966-71; 1974-90) and J. Seger (1972-4).<sup>38</sup>

The Hellenistic Period (strata III-II): some remains, uncovered already by Macalister could be attributed to the early Hellenistic period (3 c. BC, stratum III), such as seal impressions, coins and pottery, and stamped handles. Macalister's assignment of some monumental architectural remains to what he called the "Maccabean Castle" was shown by Y. Yadin to have been the Solomonic gate (see above). However, the area of the gate was used and partly overbuilt by the Hasmonaeans (Simon). A Greek graffito (below, no. 2763) was found in the vicinity of the gate. Excavations carried out in 1972 by J. Seger in Field VII revealed remains of domestic architecture dated by him to the 2 c. BC. The area investigated is located to the west of Macalister's "Maccabean Castle": 39

The remains comprise three separate living units, arranged around a central courtyard (Seger, fig. 1), with kitchen and subterranean drainage channel. Folded small oil lamps and coins point to the second half of the 2 c. BC. A stamped handle (Seger, fig. 2) "of the Rhodian type"(?) bears the Greek inscription  $\Sigma$ IMIOY. A lead weight refers to an *agoranomos* (below, no. 2784). Concluding these finds, Seger emphasizes the lack of evidence of "the keepers of the law" as the Hasmonaeans were called in the Books of Maccabees. This settlement was occupied until the beginning of the 1 c. BC. Thereafter the settlement moved, according to Seger (p. 144), into the plain surrounding the site.

In a later publication Reich identified six *miqva* ot (ritual baths) in Macalister's report, suggesting that Gezer was inhabited by Jews.<sup>40</sup>

The Herodian Period is almost not represented, apart from some enclosure walls found in Field II and Macalister's "Syrian bath." The date of the boundary inscriptions is relevant in this connection.

A large underground hiding complex was found in Macalister's excavations. There were no finds to help in dating it, but it is of the same type as many others discovered in recent years which are firmly dated by coin-finds and pottery to the first and second centuries  $\rm AD.^{41}$ 

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<sup>37</sup> PEQ 67, 1935, 19-33.

<sup>38</sup> W. Dever - H. Lance - G. Wright, Gezer 1, 1970; Gezer 2, 1974; Gezer 4, 1986; S. Gittin, A Ceramic Typology of the Late Iron II, Persian and Hellenistic Periods at Tell Gezer, 2 vols. (=Gezer 3), 1990.

<sup>39</sup> J. Seger, Biblical Archaeologist 39, 1976, 143.

<sup>40</sup> R. Reich, IEJ 31, 1981, 48-52.

<sup>41</sup> A. Kloner - Y. Tepper, Subterranean Hide-outs in the Judaean Shephelah, 1987, 100-3 (Hebr.).

## Inscriptions

#### A. Res sacrae

### 2761. Greek votive altar of Eunelus(?)

Soft, chalky limestone; no side is strictly rectangular, the top is slightly hollowed, all four sides are 'inscribed'. "The first side is recessed within a much-broken frame ... A small tongue, probably a baetylic emblem, projects upward over the face of the panel from the lower border." Face (b) has a panel with a projecting tongue too; "the writing reads vertically from bottom to top. At the upper end is a device of random lines (? two gazelles)." Face (c) bears "four lines of much-worn writing, also reading vertically upward, within a simple ornamental border: a vertical stroke divides the panel in two." Face (d) may have had an earlier inscription; a faint *delta* is "visible between the horns of the gazelle ... similar but less definite traces appear elsewhere on this face and on the third face" (all quotations from Macalister, Gezer II 440f.). – "Nur auf einer Seite ist die Inschrift halbwegs lesbar" (WE/DK); the drawing on (d) is only partly visible today. Meas.: h 9.5, w 7, d 6.25 cm; letters 0.5-1 cm (a).

Findspot: In the Hellenistic stratum, grid VI 17.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. S-207. Autopsy: 13 October 2013 (WE/DK). Plaster cast in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 503.

(a) ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΝΕΙΚΗ ΕΥΝΗΛΟΥ ΠΟΗ[.]ΙΣ

(b) ΕΥΝΗΛΟΥΙΩ

ΝΟΣ

 $IA\Omega$ 

ΙΝΑΣΙΟΥ

**EOPTH** 

[..]ΚΙΘΥ

(c) ATAΦ[..]EI TO[.]NIKA[.]

ON[--]XE[..]

 $XO[--]NA\Sigma$ 

(d)  $\Delta OPKA\Sigma \Pi AI\Sigma$ TATAI

- (a) Ἡρακλέους | νείκη, | Εὐνήλου | πόη[σ]ις
- (b) Εὐνήλου "Ιω|νος | Ίαω | ΙΝΑΣΙΟΥ | ἑορτή | [..]ΚΙΘΥ
- (d) Δόρκας παῖς. | ταται



fig. 2761.1 (a)

- (a) Heracles' victory.

  Making of Eunelus.
- (b) Of Eunelus, of Ion. Iao. Of Inasius. Feast. ...
- (d) The slave Dorcas. Tatai.

Comm.: The stone was held to be Hellenistic, because it was found in the Hellenistic stratum; but if we accept Macalister's and Wünsch's interpretation of (a), the spelling points to



fig. 2761.2 (b)

a later date (νείκη for νίκη; Wünsch understands Εὔνηλος=Εὔνειλος, i.e. ει > ι > η). A handwritten remark on the museum's archive card says "rather II cent. AD" (but Thiersch 398 n.40 believes that the writing points to the pre-Maccabean[!] period). Macalister 1903, 315; 1912, 442 argued that (a) was scratched more diligently than the other texts and was therefore the original inscription. Wünsch tried to show a connection between (a) and (b).

(a) and (b): (a) 1.2: "νείκη, 'a quarrel, judicial dispute, battle' does not seem to make any intelligible sense" (Macalister 1903, 313). – (a) 1.3: If the reading and interpretation of νείκη and Εὐνήλου are correct, we have two genitives, each followed by its respective nominative – and we have to decide what "Heracles' victory" and "making of Eunelus" means. Wünsch proposed a Grand Unified Theory,



fig. 2761.3 (b)

including face (b), which he transscribed EYNH $\Lambda$ OY I $\Omega$ NO $\Sigma$  IA $\Omega$  INA $\Sigma$ IOY EOPTHI  $\Delta$ I $\Theta$ YP(AMB $\Omega$ I): he thought that Eunelus, son of Ion ((b) 2f.), erect-

ed this altar in honor of a victory gained through the favor of Heracles. The category of the victory, namely poetry, specifically dithyrambic poetry, was mentioned in (a) l.4 and (b) l.6, which he read as  $\delta\iota\theta\nu\rho(\dot{\alpha}\mu\beta\phi)$ . The competition took place at the feast ( $\dot{\epsilon}$ op $\tau$  $\ddot{\eta}\iota$ , Wünsch) of Iao Inasius ((b) ll.3-5).



fig. 2761.4 (c)

Nobody has proposed another theory so far as tempting as this one. Nevertheless, there are some problems: 1) Wünsch reads an additional *iota* in (b) l.5, EOPTHI, not seen by Macalister. In (b) l.6 Macalister reported KΙΟΥ (1903) and ΚΙΘΥ (Gezer II); the *delta* was not seen. 2) Wünsch derives (b) l.4 from a town of Ina in Syria (not in Stephanus or in RE), but tells us that this place's eth-



fig. 2761.5 (d)

nic is really Ἰναῖος (and Wünsch even prints Ἰναίου in AA 1909, 575). 3) Totally different is the concept of a "Yahweh Inasius," whom Wünsch took to be a "Verschmelzung des Jaweh mit dem Baal der syrischen Stadt Ina (westl. vom Hermon angesetzt)." Macalister (Gezer II) already viewed this with scepticism: indeed Heracles is hardly the god to give a victory in a poetic agon in honor of a Palestinian(?) deity. On the whole, therefore, Wünsch fails to convince, even though no other theory can be offered here, nor even a cogent interpretation of any side.

(a) l.3: No other occurrence of this name can be found (and none of Εὔνειλος or Εὔνιλος, either). – l.4 Macalister (Gezer II) takes πόησις in the more general sense: the work of ..., but this seems only theoretically possible. A formula like ποίησις τῆς στήλης is perfectly normal, but the abstractum is usually not used to designate the work of a craftsman (and WE/DK recorded



fig. 2761.6 (d)

another scratch, perhaps an *iota*, after the last *sigma*). Cf. Inscriptions de Délos 2393: Πόησις as personal name.

(b) l.1: The genitive in this place cannot be explained; Macalister took this as another dedication by Eunelus, this time to Iao, not to Heracles. But to commemorate two dedications to two different gods on the same small stone is inconceivable. – ll.1f.: Ion can be taken as the father's name of Eunelus. – l.5: έορτή could, theoretically, be a female personal name; Macalister tried Heorte, daughter of -kithus (Gezer II). – l.6: ΚΙΟΥ Macalister 1903, ΚΙΘΥ Macalister, Gezer II. The first reading is easier to understand: "It is tempting to think of 'Alkίου, the name upon the boundary stones [cf. nos. 2764-2776]; but no restoration can be more than a doubtful guess" (Macalister 1903, 314). It appears that there is no name with -κιθυ-,

and for -κιθου there is only Ἀλκίθου (IG 12,6, 149 [Samos]) or ἀλκιθόου (IG 9,1², 3, 721 [Lokris]).

- (c) Macalister tried: ATA $\Phi[HX?]EI \mid TO[.]NIKA[.] \mid ON[OIX.]XE[P\Omega?] \mid XO[PT?.]NA\Sigma$ . His supplements are hard to follow. He wrote in Gezer II 443: "The seemingly meaningless third side may contain some magical formula."
- (d) Avi-Yonah saw this drawing of a gazelle (δόρκας) as a survival of the "simple and rustic style." Macalister understood at first, "Dorcas, child of Tatai" (1903, 314; Tata[i] seems to be a female "Lallname," known from Asia Minor, cf. Zgusta 494ff. § 1517), but Wünsch referred to an interjection in Plautus, Stichus 770f. (Sangarinus: babae!, Stichus: tatae, Sa: papae). Macalister (Gezer II) objected that this is found "elsewhere only in Latin," but Plautus may have taken the interjection directly from Menander's Adelphoi (and Wünsch quoted Aristoph. Equ. 1: ἰαττατὰξ τῶν κακῶν, ἰατταταῖ).

Bibl.: R. Macalister, PEQ 35, 1903, 313ff. (ed. pr.). – BE 1904 p. 261; H. Thiersch, AA 1909, 397f., fig. 28; R. Wünsch apud H. Thiersch, AA 1909, 575; BE 1912 p. 67; Macalister, Gezer II 439ff.; Figueras, Pagan Image 71. – Cf. R. Macalister, Bible Side-Lights from the Mound of Gezer, 1906, 176 fig. 45; Avi-Yonah, Art 52 fig. 4.



fig. 2761.7 (bottom)



fig. 2761.8 (top)

Photo: IAA; Macalister, Gezer II 439, 441 figs. 521 and 523 (dr.).

WA

### 2762. Greek marble fragment

Marble; Macalister thought it a funerary inscription, but the molding suggests an architectural member (from a church?), and the text supports this.

Meas.: "The fragment is 6 ¼ inches long" (Macalister, ed. pr. 110), i.e. ca. 16 cm.

Findspot: The stone was not found in the tel, but was turned up near Kh. Yerdeh by a local ploughman.

 $\overline{KY}\Pi PO\Delta E[--]$ 

κύ(ριε), πρόδε[ξε --]

Lord, accept ...



fig. 2762

Comm.: The abbreviation mark above the rest of the first and the second letter makes the interpretation secure. From a chancel screen? Macalister thought of προδείχνυμι, but cf. for the lack of the sigma SEG 37, 1489: κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς κὲ ἄγιε Μιχαήλ, πρόδεξαι τὴν καρποφωρίαν τῶν δούλον ...; IGLS 13,1, 9040: καὶ προδέξασθαι τὴν προσφορόν. Gignac I 130: "Medial σ is occasionally omitted before a stop, especially a dental."

Bibl.: R. Macalister, PEQ 40, 1908, 109f.; id., Gezer I 41f., II 454 (edd. prr.).

Photo: R. Macalister, PEQ 40, 1908, 109 fig. 5 (dr.).

WA

#### 2763. The Pampras inscription

Cursive Greek letters ("almost illegible scribble," Macalister 1905, 100), scratched on the remaining part of a block of "rather soft limestone, trimmed with a chisel to the shape of an ordinary brick ... the fragment ... is a wedge-shaped splinter of such a block" (Macalister, Gezer I). There are some other scratches on the stone, perhaps a drawing, whose purpose is unclear: "magical diagram" as suggested by Macalister 1905, 100, and cf. Abel 1926 is just a catchword, and it is unlikely that this "may be a rude drawing or plan of the 'house' alluded to in the inscription itself" (Macalister). Meas.: h ca. 15, w ca. 19 cm.

Findspot: The excavators believed that they had identified a dwelling place of John Hyrcanus during his time as governor of the city. This stone was found "lying loose in the debris" (Macalister, Gezer I) of this building.

Pres. loc.: Plaster cast in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 80.

ΠΑΜΠΡΑΣΙΜΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΤΟΠΑΖΗΠΥ+ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΝ

Πάμπρα<ς> Σίμωνος | κατοπάζη πῦρ | βασίλειον



fig. 2763.1

See comm. for various translations.

Comm.: The text ist not easy to read, as a look at the sketch (which is in itself an interpretation by the illustrator) clearly shows. Macalister had help from Germer-Durand and Lagrange. The following readings were advocated:  $\Pi AM\Pi PA(?)\Sigma IM\Omega NO\Sigma \mid KATE(?)\Pi A\Gamma(?)H\Pi...\mid BA\Sigma I-\Lambda EION (Macalister 1905, 100).$ 



fig. 2763.2

Macalister understood in l.2 KATEΠAΓH, Germer-Durand understood KATO-ΠAZH. "Further study ... has led me to the conclusion that it is impossible to choose between the two readings κατεπάγη and κατοπάζη" (Macalister 1905, 184). At the end of l.3, Germer-Durand had ΠΥΡΙ, Macalister ΠΥΓΜΗΝ (1905, 101 "literally boxing, possibly used here in the general sense of fighting or assaulting").

Macalister translated his first version as "Pampras, may he bring down [fire?] on the palace of Simon" or "may he follow up with fire" (κατοπάζη πυρί), or "bring down fighting" (πυγμήν). Wünsch read (cf. BE 1912 p. 67): Παμπρᾶς Τίωνος κατετράγη παρὰ [τὸ] βασιλεῖον, and commented: "κατατρώγω, verzehre. Aristoph. Ach. 809 κατέτραγον. Von ἔτραγον kann pass. das nicht belegte ἐτράγην gebildet werden, wie von ἔτραφον ein ἐτράφην. Man kann auch κατεπάτη, Itacismus für κατεπάτει, lesen, cacavit." Wünsch's idea was discarded without further discussion and the commonly accepted reading today is Πάμπρα<ς> Σίμωνος | κατοπάζη πῦρ | βασίλειον (Gabba, Boffo, etc.), not least because this makes a hexameter (cf. Macalister, Gezer I 211).

This has been translated in different ways, but the gist has always been "(says) Pampras, may fire follow up the palace of Simon" (Macalister 1905, 184), e.g. Abel 1949, 246: "Pampras, puisse-t-il faire descendre le feu sur le palais de Simon," or "May the fire from heaven burn the house of Simon" (Avi-Yonah). Lance wrote: "It seems to say something like 'To blazes with Simon's palace' and is signed by one Pampras, who no doubt then found it wise to get out of town," and Edwards: "Pamparas (wishes) that fire should fall on Simon's palace."

The scholars who accepted the Maccabean context of the text and understood it as an imprecation designed to harm Simon also had a role fashioned for Pampras: he was one of the "dispossessed Syrians, possibly condemned to forced labour on the castle" (Macalister, Gezer I 211), or he was a prisoner of war (CIJ) or a former citizen of Gezer, now used as slave by the Hasmonaean conqueror (Abel; Fuks). All this is sheer fantasy, since the Hasmonaean connection cannot really be proved. The identification of "Simon" with the Maccabean Simon who conquered Gezer in turn, led to the idea that the building where the stone was found was the palace of Simon. Seger already pointed out the problems involved in this interpretation and suggested a different one for the building; cf. Fischer - Isaac - Roll 166: "Macalister's

assignment of some monumental architectural remains to what he called the 'Maccabean Castle' was shown by Y. Yadin to have been the Solomonic gate" (this did not hinder Berlin and others from returning to the first interpretation and continuing to see this as a "contemporary reference to the Maccabees," and as Kant put it: surely such an idea will continue to be advocated). To put it in different words: the archaeological context of the inscription does not support a "Hasmonaean" approach to the interpretation. Such an approach would have to be found in the dating of letter forms or in the interpretation of the text excluding other possibilities.

It is quite possible that this is a hexameter, which would make  $\Sigma i \mu \omega \nu \sigma \ldots$ βασιλεῖον at least possible, and which would also explain the postulated omission of the verb "(says) Pampras" by "metrical exigencies" (Macalister 1905, 184). The very rare κατοπάζη at least re-enforces the idea that this was meant as a verse – but even a verse can follow the regular word order: if Pampras is a name (see below), we can understand  $\Pi \dot{\alpha} \mu \pi \rho \alpha <\varsigma > \Sigma i \mu \omega \nu \circ \varsigma$  (which makes it easier to explain the single sigma). – 1.1: Even though Pampras is usually accepted as a personal name, no parallel can be found. The closest seems to be Παμπρέπις in G. Wagner, Les ostraca grecs de Douch 4, 1999, 107 no. 502, recto 4 (where Wagner understands Παμπρέπιος). Gaggero thought him(?) a deity, but this is hardly likely, according to Boffo, since there is no deity or demon of this name in the bible. Dancy believes that Παμπρα has a magical sense: again, parallels are lacking. – 1.3: κατοπάζη is rare, Hes. Erga 324 is the locus classicus. If we follow West's translation (p. 238) "drives away," then we can translate: "Pampras, son/man of Simon, drives away the royal fire," surely apotropaic – but in what sense?  $\pi \tilde{v} \rho$ =fever? There seems to be no parallel for πῦρ βασίλειον.

Bibl.: R. Macalister, PEQ 37, 1905, 100, 103 fig. 1 (ph.), 184 (ed. pr.). – BE 1907 p. 91; BE 1912 p. 67; Macalister, Gezer I 210ff., fig. 100 (dr.); CIJ 2, 1184; Gabba, Iscrizioni 31f. no. IX fig. 2; A. Schalit ed., The Hellenistic Age, 1972 fig. 53; Boffo, Iscrizioni 121ff. no. 13 (with bibl.); O. Tal - M. Fischer - I. Roll, in: M. Fischer ed., Yavneh, Yavneh-Yam and their Neighborhood, 2005, 294f. (Hebr.). – Cf. PEQ 37, 1905, 89; R. Macalister, Bible Side-Lights from the Mound of Gezer, 1906, 194f., fig. 44; D. Lyon, HThR 1, 1908, 83f.; P. Thomsen, Palästina und seine Kultur in fünf Jahrtausenden, 1909, 96f.; H. Thiersch, AA, 1909, 395; R. Wünsch, ibid., 573; Macalister, Excavation 145; F.-M. Abel, RB 35, 1926, 517; id., Les livres des Maccabées, 1949; J. Dancy, A Commentary on I Maccabees, 1954, 178; H. Lance, Biblical Archaeologist 30, 1967, 15f.; M. Avi-Yonah, in: Safrai - Stern I 52; J. Seger, Biblical Archaeologist 39, 1976, 142; M. West, Hesiod Works and Days, 1978; G. Gaggero, Palestina e Giudea fra III e II secolo a. C., 1979, 93; L. Kant, ANRW II 20,2, 1987, 681; G. Fuks, Zion 54, 1989, 112 (Hebr.); W. Dever, NEAEHL 2, 1993, 506; Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II 164; A. Berlin, Biblical Archaeologist 60, 1997, 29; Millard, Pergament und Papyrus 101f.; D. Edwards, in: T. Rajak - S. Pearce - J. Aitken - J. Dines eds., Jewish Perspectives on Hellenistic Rulers, 2007, 289f.; Zugmann, Apostelgeschichte 215.

Photo: O. Tal - M. Fischer - I. Roll, in: M. Fischer ed., Yavneh, 2005, 294f., fig. 38 (ph. and dr.).

## B. Inscriptions of public character and in architectural context

## 2764.-2776. The boundary stones from Tel Gezer

The so-called "Boundary of Gezer" inscriptions are a series of rock-cut inscriptions, carved into the brittle bedrock south and east of Tel Gezer. While two lie on the NE slope of the Tel, most are well over 1 km away, and many are at a remove of nearer to 2 km. Roughly, they form a semicircle around the Tel. The first was discovered by C. Clermont-Ganneau in 1873; most recently, a thirteenth (no. 2776) was discovered in 2012 by E. Mitchell, R. Dodd and S. Coyle of the Tel Gezer Regional Survey of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary. The vast majority (10 of 13) are bilingual, Greek and Hebrew or Aramaic. Typically, the name Alcius appears in the genitive case, arranged tête-bêche above the text תחמ גזר thm gzr with medial in place of final mem. Of the three monolingual inscriptions, two are simply Greek names in the genitive (Alexas [no. 2773] and Archelaus [no. 2774]), and one is an undeciphered Hebrew or Aramaic inscription of similar size and disposition to the others (no. 2766). At over a meter in length and with letters that tend toward 15 cm in height, these are clearly monumental markers of boundaries. Yet the identification of those boundaries, the interpretation of the entire series, has been hindered by the fragmented history of discovery, inconsistent recording, and incomplete publication. (Several have been cut out of the bedrock and removed, two broken in this manner). However, the fine synthesis of R. Reich (1985) has been updated by E. Mitchell - R. Dodd - S. Coyle (2014).

One has long sought in these inscriptions precious traces of Maccabaean or Hasmonaean rule in Gezer. We hear that Simon cast out the population of Gezer and settled "men who follow the Law" in their place (1 Macc 13,47-8). Simon later established his son John Hyrcanus in Gezer (1 Macc 13,53). It was a strategic location, which both Jewish and non-Jewish sources understood to be outside the historical Judaea and on the frontier of territory claimed by Ashdod (1 Macc 14,32-4; 15,34-5; Strabo 16,2,29). Thus a systematic program of fixing boundaries makes sense, and Reich's case for a single act of inscription is historically plausible and epigraphically tenable (R. Reich - Z. Greenhut 2002). Dating the inscriptions by paleography has proven futile, while the lack of published archaeological reports on the Hellenistic and Roman strata at Gezer has long muddled the debate. (For the stratigraphy, see now G. Gilmour, Gezer VI 2014.) For B. Rosenfeld (1988), the appearance of the names Alexas, Archelaus, and Alcius/Hilkiah in the Herodian family is one indication of an early Roman date. These identifications are speculative, as is the notion that Gezer and its territory were parcelled into Herodian royal estates. Still, a Roman period date for these inscriptions cannot be excluded.

The central problem of the nature of the boundary delineated remains unresolved. Recently, the very old and long discarded hypothesis of a Sabbath boundary received new support when two rupestral inscriptions reading, in part,  $\Sigma AB$  were discovered in Timrat, Galilee (M. Aviam, Eretz Magazine, Aug.-Sept. 2011, 52-5).

The order of the boundary stones here follows the chronological order of their discovery, see fig. 2764.A, aerial view with nos. 1-13.

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 6, 1874, 148, 275-80; id., The Academy 131, 1874, 522; id., CRAI 1874, 201, 213f.; C. Conder, PEQ 7, 1875, 5; C. Clermont-Ganneau, ibid. 56f.; A. Helfferich, Das Ausland 49, 1876, 236ff.; CIH 58ff. nos. 2-2a; C. Clermont-Ganneau, Revue Critique 8, 1883, 141-7; id., PEQ 16, 1884, 90, 226f.; R. Conder, PEQ 26, 1894, 201ff. no. 15; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 86f., 224ff., 229ff.; id., CRAI 1898, 688-93; id., RB 8, 1899, 112-7; M.-J. Lagrange, RB 8, 1899, 427; id., CRAI 1899, 247-51; C. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 31, 1899, 120-4; id., RAO 3, 1900, 118-23, 265-68; RES 1, 1900/5, 331f. no. 386; Lidzbarski, Ephemeris I 484, II pl. 53,3; T. Wright, The Biblical World 20, 1902, 391f.; R. Macalister, PEQ 35, 1903, 7-50; id., Bible Side-Lights from the Mound of Gezer, 1906, 22ff., fig. 5; H. Thiersch, AA, 1909, 397; Schürer I,1 245f. n.12; Macalister, Excavation 64; F.-M. Abel, RB 35, 1926, 517; W. Taylor, JPOS 10, 1930, 19ff., pl. 2; id., BASOR 41, 1931, 28f.; W. Albright, JBL 56, 1937, 162f.; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 30 (Hebr.); N. Avigad, PEQ 82, 1950, 48f.; CIJ 2, 1183; F. Cross, JBL 74, 1955, 163 n.34; id., in: G. Wright ed., The Bible and the Ancient Near East, 1961, 190f.; W. Dever, BA 30, 1967, 48f.; id. - H. Lance - G. Wright, Gezer I. Preliminary Report of the 1964-66 Seasons, 1970, 2, 6f., 29, 68; S. Birnbaum, The Hebrew Scripts, 1971, 138 no. 83; IMC no. 215; A. Schalit ed., The Hellenistic Age. Political History of Jewish Palestine from 332 B.C.E to 67 B.C.E., 1972 no. 52; J. Seger, IEJ 22, 1972, 160f.; Schürer II,1, 191 n.8; RB 82, 1975, 91f.; W. Dever, EAEHL 2, 1976, 443; S. Applebaum, SCI 5, 1978/80, 172f.; ESI 1, 1982, 31f. (=HA 78/79, 75 [Hebr.]); Beyer, Aramäische Texte 339 no. yGE 1-8; R. Reich, EI 18, 1985, 167-79 (Hebr.); SEG 35, 1567; B. Rosenfeld, IEJ 38, 1988, 235-45; SEG 38, 1645; M. Fischer, in: A. Kasher - U. Rappaport - G. Fuks eds., Greece and Rome in Eretz Israel, 1989, 197 (Hebr.); R. Reich, IEJ 40, 1990, 44ff.; J. Schwartz, ibid. 47-57 at 52; SEG 40, 1513; Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II 164; W. Dever, NEAEHL 2, 1993, 505f.; Beyer, Aramäische Texte, Ergänzungsband 204f. no. yGE 1-8; A. Berlin, Biblical Archaeologist 60, 1997, 2-51; Z. Safrai, Cathedra 89, 1998, 14 (Hebr.); Millard, Pergament und Papyrus, 2000, 84; R. Reich - Z. Greenhut, IEJ 52, 2002, 58-63; SEG 52, 1692; BE 2003, 590; Beyer, Aramäische Texte II 270 no. yGE 1-9; D. Edwards, in: T. Rajak - S. Pearce - J. Aitken - J. Dines eds., Jewish Perspectives on Hellenistic Rulers, 2007, 289; H. Birenboim, Cathedra 139, 2011, 7-30 (Hebr.); J. Seger - J. Hardin, in: J. Seger ed., Gezer VII 2013, 12-36 at 34ff., ph. 2,2-4; E. Mitchell - R. Dodd - S. Coyle, IEJ 64, 2014, 191-207; D. Jacobson, PEQ 147, 2015, 83ff.

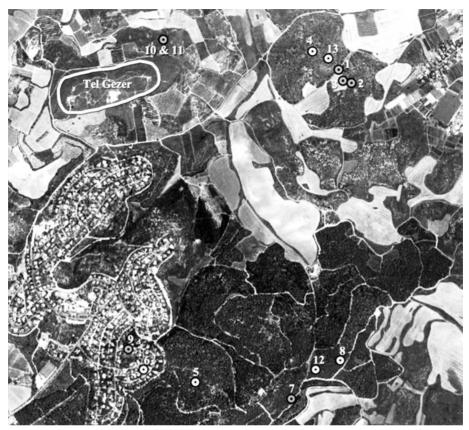


fig. 2764.A E. Mitchell - R. Dodd - S. Coyle, IEJ 64, 2014, 195 fig. 1, aerial view, map data: Google, Geo Eye

#### 2764. Boundary stone inscribed Greek and Hebrew/Aramaic, 2 c. BCE(?)-1 c. CE

Rupestral inscription, continuous line. The *upsilon* of the genitive is omitted. Medial *mem* is used in final position.

Meas.: w 185 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2764-2776 fig. A, aerial view, no. 1.

Pres. loc.: Long part, Hagia Irene Museum, Istanbul (since 1876, Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II, 230f.); short part in the collection of Palestine Exploration Fund, London, according to Clermont-Ganneau 1884, but not located there.

#### תחמגזר AAKIO

Άλκίο<υ> תחם גזר



fig. 2764.1



fig. 2764.2

Translit.: thm gzr

(Property) of Alcius. Land of Gezer.

Comm.: In 1874 C. Clermont-Ganneau recorded two boundary inscriptions, having been led to the site by Ibrahim Ahmed (this one and no. 2765). The first one was fragmented when it was cut out of the bedrock shortly thereafter, and a shorter piece bearing the *alpha* and the *lambda* was lost.

Earlier, a concrete mold of that fragment had been made in Palestine, which was built into the Tabor House in Jerusalem, the home of Conrad Schick (Taylor 1930 and 1931). Unlike many of the other boundary stones in the series, here the two texts are not arranged tête-bêche. However, the visual logic of Reich's theory seems to hold, since, according to Clermont-Ganneau, one was meant to read the one-lined, bilingual text facing north. This means that the stone alerted those traveling eastward that the land of Alcius stretched forth before them; conversely, for the traveler headed west, the stone marked the beginning of the "land of Gezer."

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 6, 1874, 276-9 no. A; id., CRAI 1874, 201 (edd. prr.). – Id., PEQ 16, 1884, 226; id., ARP II 224ff., 229ff., 259f. no. A; Macalister, Gezer I 37-40; W. Taylor, JPOS 10, 1930, 16-22; id., BASOR 41, 1931, 27ff.; R. Reich, EI 18, 1985, 167-79 no. 1 (Hebr.); see bibl. to introduction of nos. 2764-2776.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 225 no. A1; R. Reich, EI 18, 1985, 167 fig. 2 (dr.).

NK

# 2765. Boundary stone with Greek and Hebrew/Aramaic inscription, 2 c. BCE(?)-1 c. CE

Rupestral inscription, arranged tête-bêche. Medial *mem* in final position. Meas.: w ca. 100 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2764-2776 fig. A, aerial view, no. 2. Pres. loc.: Archaeological Museum, Istanbul.

(in reverse) תחמגזר ΑΛΚΙΟΥ

ππα גזר Άλκίου

Translit.: thm gzr



fig. 2765.1

Land of Gezer. (Property) of Alcius.

Comm.: The inscription was first recorded by C. Clermont-Ganneau in 1874, and first fully described by Conder - Kitchener. The stone was broken at some point during the process of removal, transport, and display in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. The flaw is already visible in the plate published by Macalister. When the break occured, it split the *omicron* and cut off the *resh* and the *zayin*. With the full orthography of the name Alcius in the genitive, Clermont-Ganneau came to believe that the same man was commemorated on an ossuary discovered at Lydda (no. 2698), a speculation that persists in scholarship (Rosenfeld).



fig. 2765.2 (squeeze)



fig. 2765.3 (dr.)

Bibl.: A. Helfferich, Das Ausland 49, 1876, 236ff. (deficient reading); Conder - Kitchener, SWP 2 Samaria 435-9 (edd. prr.). – Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 227f., 231, 259f. no. B; Macalister, Gezer I 37-40; R. Reich, EI 18, 1985, 167-79 no. 2 fig. 3 pl. 28,2 (Hebr.); B. Rosenfeld, IEJ 38, 1988, 235-45; see bibl. to introduction of nos. 2764-2776.

Photo: NK; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 228 no. B (dr. and squeeze).

NK

### 2766. Boundary stone with Hebrew/Aramaic inscription, 2 c. BCE(?)-1 c. CE

Large, undeciphered rupestral inscription. The lower horizontal stroke of the third letter from the right is lightly incised (Clermont-Ganneau 1900, working from a squeeze, cast it as accidental). From the original drawing the text appears to have been set in a cartouche, as Lagrange explains, but this is the natural break of the rock. Meas.: "the length is 0.94 m" (Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 229); "hauteur moyenne des lettres 0m,18, longeur totale 0m,90" (Lagrange); "The legend is engraved on a sunk space specially prepared for it, 6' 6¾" in length and 2' 7½" in breadth. The inscription itself measures 3 ft. by 1 ft." (Macalister).

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2764-2776 fig. A, aerial view, no. 3. Pres. loc.: In situ, last known verification ca. 1902 (Mitchell - Dodd - Coyle, table 1).

Comm.: This is the third inscription that Clermont-Ganneau discovered in 1874, spotted by Lecomte, lying between nos. 2764 and 2765. Conder - Kitchener described it as Cufic in appearance. Whether one has read four or five Semitic letters here, the

inscription remains undeciphered. It is to be grouped with the series on account of its findspot and scale. Lagrange tentatively read אזג gzr in three letters from the left, suggesting that two other letters were orientated in the opposite direction. E. Renan (CRAI) suggested the reading Netofa (נטפא), the name of the town known from the Bible. This was discarded by Clermont-Ganneau who in turn proposed ענו ntm², the niphal form of the town who impure of the county tm² "to be impure" or שנו btm² "tere-

binth" (ARP II 258) or נטרא וערא to his mind, hinting at a guard post (1900, 268 n.1). Reich was also at a loss, but picked up the suggestions אנטמא ntm', מעמא btm'. Thus, Reich founded his readings on the original reading of Clermont-Ganneau: four letters, of which only two seemed secure, namely, a tet in the second position, and an alef in the fourth.



fig. 2766.1



fig. 2766.2 (letters probably retraced)

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 6, 1874, 280; CRAI, 1874, 213f.; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 229, 257f. no. C (edd. prr.). – Conder - Kitchener, SWP 2 Samaria 435-9; M.-J. Lagrange, RB 8, 1899, 422-7 no. C; id., CRAI, 1899, 247-51 no. C; Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 3, 1900, 265-8; Macalister, Gezer I 39f.; R. Reich, EI 18, 1985, 167-79 no. 3 fig. 4 (Hebr.); E. Mitchell - R. Dodd - S. Coyle, IEJ 64, 2014, 191-207 no. 3; see bibl. to introduction of nos. 2764-2776.

Photo: M.-J. Lagrange, RB 8, 1899 pl. 2 no. 6 (dr.); Macalister, Gezer III pl. 11 fig. 3.

NK

# 2767. Boundary stone with Greek and Hebrew/Aramaic inscription, 2 c. BCE(?)-1 c. CE

Rupestral inscription, two lines on same orientation. The *ḥet* is largely eroded away. Nor is anything left of the *gimel*, but strokes of the *zayin* and *resh* are legible. Meas.: h 80, w 125 cm, letters 18 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2764-2776 fig. A, aerial view, no. 4. Pres. loc.: In situ, last known verification 2012 (Mitchell - Dodd - Coyle, table 1).

 $A\Lambda KIO\Upsilon$ תָחמ [.]זְרָ

Άλκίου תחם [ג]זר

Translit.: tḥm [g]zr

(Property) of Alcius. Land of Gezer



fig. 2767.2 (letters retraced by Mitchell)



fig. 2767.1



fig. 2767.3



fig. 2767.4 (sketch 1881)



fig. 2767.5 (dr. 1899)

Comm.: This inscription was discovered by Clermont-Ganneau in 1881. It was lost, but rediscovered by the field survey of Mitchell - Dodd - Coyle and republished. The two texts are not arranged tête-bêche, but in two lines of the same orientation, as in the nearby no. 2776. In Reich's view, this is related to the shape of the stone, which is a hemispherical outcrop, not the flat horizontal surface of most of the others. The texts are oriented northwest from the Tel.

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, AMSL 11, 1885, 243ff. no. 132 (ed. pr.). – id., ARP II 231ff., 259f. no. D; M.-J. Lagrange, RB 8, 1899, 422-7 no. D; id., CRAI 1899, 247-51 no. D; R. Reich, EI 18, 1985, 167-79 no. 4 fig. 5 (Hebr.); E. Mitchell - R. Dodd - S. Coyle, IEJ 64, 2014, 191-207 no. 4; see bibl. to introduction of nos. 2764-2776.

Photo: E. Mitchell - R. Dodd - S. Coyle, IEJ 64, 2014, 197 figs. 3, 4 (ph. and dr.); Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 232 no. D (sketch); M.-J. Lagrange, RB 8, 1899 pl. 2 no. 5 (dr.).

NK

# 2768. Boundary stone with Greek and Hebrew/Aramaic inscription, 2 c. BCE(?)-1 c. CE

Rupestral inscription, arranged tête-bêche.

Meas.: h ca. 25, w 110 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2764-2776 fig. A, aerial view, no. 5. Pres. loc.: In situ, last known verification 2012 (Mitchell - Dodd - Coyle, table 1).

(in reverse) תחמגזר ΑΛΚΙΟΥ

πηם גזר Άλκίου

Translit.: tḥm gzr

Land of Gezer. (Property) of Alcius.



fig. 2768.1 (letters retraced by Macalister)



fig. 2768.2

Comm.: This was the fourth bilingual stone discovered by Père Lagrange and the Dominicans in 1898. Clermont-Ganneau soon published it, surmising that based on its location this series of stones had once demarcated a square around the Tel. Reich and Greenhut located it and marked its location with GPS.

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, CRAI 1898, 690ff. (ed. pr.). – id. PEQ 31, 1899, 120-4; id. RB 8, 1899, 112ff.; M.-J. Lagrange, ibid. 422-7 no. E, pl. 4,2; id., CRAI 1899, 247-51 no. E; BE 1900, p. 134; Macalister, Gezer I 37-41 no. 4 fig. 9,2; IMC 22f. no. 15; R. Reich, EI 18, 1985, 167-79 no. 5 (Hebr.); Jaroš, Inschriften 311 no. 204; R. Reich - Z. Greenhut, IEJ 52, 2002, 58-63 no. 5; E. Mitchell - R. Dodd - S. Coyle, IEJ 64, 2014, 191-207 no. 5; see bibl. to introduction of nos. 2764-2776.

Photo: Macalister, Gezer III pl. 11,4 (ph.); R. Reich, EI 18, 1985, 170 fig. 6 (dr.).

# 2769. Boundary stone with Greek and Hebrew/Aramaic inscription, 2 c. BCE(?)-1 c. CE

Rupestral inscription, arranged tête-bêche. Traces of each of the Hebrew/Aramaic characters remain, but much has been effaced.

Meas.: w ca. 110 cm; letters ca. 20 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2764-2776 fig. A, aerial view, no. 6. Pres. loc.: In situ, last known verification 2012 (Mitchell - Dodd - Coyle, table 1).

(in reverse) AAKIOY [[תחמגזר]]

Άλκίου [[תחם גזר]]

Translit.: [[tḥm gzr]]

(Property) of Alcius. Land of Gezer.

fig. 2769.1 (letters retraced by Reich)

Comm.: R. Macalister and his father discovered this inscription in 1902. They recognized the familiar bilingual, tête-bêche form of the series, though only the Greek inscription was truly preserved. Reich re-examined the stone and confirmed the deliberate rasura, which may indeed be ancient. It is curious that just one half of the text was neatly destroyed, while

the other half of the text, i.e., the Greek name,

TOMA



fig. 2769.2

was left alone. Perhaps this points to contestation or a breakdown in the land tenure and/or land use arrangements originally expressed by the program. Reich and Greenhut located the inscription and marked its location with GPS.

Bibl.: Macalister, Gezer I 37-41 no. 5 (ed. pr.). – R. Reich, EI 18, 1985, 167-79 no. 6 (Hebr.); R. Reich - Z. Greenhut, IEJ 52, 2002, 58-63 no. 6; E. Mitchell - R. Dodd - S. Coyle, IEJ 64, 2014, 191-207 no. 6; see bibl. to introduction of nos. 2764-2776.

Photo: R. Reich, EI 18, 1985, 170 fig. 7 and pl. 30,2 (ph. and dr.).

# 2770. Boundary stone with Greek and Hebrew/Aramaic inscription, 2 c. BCE(?)-1 c. CE

Rupestral inscription, arranged tête-bêche.

Meas.: h (max.) ca. 90, w (max.) ca. 162 cm; letters 15-24 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2764-2776 fig. A, aerial view, no. 7.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1972-140. Autopsy: 31 January 2013 (NK).

(in reverse) תחמגזר ΑΛΚΙΟΥ

ππα גזר Άλκίου

Translit.: thm gzr

Land of Gezer. (Property) of Alcius.



fig. 2770.1

Comm.: Members of Kibbutz Nahshonim found this inscription in 1963 or 1964. Its location southeast of Tel Gezer was recorded, but the text itself was cut out of the bedrock and removed to Jerusalem. While fully legible, erosion and pitting obscure some letters.



fig. 2770.2

Bibl.: W. Dever, Biblical Archaeologist 30, 1967, 47-62 (ed. pr.). – W. Dever - H. Lance - G. Wright, Gezer I, 1970, 2, pl. 2A; R. Reich, EI 18, 1985, 167-79 no. 7 (Hebr.); J. Seger - J. Hardin, in: J. Seger ed., Gezer VII 2013, 12-36 at 34ff., fig. 2,3 (ph.); see bibl. to introduction of nos. 2764-2776.

Photo: IAA; R. Reich, EI 18, 1985, 170 fig. 8 (dr.).

# 2771. Boundary stone with Greek and Hebrew/Aramaic inscription, 2 c. BCE(?)-1 c. CE

Rupestral inscription, arranged tête-bêche.

Meas.: h ca. 80, w ca. 110 cm; letters ca. 10-15 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2764-2776 fig. A, aerial view, no. 8. Pres. loc.: In situ, last known verification 2012 (Mitchell - Dodd - Coyle, table 1).

(in reverse) ΑΛΚΙΟΥ תחמגור

Άλκίου תחם גזר

Translit.: thm gzr

(Property) of Alcius. Land of Gezer.



fig. 2771.1 (letters retraced by Reich)

Comm.: Reich uncovered this inscription in the course of IAA excavations in 1980. Reich and Greenhut later fixed its position on a slope SE of Tel Gezer by GPS.

Bibl.: R. Reich, EI 18, 1985, 167-79 no. 8 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – Id. – Z. Kallai – B. Brandl, ESI 1, 1982, 31f. (=HA 78/79, 75 [Hebr.]); R. Reich – Z. Greenhut, IEJ 52, 2002, 58-63 no. 8; E. Mitchell – R. Dodd – S. Coyle, IEJ 64, 2014, 191-207 no. 8; see bibl. to introduction of nos. 2764-2776.



fig. 2771.2

Photo: R. Reich, EI 18, 1985, 171 fig. 9 and pl. 28,4 (ph. and dr.).

# 2772. Boundary stone with Greek and Hebrew/Aramaic inscription, 2 c. BCE(?)-1 c. CE

Rupestral inscription, arranged tête-bêche. Meas.: h ca. 30, w ca. 40 cm; letters ca. 12-15 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2764-2776 fig. 2764, aerial view, no. 9.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1981-910.

(in reverse) [..]K̩IO̞[.] [...]חָמָ

[ʾAλ]κίο[υ] [ת]חם [גזר]

Translit.: [t]ḥm [gzr]

(Property) of Alcius. Land of Gezer.



fig. 2772.1 (letters retraced on the stone)

Comm.: During a class site visit led by Z. Kallai and B. Brandl in 1982, H. Mader, an archaeology student at the Hebrew University, discovered the two joining fragments of this inscription. It had been damaged during construction works at Karmei Yosef and it is the one located furthest Southwest of the series. Merely the edges of the Greek letters remain, but the tête-bêche arrangement is nevertheless discernible.

Bibl.: R. Reich, EI 18, 1985, 167-79 no. 9 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – Id. - Z. Kallai - B. Brandl, ESI 1, 1982, 31f.; R. Reich - Z. Greenhut, IEJ 52, 2002, 58-63 no. 9; E. Mitchell - R. Dodd - S. Coyle, IEJ 64, 2014, 191-207 no. 9; see bibl. to introduction of nos. 2764-2776.

Photo: IAA; R. Reich, EI 18, 1985, 171 fig. 10 (dr.).



fig. 2772.2



fig. 2772.3

# 2773. Greek boundary stone with the name Alexas, 2 c. BCE(?)-1 c. CE

Rupestral inscription.

Meas.: w ca. 50 cm; letters ca. 15 cm

Findspot: "On the northeastern slopes of the natural hill on which the tel rises ..., a Greek inscription was carved in the exposed rock face into which tombs and agricultural installations were also hewn. ... About 2 meters away is another inscription" (no. 2774), ESI 31f. This text looked to the north, no. 2774 looked to the south. See introduction to nos. 2764-2776 fig. A, aerial view, no. 10.

Pres. loc.: In situ, last known verification 1982 (Mitchell - Dodd - Coyle, table 1).

ΑΛΕΞΑ

Άλεξᾶ

(Property) of Alexas.



fig. 2773.1 (letters retraced by Reich ca. 1985)

Comm.: J. Seger (HA) announced the inscription in 1972, which had been found by the Union College team on the northeastern slopes of Tel Gezer. Reich included it at the end of his study, though publishing it less completely than the other stones. (It had been rediscoverd



fig. 2773.2

by Z. Kallai and B. Brandl in 1982.) The material, dimensions and the letter forms alone justify its inclusion in the series. In addition, it presents another name in the genitive (first-declension masculine name, Koinê form). It is not, as has often been supposed, a nickname in the nominative, Ἄλεξα, short for ἀλέξανδρος. Recent efforts by a survey team to locate the stone were unfruitful, but it was clearly positioned very differently from the rest of the series, see no. 2774. Those two inscriptions lie a matter of meters away from Tel Gezer, the other stones ca. 1-2 km away. Reich plausibly relates this proximity to the ancient settlement itself to the fact that both nos. 2773 and 2774 lack תחם גזר thm gzr. There is debate whether this person was Jewish or Gentile, with Rosenfeld identifying this individual as a member of the Herodian family.

Bibl.: J. Seger, IEJ 22, 1972, 160f. (ed. pr.). – HA 43, 1972, 13 (Hebr.); ESI 1, 1982, 31f. (=HA 78/79, 74 [Hebr.]); R. Reich, EI 18, 1985, 167-79 at 174f. (Hebr.); B. Rosenfeld, IEJ 38, 1988, 235-45 at 235; SEG 38, 1645; R. Reich, IEJ 40, 1990, 44ff.; J. Schwartz, ibid. 47-57 at 52; SEG 40, 1513; Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II 164; A. Berlin, Biblical Archaeologist 60, 1997, 29; R. Reich - Z. Greenhut, IEJ 52, 2002, 58-63 no. 10.; BE 2003, 590; Y. Baruch - A. Wiegmann, Hebrew Bible and Ancient

Israel 2, 2013, 439 (on the name Alexas); J. Seger - J. Hardin, in: J. Seger ed., Gezer VII 2013, 12-36 at 34ff., fig. 2,4 (ph.); E. Mitchell - R. Dodd - S. Coyle, IEJ 64, 2014, 191-207 no. 10; see bibl. to introduction of nos. 2764-2776.

Photo: R. Reich, EI 18, 1985, 175 fig. 11 and pl. 30,3 (ph. and dr.).

NK

# 2774. Greek boundary stone with the name Archelaus, 2 c. BCE(?)-1 c. CE

Rupestral inscription.

Meas.: w ca. 80 cm; letters ca. 15 cm.

Findspot: 2 m from no. 2773; see introduction to nos. 2764-2776 fig. A, aerial view, no. 11.

Pres. loc.: In situ, last known verification 1982 (Mitchell - Dodd - Coyle, table 1).

### ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΥ

Άρχελάου

(Property) of Archelaus.



fig. 2774.1 (letters perhaps retraced by Reich)

Comm.: This inscription was discovered in 1982 by Z. Kallai and B.

Brandl, who in the process rediscovered the nearby no. 2773. These two inscriptions are the outliers, which lack the text תחמ גור tḥm gzr. They simply record a Greek name in the geni-



fig. 2774.2

tive case. Being so close to the summit of Tel Gezer, i.e. to the settlement of Gezer itself, the name alone may have been enough to distinguish the land of Archelaus from the "land of Gezer." One has argued over whether Archelaus was a Jew or a Gentile, with Rosenfeld identifying him as a member of the Herodian family.

Bibl.: ESI 1, 1982, 31f. (=HA 78/79, 74 [Hebr.]) (ed. pr.). – R. Reich, EI 18, 1985, 167-79 at 174f. (Hebr.); B. Rosenfeld, IEJ 38, 1988, 235-45 at 235; SEG 38, 1645; R. Reich, IEJ 40, 1990, 44ff.; J. Schwartz, ibid. 47-57 at 52; SEG 40, 1513; Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II 164; A. Berlin, Biblical Archaeologist 60, 1997, 29; R. Reich - Z. Greenhut, IEJ 52, 2002, 58-63 no. 11; BE 2003, 590; J. Seger - J. Hardin, in: J. Seger ed., Gezer VII 2013, 12-36 at 34ff.; E. Mitchell - R. Dodd - S. Coyle, IEJ 64, 2014, 191-207 no. 11; see bibl. to introduction of nos. 2764-2776.

Photo: R. Reich, EI 18, 1985, 175 fig. 12 and pl. 29,4 (ph. and dr.).

# 2775. Boundary stone with Greek and Hebrew/Aramaic inscription, 2 c. BCE(?)-1 c. CE

Rupestral inscription, arranged tête-bêche.

Meas.: h 58, w 104 cm; letters 18-28 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2764-2776 fig. A, aerial view, no. 12. Pres. loc.: In situ, last known verification 2012 (Mitchell - Dodd - Coyle, table 1).

(in reverse) AΛΚΙΟΥ תחמגזר

Άλκίου תחם גזר

Translit.: thm gzr

(Property) of Alcius. Land of Gezer.



fig. 2775.1 (letters retraced by Reich - Greenhut)

Comm.: Reich and Greenhut discovered this inscription in a survey of the woods southeast of Tel Gezer in the year 2000 and fixed its position with GPS. It had been noted by Seger and Hardin a quarter of a century earlier (Mitchell - Dodd - Coyle 204f). It lay a mere 173 m west of no. 2771. The orientation of the Hebrew/Aramaic text is to the northeast, while



fig. 2775.2

the Tel itself is 90 degrees to the northwest. Nevertheless, the disposition seems to confirm Reich's hypothesis: the core of the settlement of Gezer lay to the north and the inscription gestures in its general direction.

Bibl.: R. Reich - Z. Greenhut, IEJ 52, 2002, 58-63 no. 12 (ed. pr.). – SEG 52, 1692; BE 2003, 590; J. Seger - J. Hardin, in: J. Seger ed., Gezer VII 2013, 12-36 at 34ff., fig. 2,2 (ph.); E. Mitchell - R. Dodd - S. Coyle, IEJ 64, 2014, 191-207 no. 12; see bibl. to introduction of nos. 2764-2776.

Photo: R. Reich - Z. Greenhut, IEJ 52, 2002, 59 fig. 1 (ph. and dr.).

# 2776. Boundary stone with Greek and Hebrew/Aramaic inscription, 2 c. BCE(?)-1 c. CE

Rupestral inscription, three(?) lines of the same orientation. Even the legible Greek letters are in a poor state, while the *iota* is missing entirely. The Hebrew/Aramaic characters are yet more damaged, with the hypothetical third line difficult to discern. Meas.: h 106, w 134 cm; letters 27-34 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2764-2776 fig. A, aerial view, no. 13. Pres. loc.: In situ, last known verification 2012 (Mitchell - Dodd - Coyle, table 1).

AAK[.]OY תִּחִמְ[.] זִר

Άλκ[ί]ου תחם [ג]|זר

Translit.: tḥm [g]|zr

(Property) of Alcius. Land of Gezer.



fig. 2776.1



fig. 2776.2 (letters retraced by Mitchell)



fig. 2776.3

Comm.: The Tel Gezer Regional Survey of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary discovered this inscription in 2012 in four fragments, east of the Tel. The letters are larger than the norm, but the text, while fragmentary, can confidently be restored to match. Like nos. 2764, 2767, 2773 and 2774, the text is not tête-bêche. Its multiple lines of the same orientation find a parallel in no. 2767, but uniquely, the text was extended with a third line, perhaps on account of the condition of the stone. The surface of the bedrock is horizontal, not hemispherical, as in no. 2767. The orientation of the text is northnortheast from the Tel; cf. no. 2767 pointed NW.

Bibl.: E. Mitchell - R. Dodd - S. Coyle, IEJ 64, 2014, 191-207 at 198-201 no. 13 (ed. pr.). – D. Jacobson, PEQ 147, 2015, 83ff.; see bibl. to introduction of nos. 2764-2776.

Photo: E. Mitchell - R. Dodd - S. Coyle, IEJ 64, 2014, 200 figs. 5, 6 (ph. and dr.).

NK

# C. Funerary inscriptions

## 2777.-2778. Tomb 127 at Ḥawakir el-Balad, near Gezer

The inscribed ossuaries nos. 2777 and 2778 were found in a burial cave at the site of Ḥawakir el-Balad, near Tel Gezer, excavated by R. Macalister in 1904 and included in the catalogue of tombs in his final excavation report on Gezer as no. 127: "A rough irregular cave ... The entrance is an irregular hole, like the mouth of a natural cave. There is a recess on the right of the door, like a short  $k\hat{o}k$ , and three single  $k\hat{o}k\hat{i}m$  in the left and back walls: on the right a single and a double  $k\hat{o}k$ , the latter divided by a dwarf wall. The cave was full of earth, and contained a heap of ossuaries carefully piled up in the middle of the floor. They bore the usual banal ornamentation and were mostly painted red" (Macalister, Gezer I 347; see III pl. 58,14 for a plan of the cave); "a large hoard of ossuaries, about 20 in number, all badly broken" (id., PEQ 36, 1904, 342). Macalister considered the tomb to be Maccabean (cf. ibid. 336), but the finds indicate an early Roman date.

## 2777. Aramaic ossuary of Ḥanun son of Yeḥoni, 1 c. BCE-2 c. CE (?)

חנונבריחוני

חנון בר יחוני

Ḥanun son of Yeḥoni.

Translit.: hnwn br yhwny

Comm.: If the present inscription was transcribed fully and accurately by Macalister, then both the occupant of the ossuary and his father bore rare names based on חנו hnn "to be gracious," of which Ḥanan, Y(eh)oḥanan and Ḥananiya are more common examples. The name Ḥanun occurs in the Bible as the son of Ammon (2 Sam 10,1), cf. an ostracon from Masada, Masada I no. 421. The father's name is found also on an ossuary from Dominus Flevit in Jerusalem, see CIIP I 173.

Bibl.: R. Macalister, PEQ 36, 1904, 320-54 at 342 (ed. pr.). – L. Vincent, RB 14, 1905, 98-103 at 102f.; H. Thiersch, AA, 1909 col. 347-406 at 396; Macalister, Gezer I 347 no. 127; Klein, JPCI 53 no. 161; CIJ 2, 1177; MPAT 180f., 242f. no. 131.

Photo: Macalister, Gezer I 347 fig. 178,2 (dr.).

JJP

# 2778. Aramaic ossuary of Saru son of Eliezer, 1 c. BCE-2 c. CE (?)

סרובראליעזר

סרו בר אליעזר

Translit.: srw br 'ly'zr

JUN MIL

Saru son of Eliezer.

Comm.: Macalister speculated that the small size of the ossuary indicated a child. The name of the deceased may be Persian, but cf. *srw* at Palmyra, Stark 102.

Bibl.: R. Macalister, PEQ 36, 1904, 320-54 at 342 (ed. pr.). – L. Vincent, RB 14, 1905, 98-103 at 102f.; H. Thiersch, AA, 1909 col. 347-406 at 396; Macalister, Gezer I 347 no. 127; Klein, JPCI 53 no. 160; CIJ 2, 1181; MPAT 180f., 242 no. 130; Evans 84.

Photo: Macalister, Gezer I 347 fig. 178,1 (dr.).

JJP

# 2779. Ossuary of El azar son of Gannai(?) from Akabet el-Bir, near Gezer, Tomb 131, 1 c. BCE-2 c. CE (?)

Inscription scratched on ossuary lid.

אלטזר בר גני

Translit.: 'l'zr br gny

El'azar son of Gannai(?).

fig. 2779

Comm.: Macalister describes a burial chamber measuring about 3 meters square, containing 11 loculi containing ossuaries; the present inscription is the only one

mentioned. With Macalister's drawing being the only source for the text, the reading of the father's name remains uncertain: the name may have been longer than the recorded letters. There is e.g. an amora by the name of Geniva גניבא (bBer. 25a, etc., see Kosovsky, Bab. 342-3 and Kosovsky, Yer. 177).

Bibl.: R. Macalister, PEQ 38, 1906, 123f. no. 3 (ed. pr.). – Id., Gezer I 348f. no. 131; CIJ 2, 1176; MPAT 184f., 247 no. 146.

Photo: Macalister, Gezer I 349 fig. 179 (dr.).

JJP

## 2780.-2781. Tomb 218 at Wa'ret el-Jâïhah, near Gezer

The inscribed ossuaries nos. 2780 and 2781 were found in a burial cave at the site of Waʻret el-Jâïḥah, near Tel Gezer, excavated by R. Macalister in 1905 and included in the catalogue of tombs in his final excavation report on Gezer as no. 218: "This tomb, soon after its excavation and before I measured it, was destroyed by the fellaḥin to make a lime-kiln. It consisted of one chamber with kôkîm ... one of the graves is unfinished. The entrance was remarkable for the square lampniches cut in the wall at the side of the door ... There was a large number of fragments of ossuaries, two of which were inscribed" (Macalister, Gezer I 382f.). Macalister considered the tomb to be Maccabean (PEQ 38, 1906, 123), but the finds indicate an early Roman date.

# 2780. Hebrew/Aramaic ossuary fragment with an unusual name "kśkwś," 1 c. BCE-2 c. CE (?)

Meas.: w ca. 7.5 cm.

כשכוש

Translit.: kśkwś

fig. 2780

Comm.: Macalister's transcription renders a strange name. He interpreted Kushkôsh, whereas Ilan renders Kasakos (Lexicon I 352).

Bibl.: R. Macalister, PEQ 38, 1906, 123f. no. 1 (ed. pr.). – Id., Gezer I 382ff. no. 218; CIJ 2, 1178.

Photo: Macalister, Gezer I 384 fig. 198 (dr.).

# 2781. Hebrew/Aramaic ossuary fragment inscribed Shim on (?), 1 c. BCE - 2 c. CE (?)

Meas.: plaster cast: h 9, w 16.2, d 1.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Plaster cast in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 85.

[--]שמע

[אַנון?]

Translit.: šm'[wn?]

Shim'on(?).



fig. 2781.1 (plaster cast)

Comm.: This inscription and no. 2780, both ossuary fragments, were recovered from a destroyed single-chamber tomb with loculi. Macalister read s'w, and thought that it "illustrated the transition from the old Hebrew to the square script. The letters were vv, the



fig. 2781.2

first being square, the second and third old Hebrew." But more likely Puech is right to read ממע šm', the first letters of one of the most common names of the time.

Bibl.: R. Macalister, PEQ 38, 1906, 123f. no. 2 (ed. pr.). – Id., Gezer I 382ff. no. 218; CIJ 2, 1182; Puech 516 no. 23.

Photo: Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund, London; Puech 514 fig. 5,23 (dr.).

# D. Instrumentum domesticum

### 2782. Amulet

Pendant of yellow glass, the inscription was stamped on the glass and is therefore in reversed letters.

Findspot: Found in Tomb 137, a burial chamber with three arcosolia at Khallet Kulʿat er-Rinjis "in the valley leading down to Bir el-Lûsîyeh" (Macalister, Gezer I 350).

ΕΥΤΥ ΧΩΣΤ ΩΦΟΡ ΟΥΝΤΙ

εὐτυ χῶς τ Ιῷ φορ Ιοῦντι

Good luck to the wearer!

Comm.: Cf. SEG 14, 883 (Egypt): καὶ διαφύλαξον τὸν φοροῦντα ἀπὸ παντὸς ἑρπετοῦ; 28, 1334 (Eme-



fig. 2782

sa): εἴλεως ἔσται τῷ φορο[ῦντ]! [καὶ] τῇ φορούσῃ. IGLS 5, 2061 (Hama): σφραγὶς  $\theta(\epsilon o)$ ῦ ζὄντος, φύλαξον ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ τὸν φοροῦντα τὸ φυλακτήριον τοῦ[το]; Michel, Magische Gemmen 322 no. 543: εἶς Ζεὺς Σάραπις, ἵλεως τῷ φοροῦντι; A. Delatte - P. Derchain, Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes, 1964, 242 no. 333: Αρρωρίφρασις (i. e. Aphrodite), δὸς τὴν χάριν τῷ φοροῦντι; Bonner, Magical Amulets 287 no. 206, 297 no. 265, 299 no. 277: Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, βοήθι τῷ φοροῦντι.

Bibl.: R. Macalister, PEQ 36, 1904, 354 fig. 8; id., Gezer I 350 no. 137, II 449.

Photo: Macalister, Gezer I 350 fig. 180 (dr.).

WA

## 2783. Lead weight of the year 142/1 BC (?)

Square lead weight with raised border ornamented with a thick frame showing a pattern of schematic eggs separated by beads. In the center, depiction of a (winged?) club, with a palm branch on one side and an inscription on the other, facing outward. On the reverse, symbol of Tanit on a network pattern.

Meas.: h 5.8, w 5.3, th 0.8 cm; wt 216.52 g.

Findspot: Discovered in the 2006 excavations of "the casemate wall system attached to the western portion of the so-called Solomonic Gate. It came from Field A, Square A-8, Locus 11001, which was a surface locus containing Iron II and Hellenistic pottery" (Wolff - Finkielsztejn 497).

LAOP

("Ετους) αορ'

Year 171 (142/1 BC).



fig. 2783.1

Comm.: This weight adapts a design known from items of a well documented series of Tyrian weights from the year 12, probably of a local era (for a compilation of items, see Wolff-Finkielsztejn 503f. table 1). By contrast, the present weight is most likely dated according to the Seleucid era, i.e. the year 142/1 BC.

Bibl.: S. Wolff - G. Finkielsztejn, in: D. Schloen ed., Exploring the Longue Durée, 2009, 497-506 at 497f. (ed. pr.).

Photo: C. Amit, in: D. Schloen ed., Exploring the Longue Durée, 2009, 498 fig. 1.



fig. 2783.2

PW

# 2784. Lead weight of agoranomos Sosipater, 129/8 BC (?)

Roughly square lead weight. One side has raised borders and a five-line inscription. The reverse has not been described; the weight's whereabouts are unknown. Meas.: h 6.25, w 6.9 cm; wt 319 g (ed. pr.).

Findspot: Ruins of a private building of the Hellenistic era.

Pres. loc.: Plaster cast in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 133.

L $\Delta$  $\Pi$ P(?)AFO PANOMOY NTO $\Sigma$  $\Omega$  $\Sigma$ I  $\Pi$ ATPOY M+[--]

("Ετους) δπρ'(?), ἀγο|ρανομοῦ|ντος Σωσι|πάτρου |  $\mu$ +[--]



fig. 2784.1 (plaster cast)

Year 184(?) (=129/8 BC?), Sosipater being agoranomos, ...

Comm.: The dates suggested by the ed. pr., 33 or 84 according to the Seleucid era, i.e. 280/79 or 229/8 BC, are untenable, as weights of this type do not appear in the area before the 2 c. BC. The drawing and the cast show most likely a *delta* and a *pi* followed by a thick dot between the second digit and the following *alpha*, which is presumably the upper part of a *rho*. The vestiges of the last line cannot be reconstructed. Whether the weight was manufactured in Gezer itself is unclear.



fig. 2784.2

Bibl.: R. Macalister, PEQ 40, 1908, 272-90 at 281f. (ed. pr.). – L. Vincent, RB 18, 1909, 107-27 at 111f.; PEQ 41, 1909, 4; BE 1910 p. 336; Macalister, Gezer II 286f., fig. 436 (dr.); O. Viedebantt, ZDPV 45, 1922, 2-7 at 6 no. 23; J. Seger, IEJ 22, 1972, 240ff.; RB 80, 1973, 396-422 at 409f.; J. Seger, Biblical Archaeologist 39, 1976, 142ff.; Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II 164; S. Wolff - G. Finkielsztejn, in: D. Schloen ed., Exploring the Longue Durée, 2009, 497-506 at 497; SEG 61, 1457.

Photo: Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund, London; R. Macalister, PEQ 40, 1908, 281 fig. 2 (dr.).

AKS/PW

# 2785. Lead weight with Greek letter delta

Roughly square lead weight with raised rim; in the field two cornucopias, two irregular objects in between them, and two triangles pointing downwards beside them; underneath, between the narrow ends of the horns, a single letter. The back is flat and blank.

Meas.: h 6.4, w 6.2 cm; wt 254 (Rockefeller Museum archive card), 263.6 g (Macalister, Gezer II).

Findspot: From the Seleucid stratum.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. M-793.

Δ

δ,

4 (=a quarter).



fig. 2785.1



fig. 2785.2

Comm.: The number "four" here means τέταρτον, a quarter of a mina (cf. no. 3833). On weights from various sites in the Hellenistic and Roman Near East showing cornucopias, cf. P.-L. Gatier - Sh. Shaath, Syria 70, 1993, 171-8; another example from our region is no. 3675.

Bibl.: R. Macalister, PEQ 35, 1903, 299-322 at 303 (ed. pr.). – Id., Gezer II 286 fig. 435 (dr.).

Photo: IAA; R. Macalister, PEQ 35, 1903, 301 pl. 2,12 (dr.).



fig. 2785.3

### 2786. Spindle-whorl(?) with Greek inscription

"Spindle-whorl (?) with Greek inscription circling which is faint and nearly indiscernible, though a *chi*, *upsilon* and two *iotas* appear legible. There is a circle in the centre of the disc, which is most likely decoration or functional and not likely to represent an *omicron*. Paper label with the number '286' is affixed to its side." (Palestine Exploration Fund archive file).

Meas.: ø ca. 5 cm; letters ca. 0.6-0.8 cm (from scale on photograph).

Findspot: The PEF archive file indicates "R. A. S. Macalister, Excavations of Gezer (?)" as provenance and quotes "Macalister, R. A. Stewart. The Excavation of Gezer. 1912," without any indication of volume, page or plate, which is usual in other files. The spindle-whorls found in the excavations are treated in Macalister, Gezer II 70ff., but he does not mention any inscription, and none of the drawings of spindle-whorls and buttons seems to match (Macalister, Gezer III pl. 132).

Pres. loc.: Plaster cast in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 499.

[--]+QĶQYX[--]

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund, London.



fig. 2786 (plaster cast)

DK

# 2787. Seal with a possible Hebrew letter

Comm.: In his excavations at Gezer, Macalister found in Stratum V a "seal of soft limestone with a mark, possibly an Old-Hebrew a".



Bibl.: R. Macalister, PEQ 37, 1905, 183-99 at 190 no. 2 (ed. pr.).

Photo: R. Macalister, PEQ 37, 1905 pl. 2,2 (dr.).



fig. 2787

### E. Varia

# 2788. Greek (and Hebrew?) graffito or abecedary, 2 c. BCE(?)-1 c. CE

Two series of Greek letters, separated by a palm leaf, appear scratched on the surface of a ca. 17x13 cm piece of soft limestone. Two figures of animals are incised below. The stone is heavily damaged.

Meas.: h ca. 1, w ca. 8 cm (according to dr. in Macalister, Gezer II).

Pres. loc.: Plaster cast in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 117.

### ΑΒΓΔΕ ΑΒΓΔ

first five letters of the Greek alphabet followed by a repetition of the first four. It is an abbreviated abecedary. As Macalister noted, the script differs from one set of letters to the next: note the cursive of the first *alpha* and the first *delta*. He plausibly suggested that this was idle scribbling, perhaps that of a learner. From his drawing, it is difficult to discern the "square Hebrew" letters glimpsed below. If these were indeed the first five letters of the Hebrew alphabet, the document testifies nicely

to educational practice and literacy in

Comm.: The graffito bears the



fig. 2788.1 (plaster cast)

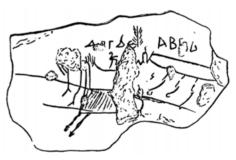


fig. 2788.2

late Hellenistic Gezer. For other abecedaries from the region, see nos. 2803, 2828, 3329, 3400, 3736, 3843.

Bibl.: R. Macalister, PEQ 35, 1903, 299-322 at 312 (ed. pr.). – Id., Gezer II 276f.; A. de Vaate, in: Early Jewish Epigraphy 148-61 at 152ff.

Photo: Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund, London; Macalister, Gezer II 276 fig. 425 (dr.).

# 2789. Greek graffito of Antiochus

Block of limestone with an animal with a very long neck (therefore identified by Macalister as a giraffe) and a short inscription, both scratched into the stone. "There are also faint traces of two or three letters in front of the animal, under its snout ... the initial letters of the same name. The artist had evidently begun to write here, but finding that he had not allowed sufficient room, transferred the inscription to the space he finally chose" (Macalister, Gezer I 36).

Meas.: h 7.5, w 5.6, d 3.1 cm.

Findspot: House in grid square VI 9. Pres. loc.: Plaster casts in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 078.1-2.

ANTIOXOY

Άντιόχου

Of Antiochus.

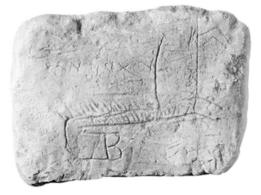


fig. 2789.1 (plaster cast)

Comm.: Another small stone with a crude scratching of a similar animal was found (Macalister, Gezer I 35 fig. 6); a certain interest in giraffes(?) or a similar animal is certainly apparent here. Germer-Durand apud Macalister, Gezer I and Macalister following him thought this to be a political caricature, reflecting the confrontation between Simon and Antiochus Sidetes over the possession of Gezer (1 Macc 15,28ff.). But since Antiochus is a common name and the meaning of "giraffe" in this political context is obscure, there is no reason to accept Macalister's interpretation (and a Hellenistic date is far from certain).

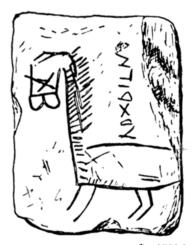


fig. 2789.2

Bibl.: R. Macalister, PEQ 40, 1908, 282 (ed. pr.). - Id., Gezer I 34ff., fig. 7.

Photo: Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund, London; R. Macalister, PEQ 40, 1908, 282 fig. 3 (dr.).

# 2790. Greek fragment mentioning an Antiochus

Door jamb, made of limestone. "An almost complete ... inscription" (Seger).

Findspot: A large domestic complex in Area 35, including three living units arranged around a central courtyard. The limestone block with the inscription "had been reused in the final, Hasmonaean phase as part of a threshold leading in from the courtyard" (Seger).

(A)NTIO(X-) (-)AIPE (Seger)

Antiochus, greetings.

Comm.: Judging by its context, this was the rest of a relatively early Hellenistic inscription, therefore probably not a funerary inscription, even though the text would fit this interpretation. The end of a letter? No photograph of the inscription is provided and we have no information about the letter size.

Bibl.: J. Seger, IEJ 22, 1972, 242 (ed. pr.). - RB 80, 1973, 409f.

WA

# 2791. Cippus with inscription

Miniature cippus, with a rectangular base and a stump. Inscriptions on two sides; two crosses in a lozenge-shaped panel on the sides of the stump; a cross on the base of the stone.

Meas.: base: h 2.5, w 4.7, d 2 cm; stump: h 1.25 cm.

Findspot: On the surface of the Western Hill.







- (a) Λυσίμα χος Ι
- (b)  $+ZE\Upsilon\Sigma$  | +++I
- (a) Lysimachus.



fig. 2791

Comm.: "Lysimachus, followed by a vertical stroke, apparently a stop; a similar stroke appears on the other face. The inscription on the other face is worn and chipped ... the only letters that are certain are  $\text{ZEY}\Sigma$ , which would be complete in itself, were it not for the traces of other letters; one preceding the Z, and (probably) three in the second line preceding the vertical stroke," Macalister 1905, 19. Despite the crosses, this is probably no Christian monument (Macalister, Gezer).

Bibl.: R. Macalister, PEQ 37, 1905, 18f., fig. 1; L. Vincent, RB 14, 1905, 269 (edd. prr.). – Macalister, Gezer II 446f.

Photo: Macalister, Gezer II 447 fig. 529 (dr.).

WA

#### 2792. Letters on a stone box

Stone box with scratches on each side; on the long side (a) a bird with three Greek letters, on the other long side (c) a ship.

Findspot: Burial cave at Wa'ret el-Jâïḥah, near Gezer, included by R. Macalister in the catalogue of tombs in his final excavation report on Gezer as no. 176. For a plan of the tomb see Macalister pl. 58,17; the stone box was found in the left-hand room at the back.



fig. 2792.1 (long side a)

### ΓΑΝ

Comm.: The grave is described as a chamber with kokhim, but at least one lamp with  $\phi \tilde{\omega} \varsigma X(\rho \iota \sigma \tau \circ) \tilde{\upsilon}$  was found, indicating its use over a long time. Macalister does not refer to this object as an "ossuary."

Bibl.: Macalister, Gezer I 370ff. no. 176.

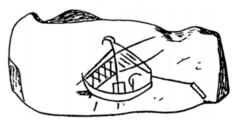


fig. 2792.2 (long side c)

Photo: Macalister, Gezer III pl. 114 figs. 1a, c.

# 2793. Greek graffito

Circular disk of porous limestone.

Meas.: ø ca. 9 cm.

Findspot: Chamber near the "castle."

### ΙΦΝΑ

Bibl.: R. Macalister, PEQ 37, 1905, 192 no. 1 (ed. pr.). – Id., Gezer II 276f.

Photo: Macalister, Gezer II 276 fig. 424.



fig. 2793

WA

# F. Fragments

# 2794. Greek fragment

"Wedge-shaped fragment of limestone"; letters "of more formal and monumental character" than no. 2763 (Macalister 1905). The letters are carved in a sunk panel, and Macalister thought this to be part of an architectural piece.

Meas.: ca. h 11.5, w 18, d 6.25 cm; letters ca. 2 cm.

Findspot: In the vicinity of no. 2763.

Comm.: "The Pampras inscription [i.e. no. 2763] suggests [--  $\beta$ ] ASI[ $\lambda$ eiov --] ... as a likely restoration of the upper line, in which case we may be in possession of a scrap of the dedicatory or explanatory inscription over the entrance to the castle" (Macalister 1905). Later on he declared: "but such a restoration is mere guesswork" – which is an understatement (with letters of 2 cm). Without a photograph or drawing, one cannot even guess at the date.

Bibl.: R. Macalister, PEQ 37, 1905, 103 (ed. pr.). - Id., Gezer I 212f.

### 2795. Graffito

"Scratched on the edge of a building stone" (Macalister 213). Meas.: w (from first to last letter) ca. 20 cm; letters ca. 1 cm.

Findspot: In the "castle," like nos. 2763 and 2794.

# A[--]IΨŅ++ZMEIT A+

Comm.: First letter *lambda* or *alpha*; after the *psi* a *nu* or *lambdaiota*; after this *nu*, perhaps *kappa*, *alpha*; last letter *alpha* or *lambda*. Macalister 213: "possibly ... another magical inscription; the succession of letters appears to be quite meaningless."



fig. 2795

Bibl.: R. Macalister, PEQ 37, 1905, 103 (ed. pr.). - Id., Gezer I 213.

Photo: Macalister, Gezer I 213 fig. 101.

WA

#### 2796. Two unidentified letters carved on a rock



fig. 2796

Comm.: Two letters, which may be either Greek or Hebrew, were found carved on a rock near no. 2765 and a winepress at the boundary of Gezer. Conder - Kitchener wrote: "It consists of only two marks or letters about 8 inches high ... [The letters] were found on a block of stone, 7 feet long, lying upon a second block and having three others round it, so as to form a rude sort of monument, something like a cromlech. It is almost impossible to say whether this group of stones is natural or artificial. It is possible that the one on which the letters are traceable was originally placed upright, and has since fallen over."

Bibl.: Conder - Kitchener, SWP 2 Samaria 435f.

Photo: Conder - Kitchener, SWP 2 Samaria 436 (dr.).

# XLVII. Rama (mod. er-Ram)

# 2797. Ossuary with two Hebrew names, Miriam and Yehoḥanan, 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE

Limestone ossuary, façade decorated with fluted column on base with crenelated stylized Ionian capital, flanked by two six-petaled rosettes, ivy tendrils; zigzag frame; inscription in square letters in Jewish script in upper right and left corners, beneath frame. Flat lid.

Meas.: h 33.5, w 69.5, d 27 cm.

Findspot: Vincent examined this ossuary in the collection of the Baron Ustinov; it was alleged to have come from a burial cave in er-Ram, near Jerusalem.

Pres. loc.: Formerly collection of Baron Ustinov (ed. pr.). Present whereabouts unknown.

•

מרים יהוחנן

Translit.: mrym yhwḥnn

Miriam (and/daughter of/wife of) Yehohanan.

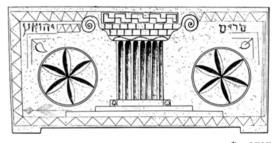


fig. 2797

Comm.: The two names could be understood "Miriam (and) Yehoḥanan," "Miriam (daughter of) Yehoḥanan" or "Miriam (wife of) Yehoḥanan."

Bibl.: L. Vincent, RB 16, 1907, 411-4 no. 2 (ed. pr.). – ZDPV MN 15, 1909, 12-5; RES 2, 1907/14, 205 no. 839; Klein, JPCI 57 no. 167; CIJ 2, 1192; Goodenough, Jewish Symbols I 121 fig. 165; B. Bagatti, Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria, 1979, 17; Avi-Yonah, Art 27f., pl. 5; Bagatti, Samaria 22; Evans 80f.

Photo: L. Vincent, RB 16, 1907 pl. 1 (dr.).

### 2798.-2799. Two ossuaries from a tomb at er-Ram

The two ossuaries with inscriptions were found together with a third plain one and nine pieces of pottery (now lost) in a tomb in er-Ram (V. Fritz - R. Deines, IEJ 49, 1999, 224).

# 2798. Ossuary of Shim'on with Hebrew inscription, 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE (?)

Limestone ossuary decorated on all four sides (back unfinished); on left side, two-line Hebrew inscription inside wreath. Vaulted lid.

Meas.: h 37.5, w 58, d 28 cm.

Pres. loc.: German Protestant Institute of Archaeology, Jerusalem, inv. no. VI,4b.

שםעון בן זכריה

Translit.: šm'wn bn | zkryh

Shim'on son of Zekhariya.



Comm.: Note final *mem* in medial position. Both names are common in the 1-2 c. CE.

Bibl.: G. Dalman, ZDPV 37, 1914, 135-50 at 135 no. 1 (ed. pr.). – Klein, JPCI 57 no. 168; CIJ 2, 1194; V. Fritz - R. Deines, IEJ 49, 1999, 222-41 at 223ff. no. 1; Yardeni, Textbook A 228, B 79; Evans 69-72, 81.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; G. Dalman, ZDPV 37, 1914 pl. 40,1 (dr.).

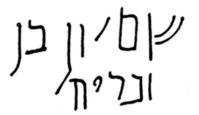


fig. 2798.2

fig. 2798.1

# 2799. Plain ossuary with engimatic inscription

Limestone ossuary, rough chiseled finish, one-line inscription in Jewish script on one of the short sides.

Meas.: h 36, w 64, d 28.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: German Protestant Institute of Archaeology, Jerusalem, inv. no. VI,4a.

+ארבג+בן+

Translit.: +'rbg+bn+



fig. 2799.1

Comm.: It is difficult to make any sense out of the letters, and it is not even certain that they are Hebrew; if so, then there seems to be an *alef* followed by ambiguous letters and t = bn "son of" before the final letter. Previous editors

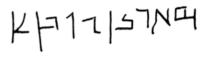


fig. 2799.2

have assumed the inscription is Hebrew and rendered as follows: Dalman: "מאיר בן דוד בן "m'r bn rwbn'; Yellin: "[--] מאיר בן דוד בן "m'yr bn dwd bn '[--]; Fritz - Deines: "++ בן "ארבגלא בן "(?)" (?)'rbgl' bn ++. Dalman in ed. pr. suggested that the inscription was a forgery.

Bibl.: G. Dalman, ZDPV 37, 1914, 135-50 at 144f. no. 28 (ed. pr.). – D. Yellin, ZDPV 41, 1919, 58f.; Klein, JPCI 57 no. 169; CIJ 2, 1193; V. Fritz - R. Deines, IEJ 49, 1999, 222-41 at 225f. no. 2.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; G. Dalman, ZDPV 37, 1914 pl. 41,28 (dr.).

JJP/AY

# XLVIII. el-'Aleiliyat

## 2800.-2806. Cave-complexes at el-'Aleiliyat

Four inscriptions written on the plastered wall of a cistern (nos. 2800-2803) in the eastern complex of two cave-complexes at el-'Aleiliyat were noticed by J. Jeremias and later studied by J. Patrich and R. Rubin in an expedition to Wadi Suweinit (Nahal Michmas). It was clear from the finds that the caves were used as hiding place by Jews during the late Second Temple period and the time of the Bar Kochba revolt. The caves were later transformed into a monastery that has been identified with the Laura of St. Firmin. The monks left crosses and inscriptions in Greek (no. 2804) and Christian Palestinian Aramaic (no. 2805) on the walls. In the survey of 1981 it was found out that the Laura was not limited to the cave complexes of el-'Aleiliyat: "The Laura spread out along a strip of approximately 3 Km. on both sides of the Wadi, in which the monks used to live. We identified there caves and cells, a church which was described already by V. Corbo and several buildings in its vicinity, many cisterns and a lot of agricultural fields and terraces. The remains of the Laura are dated by archaeological and historical evidence to the sixth century and to the beginning of the seventh" (Halloun - Rubin 292). One of the buildings identified, ca. 1400 m east of the cave complexes at el-'Aleiliyat, contained a mosaic pavement with a Christian Palestinian Aramaic inscription (no. 2806).

Bibl.: J. Jeremias, in: Von der Antike zum Christentum, 1931, 109-22 (=Jeremias 341-53); M. Halloun - R. Rubin, SBF 31, 1981, 291-8; J. Patrich - R. Rubin, RB 91, 1984, 381-7.

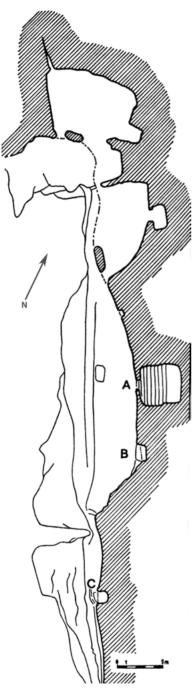


fig. 2800.A Ground plan, RB 85, 1978, 418 fig. 9

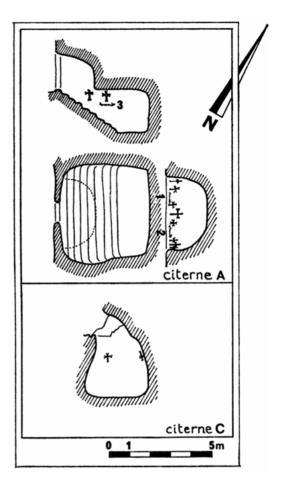


fig. 2800.B Ground plan and cross sections, RB 85,  $\,$  1978, 418 fig. 9

# 2800. Aramaic charcoal inscription in cistern, 1-2 c. CE

Charcoal inscription on side of cistern. "The preservation of the letters is poor and the reading far from secure" (Patrich, EI).

Findspot: Cistern C: 1.4 m from the bottom of the cistern where nos. 2801 and 2803 were found, beneath the pentagram figure.

Pres. loc.: In situ.

שלם שלם אמ[ן]

Translit.: šlm šlm 'm[n]

Peace, peace, Amen.



fig. 2800

Comm.: Patrich in the ed. pr. points out many uncertainties in reading the letters, which were barely legible 30 years ago. If the reading is correct, and if the inscription is a wish scribbled by desperate people hiding from Roman troops, then the wish for "peace" would be for preservation and well-being, as in the recurring acclamation "peace on Israel" in dedications and epitaphs, not really for an end to war with the Romans. Beneath this inscription are two indiscernible letters, one of which may be a *shin*.

Bibl.: J. Patrich, EI 18, 1985, 153-65 at 159 no. 3 (Hebr.); id., RB 92, 1985, 265-73 at 273 (edd. prr.). – J. Jeremias, in: Von der Antike zum Christentum, 1931, 109-22 at 119f. (=Jeremias 350f.).

Photo: J. Patrich, EI 18, 1985 pl. 25,4.

JJP

## 2801. Aramaic charcoal inscription of Yo'ezer in cistern, 1 c. CE

One line of semi-cursive Jewish script written in charcoal on the plastered wall of a cistern inside the cave.

Findspot: Cistern C, cf. no. 2800.

Pres. loc.: In situ.

יועזראתעקר עלוותמטרנ
יועזר אתעקר עלו{ות} מטרן



fig. 2801.1

Translit.: yw'zr 't'qr 'lw{wt} mṭrn

Yo'ezer has been uprooted, the guards have entered.

Comm.: This inscription was found near the abecedary no. 2803. Its first-century dating is based on the letter-forms, particularly the triangular loop of *yod/vav*, as well as the triangular *mem* and the relatively

ITEMORIAL TRANSTIVE

fig. 2801.2

broad *tet*. Several individuals named Yoʻezer were involved in the rebellion, and many are otherwise known from ossuaries and other documentary sources. This inscription may indeed indicate that its writer (Yoʻezer himself?) was seized, i.e. removed or "uprooted," from this hiding place during the course of the First Jewish Revolt, or in the words of Patrich, it "may well be the last message of the writer, who found refuge in the cistern at the far end of the passage complex." But of course the actual circumstances cannot be known, and other less dramatic explanations are possible; and if the writer was captured in the cave, his captors could have been Romans or Jews, in fact *mṭrn* fits Jewish guards better than Romans, and there is no account of Romans hunting down refugees in the Judaean desert during or after the First Revolt; see full discussion in Price 261ff.

Bibl.: J. Patrich - R. Rubin, RB 91, 1984, 381-7 at 382f. (ed. pr.). – J. Jeremias, in: Von der Antike zum Christentum, 1931, 109-22 at 119f. (=Jeremias 350f.); ESI 2, 1983, 107ff. (=HA 82, 40f. [Hebr.]); J. Patrich, EI 18, 1985, 153-65 at 158 no. 2 (Hebr.); id., RB 92, 1985, 265-73 at 270-3 no. 2; id. - B. Arubas - E. Naor, Qadmoniot 19, 1986, 45-50 at 47f. (Hebr.); J. Patrich, BAR 15, 1989, 23-42; J. Price, Jerusalem under Siege, 1992, 261f.; A. de Vaate, in: Early Jewish Epigraphy 148-61 at 152ff., 160f.; Millard, Pergament und Papyrus 94ff.; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 416.

Photo: J. Patrich, RB 92, 1985 pl. 8 no. a (ph.), 271 no. 3 (dr.).

# 2802. Aramaic charcoal inscription in cistern, 1-2 c. CE

Charcoal letters written on the side of a cistern.

Findspot: Cistern C: 1.4 m from the bottom of the cistern, to the right of one of the menoroth drawn inside the cistern.

Pres. loc.: In situ.

אגלגיל

Translit.: 'glgyl

Comm.: This could be a name.

Bibl.: J. Patrich, EI 18, 1985, 153-65 at 159 no. 4 (Hebr.); id., RB 92, 1985, 265-73 at 273 (edd. prr.). – J. Jeremias, in: Von der Antike zum Christentum, 1931, 109-22 at 119f. (=Jeremias 350f.).



fig. 2802

Photo: J. Patrich, RB 92, 1985 pl. 8 no. b.

JJP

## 2803. Hebrew or Aramaic abecedary in cistern, 1 c. CE

Two-line inscription in square Jewish script written in charcoal on the plastered wall of a cistern inside the cave.

Meas.: letters 0.9-2.2 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: Cistern C, cf. no. 2800.

Pres. loc.: In situ.

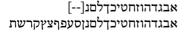




fig. 2803.1

Translit.: 'bgdhwzḥṭykklmn[--]

'bgdhwzḥţykklmnns'ppşşqršt

Comm.: The left half of the inscription has been lost in crumbling plaster. In addition to the written texts, two menorot and a pentagram were also inscribed on the cistern wall, strengthening the impression that the abecedary was meant to perform a magical function. Abecedaries have been found in several locations in Judaea-Palaestina, including unpublished examples at Beth She'arim (J. Patrich, RB 92, 1985, 269f.). For further examples from the region covered by this vol., see nos. 2788, 2828, 3329, 3400, 3736, 3843.

The letters in l.1 are about twice as large as those in l.2; the editors conjectured that the two lines were written by different hands, but at the



fig. 2803.2



fig. 2803.3

same time. While the *mem* in both lines is in the final form, the *kaf, nun, pe* and *tsadi* are represented by the medial forms followed by the final forms. The first-century dating is based on paleographical considerations, and is indicated by the broad *tet* and by the *yod* with the triangular loop, as well as the short *lamed* and the long, final *mem*. Based on comparison with letter-forms from the Bar Kochba revolt, Patrich supposes that this inscription and no. 2801 were written during the First Revolt, and that the authors were refugees who were captured in the cave during the course of that war; cf. Jos. BJ 4,512-13. See Price and comm. to no. 2801.

Bibl.: ESI 2, 1983, 107ff. (=HA 83, 40f. [Hebr.]) (ed. pr.). – J. Jeremias, in: Von der Antike zum Christentum, 1931, 109-22 at 119f. (=Jeremias 350f.); J. Patrich - R. Rubin, RB 91, 1984, 381-7 at 381f.; J. Patrich, EI 18, 1985, 153-65 at 157f. no. 1 (Hebr.); id., RB 92, 1985, 265-73 at 265-70; id. - B. Arubas - E. Naor, Qadmoniot 19, 1986, 45-50 at 47 (Hebr.); J. Patrich, BAR 15, 1989, 23-42; J. Price, Jerusalem under Siege, 1992, 261ff.; A. de Vaate, in: Early Jewish Epigraphy 148-61 at 152ff., 160f.; Millard, Pergament und Papyrus 94ff.; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 416; Jaroš, Inschriften 318 no. 209.

Photo: J. Patrich, RB 92, 1985 pl. 7 and 267 no. 2 (ph. and dr.); id., EI 18, 1985 pl. 26,2.

#### 2804. Crosses with Greek acclamations

Painted red crosses and Greek inscriptions.

Findspot: One of the caves of the eastern complex of el-'Aleiliyat has been identified as the oratory of the Laura (best description by Jeremias, 346ff.). On the eastern wall of this cave there is a cross with a Greek inscription (a), and a second Greek inscription was found on the western wall (b). Next to the oratory are two niches; Jeremias identified the smaller one as "einfache Lagerstatt," the second and larger one as a monk's "Wohnstatt." At the right-hand side of the entrance to this "Wohnstatt" there is another cross with a Greek inscription (c). There are other painted crosses, too; all the crosses in this cave belong to two types: one type has gabled arms, the other plain ones. The gabled crosses are older.

- (a) ΙΣ ΧΣ ΝΙ ΚΑ
- (b) ΙΣ ΧΣ
- (c)  $I\Sigma X\Sigma [..]\Sigma I\Lambda E\Upsilon H$
- (a) Ἰ(ησου)ς Χ(ριστό)ς, νίκα
- (b) Ἰ(ησου)ς Χ(ριστό)ς
- (c) Ἰ(ησου)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς [βα]σιλεύη
- (a) Jesus Christ, be victorious!
- (b) Jesus Christ.
- (c) Jesus Christ reigns.

Comm.: The previous editions give only a drawing of (c). – (a) Νικά(τωρ) Rubin 2003. – (c) βασιλεύη SEG 34; βασιλεύει > βασιλεύι > βασιλεύη; the plain cross is later than the inscription, which belonged to one of the gabled crosses. – Cf.

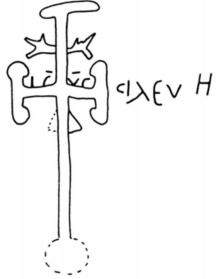


fig. 2804 (c)

CIIP I 862 (Jerusalem) for the acclamations (see H. Heinen, in: G. Wirth ed., Romanitas - Christianitas 1982, 686ff. for further epigraphical examples as well as for the doxological and liturgical importance of this formula. The Laura was founded by Firmin before 536 AD (cf. Cyril, v. Sabae 83 [ed. Schwartz, p. 188]); monastic life there came probably to an end around 614 or a few years later (Jeremias 350f.).

Bibl.: J. Patrich - R. Rubin, RB 91, 1984, 386f. (ed. pr.). – J. Jeremias, in: Von der Antike zum Christentum, 1931, 109-22 at 120 (=Jeremias 341-53 at 347, 350f.); SEG 34, 1503; J. Patrich, EI 18, 1985, 159f. (Hebr.); SEG 35, 1557; R. Rubin, Aram 15, 2003, 85f., fig. 4. – Cf. A. Desreumaux – J.-B. Humbert – É. Nodet, RB 85, 1978, 417ff.; Feissel, Chroniques 233 no. 745; SEG 53, 1868.

Photo: J. Patrich - R. Rubin, RB 91, 1984, 387 fig. 3 (dr.).

# 2805. Christian Palestinian Aramaic inscriptions quoting Ps 29,3, 6 c. AD

Three Christian Palestinian Aramaic (CPA) inscriptions in red paint, all quoting Ps 29,3. The only available photographs of inscriptions (a) and (b) are unfortunately quite unclear.

Findspot: Cistern A of the eastern cave-complex at el-'Aleiliyat (see the photograph in Jeremias, fig. 1 mark "e" and the ground plan Desreumaux et al. 418 fig. 9). Inscription (a) above the inner entrance to the cave, to the left; inscription (b) above the entrance to the cave, to the right; inscription (c) inside the cave, on the left wall.

- (a) השלבעיא
- مله: دوز[..]لجر[.] (d)
- والمعتمريم (c) معتمريم
- ماس تحزی حل حبی مام
- مله تحز[٢٤] (d) عالم المرابع (d)
- واله الحزيم عل حجم (c)

Translit.: (a) qlh dmr' 'l my'
(b) qlh dmr[' ']l my[']
(c) qlh dmr' 'l my'

(a)-(c) The voice of the Lord is on the water.

Comm.: These inscriptions, painted in red and accompanied by crosses, are found in one of the

caves known collectively as el-'Aleiliyat, which

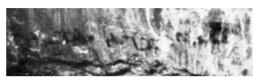


fig. 2805.1 (a)



fig. 2805.2 (a)



fig. 2805.3 (b)



fig. 2805.4 (b)

are plausibly part of the monastic complex referred to as the Laura of St. Firmin in Byzantine sources (cf. the introduction to nos. 2800-2806). The construction of the church was dated to the 6 c. AD by archaeologists and the script is consistent with that date. The text, taken from Ps 29,3, is used in

the baptismal rite, which led its discoverers to speculate that the chamber might be a baptistery, though this is not certain.



fig. 2805.5 (c)



fig. 2805.6 (c)

Bibl.: D. Chitty, PEQ 60, 1928, 175-8 at 178; id. - M. Marcoff, PEQ 61, 1929, 167-78 at 169 pl. 2,2 (edd. prr.). – J. Jeremias, in: Von der Antike zum Christentum, 1931, 109-22 at 117ff. (=Jeremias 341-53 at 347ff.); J. Milik, RB 60, 1953, 526-39 at 529 no. 4; O. Meinardus, SBF 15, 1965, 220-50 at 225f.; M. Bar-Asher, Palestinian Syriac, 1975, 118f. (Hebr.); A. Desreumaux – J.-B. Humbert – É. Nodet, RB 85, 1978, 417ff.; R. Rubin, Cathedra 23, 1982, 33f. (Hebr.); Beyer, Aramäische Texte 405 no. ccSW 1a, b; J. Patrich, EI 18, 1985, 153-65 (Hebr.); R. Hoyland, in: M. Macdonald ed., The Development of Arabic as a Written Language, 2010, 29-45 at 37ff. no. 7; M. Bar-Asher, in: Leshonit Rishonim. Studies in the Language of the Bible, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and Aramaic, 2012, 322-33 at 327 (Hebr.); M. Sokoloff, Texts of Various Contents in Christian Palestinian Aramaic, 2014, 220 no. 16.

Photo: J. Jeremias, in: Von der Antike zum Christentum, 1931 117ff., figs. 2, 3; J. Patrich, EI 18, 1985 pl. 25; A. Desreumaux – J.-B. Humbert – É. Nodet, RB 85, 1978, 418 fig. 9 (dr.).

RH

# 2806. Christian Palestinian Aramaic offering inscription of the priest Silas, 6 c. AD

Christian Palestinian Aramaic (CPA) inscription on a mosaic floor found within a monastic complex in the Wadi Suweinit. The five lines of the text and the cross preceding it are set in black tesserae on a white background; the inscription is surrounded by a rectangular frame of two rows of white tesserae.

Meas.: (frame) h 66, w 89 cm.

Findspot: The mosaic was found in a ruined building (6.8x6.6 m) in the Wadi Suweinit, at a location known as 'En Suweinit, to the east of the village of Mikhmas. The building lies 1400 m east of the cluster of caves at el-'Aleiliyat. The inscription was situated at the eastern side of a white mosaic pavement in the southern part of the building.

איז אמב[2] | בסובנת גפז | בא בב|בג גא ואס|בא אמנץ |

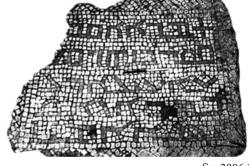


fig. 2806.1

Translit.: mr' 'qb[l] | qwrbnh dqš | š' šyl' d'|bd d' z'w|yt' 'myn

May the Lord accept the offering of the priest Silas who made this cell, Amen.

Comm.: It has been postulated that all the structures in the Wadi Suweinit are part of a monastic complex that can be identified with the Laura of St. Firmin described in Byzantine sources (cf. the introduction to nos. 2800-2806). The construction of the church was dated to the 6 c. AD by archaeologists and the script is consistent with that date. Note

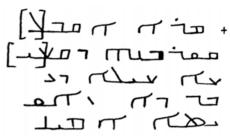


fig. 2806.2

that the verb 'qbl should be regarded as the imperfect of qabel, written with initial alef instead of yod, as sometimes occurs in Christian Palestinian Aramaic, rather than an imperative, as suggested by the first editors.

Bibl.: M. Halloun - R. Rubin, SBF 31, 1981, 291-8 (ed. pr.). – Beyer, Aramäische Texte 405 no. ccSW 2; C. Müller-Kessler, Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen 1, 1991, 10f.; M. Levy, Cathedra 64, 1992, 31-58 at 48 (Hebr.); É. Puech, RB 108, 2001, 69f. (with corrections); R. Rubin, Aram 15, 2003, 81-96 at 84; R. Hoyland, in: M. Macdonald ed., The Development of Arabic as a Written Language, 2010, 29-45 at 37 no. 7; M. Bar-Asher, in: Leshonit Rishonim. Studies in the Language of the Bible, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and Aramaic, 2012, 322-33 no. 327 (Hebr.); M. Sokoloff, Texts of Various Contents in Christian Palestinian Aramaic, 2014, 215 no. 2.

Photo: M. Levy, Cathedra 64, 1992, 48; M. Halloun - R. Rubin, SBF 31, 1981, 293 (dr.).

# XLIX. Jericho

#### Introduction

Strabo: Ἰερικοῦς; Septuagint: Ἱεριχώ; Josephus: Ἱεριχώ or Ἱεριχοῦς; Ptolemy: Ἰερικοῦς; Pliny: Hiericus.

Iericho is famous for being both the lowest and the oldest town on earth: situated 258 m below sea-level and having been walled in as early as the pre-pottery Neolithic period. It owes its long-standing prominence to its location at a significant crossroads: it lies in the Jordan valley where it is very wide, about 16 km, and northwest of the north shore of the Dead Sea, a location which offers a good northsouth connection; to the west Jerusalem can be reached easily; a good road leads northwest to Neapolis/Shechem and eastward a road crosses the Jordan, making for Esbus/Heshbon on the main north-south route through Jordan/Provincia Arabia, commonly known as the "Via Nova Traiana." Armies marching to Jerusalem would pass through Jericho if they approached the city through the Jordan Valley, as Pompey did in 63 BC, Vespasian in 68, 2 and Titus with part of his army in 70 – the other half of his army marching up from Emmaus.<sup>3</sup> On other occasions it played a key role in military logistics.<sup>4</sup> During the war of 66/7, Jews from the Peraea fled to Jericho, "that being the sole city left, at least as regards the multitude of its inhabitants, to give hopes of protection." Clearly, it occupies a strategically important position.

The other significant feature of the site is its abundant water-supply at the edge of the desert, where the summers are tropical and winters mild. The spring of 'Eines-Sultan provides 4,500 litres per minute. This combined with a fertile soil and another group of springs a little further away, at 'Ein ed-Duq (Na'aran), allows the production of abundant fruit, vegetables, wheat, spices and flowers. 6 In antiquity

<sup>1</sup> Jos. BJ 1,138 and AJ 14,54, below. For references in Josephus: Möller - Schmitt 101f.

<sup>2</sup> BJ 4,450. Vespasian, descending from Neapolis/Shechem, met Trajan, legate of the legio X Fretensis who came through the Peraea.

<sup>3</sup> BJ 5,42; 69. Note also ibid. 1,120: a battle near Jericho between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus; ibid. 1,299-301; AJ 14,408-411: between Herod and Antigonus and, not long afterward, between Herod's brother Joseph and Antigonus (BJ 1,328; AJ 14,448). Joseph, who had gone there to reap grain fell in that battle. Herod then marched to Jericho: BJ 1,331; AJ 14,454.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Jos. BJ 1,299f.; 323-4.

<sup>5</sup> BJ 4,432: αὕτη γὰρ ἔτι μόνη τὰς ἐλπίδας αὐτῶν ἔθαλπε τῆς σωτηρίας καρτερὰ πλήθει γε οἰκητόρων.

<sup>6</sup> In Ecclesiasticus 24,14 the roses of Jericho are used as a metaphor for wisdom: "There I grew like a cedar of Lebanon, like a cypress on the slopes of Hermon, like a date-palm at Engedi, like roses at Jericho." Cf. for the site Möller - Schmitt 148f.

it was especially famous for its date palms and balsam, or opobalsamum, the only tropical, and the most expensive, spice grown in this region.<sup>7</sup> All this productivity obviously requires irrigation – annual rainfall is merely 140 mm approximately. When the irrigation system is neglected or damaged, by human destruction or natural causes, the area reverts to uncultivated semi-desert.

The remarkable fertility of Jericho and vicinity is well recognized in several ancient texts, notably an extended description by Josephus.<sup>8</sup> He mentions the numerous varieties of date palms, watered by the spring of Jericho, an abundance of honey bees, the juicy balsam, the cypress and the myrobalanon(?), "so that it would not be a misnomer to describe as 'divine' this spot in which the rarest and choicest plants are produced in abundance." Jericho is the place "where they cultivate the palm tree and opobalsamum, that most excellent of ointment, which, when the shrubs are cut with a sharp stone, oozes out like sap." <sup>10</sup>

However, the extraordinary character of the region is described also by numerous earlier authors who had no immediate connection with the region. Before Josephus wrote, it is mentioned by Diodorus (1 c. BC) who tells of the palm trees and balsamum, "from which there is a great income since nowhere else in the inhabited world is this plant found, and its use as a drug is very important to physicians." Strabo devotes a long paragraph to Jericho and its plain. He mentions the palm trees, and the abundance of water. "Here are also the palace and the balsam park." He describes balsam and the way it is harvested. "The balsam is of the shrub kind, resembling Cytisus and Terminthus, and has a spicy flavor ... The juice is a glutinous, milk-white substance; and when it is put up in small quantities it solidifies; and it is remarkable for its cure of headache and of incipient cataracts and of dimness of sight. Accordingly, it is costly; and also for the reason that it is produced nowhere else." The most extensive discussion of balsam is found in the Elder Pliny's

<sup>7</sup> Jericho was named also "city of palm trees": Deut 34,3; Judg 3,13; 2 Chron 28,15.

<sup>8</sup> Jos. BJ 4,465-474; AJ 4,100.

<sup>9</sup> Jos. BJ 467-470: ἐκτρέφει δ' ἐν αὐτῷ παραδείσους καλλίστους τε καὶ πυκνοτάτους. τῶν δὲ φοινίκων ἐπαρδομένων γένη πολλὰ ταῖς γεύσεσι καὶ ταῖς παρηγορίαις διάφορατούτων οἱ πιότεροι πατούμενοι καὶ μέλι δαψιλὲς ἀνιᾶσιν οὐ πολλῷ τοῦ λοιποῦ χεῖρον. καὶ μελιττοτρόφος δὲ ἡ χώρα φέρει δὲ καὶ ὀποβάλσαμον, δ δὴ τιμιώτατον τῶν τῆδε καρπῶν, κύπρον τε καὶ μυροβάλανον, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτεῖν τινα εἰπόντα θεῖον εἶναι τὸ χωρίον, ἐν ῷ δαψιλῆ τὰ σπανιώτατα καὶ κάλλιστα γεννᾶται. Trans. Thackeray, Loeb.

<sup>10</sup> Jos. AJ 14,54: Ἱεριχοῦντα, οὖ τὸν φοίνικα συμβέβηκε τρέφεσθαι καὶ τὸ ὀποβάλσαμον μύρων ἀκρότατον, ὅ τῶν θάμνων τεμνομένων ὀξεῖ λίθω ἀναπιδύει ὥσπερ ὀπός. Cf. BJ 1.138.

<sup>11</sup> Diod. 19,98 (M. Stern, Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism 1, 1974 no. 62): γίνεται δὲ περὶ τοὺς τόπους τούτους ἐν αὐλῶνί τινι καὶ τὸ καλούμενον βάλσαμον, ἐξ οὖ πρόσοδον ἀδρὰν εἶναι συμβαίνει, οὐδαμοῦ μὲν τῆς ἄλλης οἰκουμένης εὑρισκομένου τοῦ φυτοῦ, τῆς δ᾽ ἐξ αὐτοῦ χρείας εἰς φάρμακα τοῖς ἰατροῖς καθ᾽ ὑπερβολὴν εὐθετούσης. Cf. Stern's comments on p. 180.

<sup>12</sup> Strab. 16,2.41 (Stern [n.11] 1, 1974 no. 115, comm. on p. 308): ἔστι δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ βασίλειον καὶ ὁ τοῦ βαλσάμου παράδεισος· ἔστι δὲ τὸ φυτὸν θαμνῶδες, κυτίσω ἐοικὸς

work.<sup>13</sup> Pliny also notes that the most famous palm trees are found "especially in Jericho, although those growing in the valleys of Archelais and Phasaelis and Livias in the same land are also highly praised."<sup>14</sup>

Later, in the 6 c., the Piacenza Pilgrim again marvelled at the fertility seen at Jericho: "When you see Jericho it is a paradise. The walls are destroyed, but the region of the town has marvellous things. The house of Rahab still stands and is now a hostel, and the room where she hid the spies is a Chapel of the Holy Mary ... The spring which Elisha sweetened supplies water for all of Jericho."

The earliest remains of settlement at Tell es-Sultan, about 2 km northwest of the modern oasis of Jericho, date back to the epipaleolithic, representing Natufian culture, about 9000 BC. This continued in the pre-pottery Neolithic period A, when settlement expanded and was marked by the earliest town wall, associated with a tower, archaeologically attested. The rich pre-pottery Neolithic, Early Bronze, Middle Bronze Age and Iron Age phases represented at Tell es-Sultan are not the subject of the present work. References in the Bible are not analyzed here, apart from the obvious conclusion that its strategic location is perfectly illustrated by the fact that this was the first town west of the river Jordan said to have been conquered by the invading Israelites, commanded by Joshua. The city was lat-

καὶ τερμίνθω, ἀρωματίζον· οὖ τὸν φλοιὸν ἐπισχίσαντες ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἀγγείοις τὸν ὀπὸν γλίσχρω γάλακτι παραπλήσιον· ἀναληφθεὶς δ᾽ εἰς κογχάρια λαμβάνει πῆξιν· λύει δὲ κεφαλαλγίας θαυμαστῶς καὶ ὑποχύσεις ἀρχομένας καὶ ἀμβλυωπίας. Among other references to balsam the earliest is Theophr. h. plantarum 9,6.1 (Stern [n.11] 1, 1974 no. 9). Also in the 1 c. BC: Dioscorides, Materia Medica 1,19.1 (Stern [n.11] 1, 1974 no. 179); Varro, rust. 2,1,27 (Stern [n.11] 1, 1974 no. 73); Pomp. Trog. ap. Iustinus 36,3,3 (Stern [n.11] 1, 1974 no. 137); Tac. ann. 5,6,1 (Stern [n.11] 2, 1980 no. 281). As a remedy for defects of the eyes, see also Mulomedicina Chironis (Stern [n.11] 2, 1980 no. 533) of the second half of the 4 c.

<sup>13</sup> Plin. nat. 13,111-123 (Stern [n.11] 1, 1974 no. 213). See also Solinus 35,4-5 (Stern [n.11] 2, 1980 no. 449).

<sup>14</sup> Plin. nat. 13,44: Sed ut copia ibi atque fertilitas, ita nobilitas in Judaea, nec in tota, sed Hiericunte maxime, quamquam laudatae et Archelaide et Phaselide atque Liviade, genti eiusdem convallibus. For the palm trees of Archelais and Phaselis: Jos. AJ 18,31; BJ 2,167.

<sup>15</sup> Itinerarium Antonini Placentini 168-169 (CCSL 175, p. 136): Hiericho autem in oculis hominum ita videtur ut paradisus. Muri diruti, territorius in miraculis positus. Domus Raab stat, quae est xenodochium, et ipse cubiculus, unde deposuit exploratores, est oratorium sanctae Mariae ... Fons aquae, quam indulcavit Helisaeus, inrigat omnem Hiericho.

<sup>16</sup> NEAEHL 2, 1993, 674-97 at 676 (K. Kenyon). Bibliography for the pre-Hellenistic periods on p. 681. The first extensive topographical survey was undertaken by Conder-Kitchner, SWP 3 Judaea 222-9. See also the Anchor Bible Dictionary 3, 1992, s.v. with bibliography on pp. 739f. (T. Holland - E. Netzer).

<sup>17</sup> Josh 1-7. The Israelites are first said to have encamped across the Jordan, opposite Jericho: Num 22,1; 26,3.

er allotted to the tribe of Benjamin. <sup>18</sup> The arguments about the historicity of the events described there are not our concern. According to 1 Kings 16,34 Jericho remained abandoned until Hiel of Bethel rebuilt it in the reign of Ahab (early 9 c.). Excavations have encountered a break from the Late Bronze Age until the 7 c. The archaeological remains suggest that the subsequent stage lasted until the next break in settlement, coinciding with the Babylonian exile (586 BC). Although there are some remains from the Roman and Byzantine periods at Tell es-Sultan, <sup>19</sup> the main settlement moved in the Hasmonaean and Herodian periods to the western plain of Jericho, closer to Wadi Qelt, at a site named Tulul Abu el-ʿAlayiq, while Byzantine Jericho is to be sought in the area of the modern city (see below).

In 161/60 BC Jericho was one of the fortresses built by Bacchides in an effort to keep Judaea under control. <sup>20</sup> Jericho is mentioned next in connection with 135/4, when the strategos of Jericho, Ptolemy, assassinated his father-in-law, Simon the Hasmonaean, in the fortress of Duq, near Jericho, northwest of the Tell. <sup>21</sup> Strabo lists Jericho as a mixed city, one of those inhabited by Egyptian, Arabian and Phoenician tribes. <sup>22</sup> Gabinius divided Judaea into five districts (εἰς πέντε συνόδους or συνέδρια), Jericho being one of them. <sup>23</sup> In Pliny's work Jericho is one of the ten toparchies listed: "The rest of Judaea is divided into ten toparchies in the following order: the district of Jericho, which has numerous palmgroves and springs of water, …" <sup>24</sup>

At an uncertain date, between 36 and 34 BC Antony gave Cleopatra, together with numerous other regions in the Near East, "the balsam producing part of

<sup>18</sup> Josh 16,1+7; 18,12+21.

<sup>19</sup> Note, however, the remains of a Byzantine synagogue north of Tell es-Sultan (to be distinguished from the other ancient synagogue at Naʿaran): NEAEHL 2, 1993, 695f. and below, nos. 2807 and 2808.

<sup>20 1</sup> Macc 9,50-54; Jos. AJ 13,14-16, the others being Emmaus, Beth-Horon, Beth-El, Thamnata (Timnatha), Pharathon, and Tephon, where he placed Seleucid garrisons. He also fortified the towns of Beth-Zur, and Gazara and the citadel of Jerusalem, leaving there garrisons and provisions. Bacchides' work at Jericho is usually identified with the two forts of Threx and Taurus, situated at the eastern mouth of the Wadi Qelt, overlooking the plain of Jericho. Cf. Strab. 16,2,40: ἦν δὲ δύο μὲν τὰ ταῖς εἰσβολαῖς ἐπικείμενα τοῦ Ἱερικοῦντος Θρήξ τε καὶ Ταῦρος.

<sup>21 1</sup> Macc 16,11-17; Jos. AJ 13,228; BJ 1,54-56. The fortress of Duq lies on the top of the Mount of Temptation (Jebel Quruntul). In the 4 c. AD the Laura of Douka was established there. Another fortress which dominated Jericho, was built by Herod at Tell 'Aqaba and named Cypros after his mother (BJ 1,417; AJ 15,143). In the early stage of the First Revolt it was captured by insurgents and the defences levelled: BJ 2,484. Cf. Möller - Schmitt 130.

<sup>22</sup> Strab. 16,2,34 (Stern [n.11] 1, 1974 no. 115).

<sup>23</sup> Jos. BJ 1,170; AJ 14,91.

<sup>24</sup> Pliny, nat. 4,70 (Stern [n.11] 1, 1974 no. 204): *Reliqua Iudaea dividitur in toparchias decem quo dicemus ordine: Hiercuntem palmatis consitam, fontibus riguam ...* Cf. the list of toparchies in Jos. BJ 3,54f. For toparchies: Isaac, Near East 165-8, 170, 177.

Judaea"<sup>25</sup> or, as Josephus calls it: "the palm-grove of Jericho, where the balsam grows ..."<sup>26</sup> Subsequently Herod leased from Cleopatra "the regions of Arabia that had been given her and the revenues of the territory of Jericho, which produces the balsam."<sup>27</sup> The payment was two hundred talents annually.<sup>28</sup>

An interesting piece of information, in this connection, occurs in the Babatha archive where 'Ein Gedi is described as "a village in the territory of Jericho in Judaea."29 Since the archive contains documents dated between the First Revolt and the Bar Kochba revolt, it is clear that, after the suppression of the First Revolt, 'Ein Gedi no longer was a toparchy in its own right, but had become a village in the toparchy of Jericho, a toparchy, essentially, being the chief administrative village of a region where there is no city with jurisdiction over the surrounding district. This in fact confirms the evidence of the literary sources: 'Ein Gedi is in Josephus, BJ 3,55, mentioned as a toparchy but not in Pliny, nat. 5,70. This shows that it no longer had that status after the First Revolt, when Pliny wrote, and it fits the reference to the place as having been destroyed like Jerusalem (nat. 5,73 and Josephus). 30 The background is as follows: According to Josephus, excellent palm trees and balsam also grew at 'Ein Gedi. 31 During the revolt, the sicarii, from their base at Masada, raided and plundered 'Ein Gedi and other places in the vicinity.<sup>32</sup> Pliny also alludes to these events twice: "... formerly the town of Engeda, second only to Jerusalem in the fertility of its land and in its groves of palm-trees, but now, like Jerusalem, a heap of ashes."33 In his description of the balsam-tree, he claims that "the Jews vented their wrath upon this plant as they also did upon their own lives, but the Romans protected it against them, and there have been pitched battles in defence of a shrub. It is now cultivated by the fiscus, and was never before more

<sup>25</sup> Plut., v. Antonii 36,3 (Stern [n.11] 1, 1974 no. 266): ἔτι δὲ τῆς τ' Ἰουδαίων τὴν τὸ βάλσαμον φέρουσαν. For the date, see Stern's comments, pp. 569-72. Also: Cass. Dio 49,32,5 (Stern [n.11] 2, 1980 no. 415).

<sup>26</sup> Jos. BJ 1,361: τὸν ἐν Ἱεριχοῦντι φοινικῶνα, ἐν ῷ γεννᾶται τὸ βάλσαμον.

<sup>27</sup> Jos. AJ 15,96: παρῆλθεν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν Ἡρώδου συντυχόντος αὐτῆ καὶ τῆς τε Ἡραβίας τὰ δοθέντα καὶ τὰς περὶ τὸν Ἱεριχοῦντα προσόδους [Ἡρώδου] μισθωσαμένου φέρει δ' ἡ χώρα τὸ βάλσαμον, ὃ τιμιώτατον τῶν ἐκεῖ καὶ παρὰ μόνοις φύεται, τόν τε Φοίνικα πολὺν καὶ καλόν.

<sup>28</sup> Jos. AJ 15,132; BJ 1,362.

<sup>29</sup> P. Yadin I 16, l.16: κώμης Αἰνγαδδῶν περὶ Ἰερειχουντα τῆς Ιουδαίας. Cf. Isaac, Near East 167, 177.

<sup>30</sup> This is not to argue that all of Pliny's description of Judaea belongs to the period after 70. The suggestion is that the material in Pliny's list is earlier, but contains elements dating to the post-70 organisation. For Josephus on 'Ein Gedi: Möller - Schmitt (n.1) 87.

<sup>31</sup> Jos. AJ 9,7: γεννᾶται δ' ἐν αὐτῆ φοίνιξ ὁ κάλλιστος καὶ ὀποβάλσαμον.

<sup>32</sup> Jos. BJ 4,402-404.

<sup>33</sup> Plin. nat. 5,73 (Stern [n.11] 1, 1974 no. 204): *Infra hos Engada oppidum fuit, secundum ab Hierosolymis fertilitate palmetorumque nemoribus, nunc alterum bustum.* Cf. Stern's comments on p. 481 and see F. Millar, JRS 53, 1963, 30 with n.20.

plentiful ..."<sup>34</sup> Pliny notes earlier that the balsam plant was superior to every other scent and exists only in Judaea, "where formerly it grew in only two gardens both belonging to the king." It was exhibited by Pompey and by Vespasian and Titus during their triumphs. "The balsam-tree is now a subject of Rome, and pays tribute together with the people to which it belongs."<sup>35</sup> The Babatha archive also contains references to 'Ein Gedi as crown property. <sup>36</sup> While Pliny states that it was destroyed in the First Revolt, the Babatha archive proves that it was inhabited again by Jews under Hadrian and probably before. Finally, it shows that there was a military presence there: a centurion of the cohors I Milliaria Thracum is attested, occupying a *praisidion* flanked by soldiers' housing.<sup>37</sup>

The least that can be concluded from all this, is that Jericho, both as the location of royal palaces and of balsam trees, was a royal domain under the Hasmonaeans. Antony transferred it to Cleopatra, from whom Herod leased it. At some stage it became an imperial domain. The same happened to the balsam trees at 'Ein Gedi. That explains why these became a target for the Jewish rebels in the First Revolt. Direct imperial control was limited, however, to the balsam plantations, as was the case with the forests in Lebanon which extended over a larger area. There the forests were in mountainous area and left the cultivated plains as city territory. <sup>38</sup> Jericho and 'Ein Gedi are also on record as toparchies, administrative centres for the surrounding territory. After the fighting and destruction in the First Revolt 'Ein Gedi was attached to the toparchy of Jericho.

The region continued to be known for its unique production of balsam. Galen, who refers to balsam and opobalsamum very frequently, says that the largest quantity and most beautiful kind comes from 'Ein Gedi.<sup>39</sup> Eusebius mentions 'Ein Gedi as "a very large village of Jews ... from which balsam comes." This description is still current in the 4 c.: "they grow the Nicolaean palm in the land of Palestine, in a

<sup>34</sup> Plin. nat. 12,113 (Stern [n.11] 1, 1974 no. 213): Saeviere in eam Iudaei sicut in vitam quoque suam; contra defendere Romani, et dimicatum pro frutice est; seritque nunc eum fiscus, nec umquam fuit numerosior.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. 12,111-112 (Stern, ibid.): Sed omnibus odoribus praefertur balsamum, uni Terrarum Iudaeae concessum, quondam in duobus tantum hortis, utroque regio ... Ostendere arbutum hanc urbi Imperatores Vespasiani, clarumque dictum, a Pompeio Magno in triumpho arbores quoque duximus. Servit nunc haec ac tributa pendit cum sua gente ... For the high price of balsam, see H. Cotton - W. Eck, RhM 140, 1997, 153ff.=Eck, Judäa - Syria Palästina 204ff.; for an imperial libertus who was perhaps connected to the balsam production, see no. 2817.

<sup>36</sup> P. Yadin I 11, ll.1 (inner text) and 13 (outer text): κώμη Κυρίου Καίσαρος; cf. Isaac, Near East 169.

<sup>37</sup> See the introduction to Hebron with n.25.

<sup>38</sup> The imperial forests in Lebanon were carefully marked with inscriptions. They are collected in IGLS VIII 3.

<sup>39</sup> Gal. de Antidotis 1,4 (Stern [n.11] 2, 1980 no. 391): τὸ Ἐγγαδηνὸν γὰρ ὀνομάζεται.

<sup>40</sup> Eus. Onom. 86,16: καὶ νῦν ἐστι κώμη μεγίστη Ἰουδαίων Ἐνγάδδι, παρακειμένη τῆ νεκρᾶ θαλάσση, ὅθεν τὸ ὀποβάλσαμον. Also Hier. in Ez. 27,17 (CCSL 75, p. 371): balsa-

place called Jericho ..."<sup>41</sup> Jericho never obtained city-status, but it was the chief location in the "District of Jericho" according to Georgius Cyprius, 52. It is now no longer referred to as a toparchy. In Judaea the term represents an administrative district not headed by a city but, in the absence of a city, by a village. This was Ptolemaean terminology, not encountered in Judaea after the 1 c. AD.<sup>42</sup> The plantations are likely to have remained imperial domain, although there is no concrete evidence of this.

The remains of Hasmonaean and Herodian palaces on the site of Tulul Abu el-'Alayiq, at the mouth of Wadi Qelt have been the focus of large-scale excavations for decades. 43 These include the palaces themselves, a system of aqueducts and the remains of a farm in the vicinity. Numerous homes of the wealthy are also supposed to have been built there. 44 It is now assumed that in the Second Temple period houses extended over much of the valley. The Hasmonaean aqueducts supplied water to the palaces and to a farming complex and workshop that have been excavated, clearly associated with the cultivation of persimmon and balsam, besides date wine for which Jericho was well-known. 45 The Hasmonaean palace complex was in use and developed until Herod took it over and then added to it extensively (BJ 1,407), building a hippodrome and an amphitheatre. 46 Herod famously had Aristobulus, Mariamme's brother, drowned in a pool in his palace in Jericho. 47 Several pools have been excavated from the reign of Alexander Jannaeus. During the troubles after Herod's death his palace at Jericho was set on fire and plundered. 48 It was rebuilt by Archelaus, who also built an aqueduct from Na aran to Jericho. 49 Important information about the Jewish presence in Jericho in this period derives from burial sites.<sup>50</sup>

mum, quod nascitur in vineis Engaddi; id., Quaest. in Gen. 23,9ff: Asasonthamar hoc oppidum est, quod nunc vocatur Engaddi, balsami et palmarum fertilis.

<sup>41</sup> Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium 31 (Stern [n.11] 2, 1980 no. 477): hi et omnibus bonis abundant \*Nicolaum itaque palmulam in Palaestinae regione loco qui sic vocatur Iericho... The pilgrim accounts mention the place, but do not add any noteworthy contemporary information, e.g. It. Burd. 597 (CCSL 175, p. 19).

<sup>42</sup> Isaac, Near East 165-8, 178.

<sup>43</sup> NEAEHL 2, 1993, 682-91, bibliography on 691; E. Netzer, The Palaces of the Hasmoneans and Herod the Great, 2001. Early visits to Jericho: V. Guérin, Samarie 1, 46-53; Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Samaria 224ff.

<sup>44</sup> Jos. BJ 1,407.

<sup>45</sup> NEAEHL 2, 1993, 690f.; 5, 2008, 1799f.

<sup>46</sup> Jos. AJ 17,193f. The hippodrome has been found at Tell es-Samarat, 600 m southwest of Tell es-Sultan, where also a theatre was uncovered: NEAEHL 2, 1993, 691f. The amphitheatre has not been located. In fact, Josephus does not say this was built by Herod, merely that it existed by the time of his death, but a structure like this will not have been built by the Hasmonaeans. Recently a synagogue has been found in the second palace, presumably built in the reign of Salome Alexandra (76-67 BC): NEAEHL 5, 2008, 1798ff.

<sup>47</sup> Jos. BJ 1,437; AJ 15,53-56; 20,248.

<sup>48</sup> Jos. BJ 2,57; AJ 17,274.

<sup>49</sup> Jos. AJ 17,340.

<sup>50</sup> Hachlili, Funerary Customs, passim.

The area in the vicinity of Jericho was inhabited by Jews in the early Byzantine period. In the 6 c. there were two synagogues, one near Tell es-Sultan,<sup>51</sup> the other at 'Ein Duq, Biblical Na'aran.<sup>52</sup> In and around Jericho there were several Byzantine monasteries. Sabas purchased a hospice with gardens and a good supply of water there. Other hospices were operated by the monasteries of Euthymius (see nos. 3129-3139) and Theodosius (see nos. 3200-3203).<sup>53</sup>

At 'Ein Gedi major excavations have been carried out from 1949 onward. These exposed remains of the settlement of the Iron Age and covering all the periods relevant for the present volume, <sup>54</sup> including a bath-house of the period between the First and Second Revolts, presumably for the use of the Roman military, stationed there at the time (see above). This was a period in which the settlement was otherwise quite modest. It prospered later on, expanding in the Byzantine period and destroyed in the late 6 or early 7 c. A synagogue, first constructed in the late 2 c. and rebuilt at a larger scale was in use until its destruction, probably in the 6 c. Other structures worth mentioning are: Mezad Arugot, a complex apparently connected with the balsam industry; the so-called Essene site (a hypothetical assignation), wooden coffins, flour mills and irrigation systems.

ΒI

<sup>51</sup> NEAEHL 2, 1993, 695f. For the inscriptions, see below nos. 2807 and 2808.

<sup>52</sup> See also above, Josh 16,7; NEAEHL 2, 1993, 1075f. and additional bibliography in vol. 5, 2008, 2103; above, nos. 2730-2736.

<sup>53</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, v. Sabae 31,116: hospice built by Sabas; 69,171: the monastery of Elias near Jericho; v. Euthymii 32,51; v. John Hes. 20,217,6; v. Theod. 1,41,6-7; Moschus, Pratum 101 (PG 87, 2959B [Latin]), 135 (PG 87, 2997f.), 165 (PG 87, 3031f.). See in general: Y. Hirschfeld, The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period, 1992; J. Patrich, Saba, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism, 1995.

<sup>54</sup> NEAEHL 2, 1993, 399-409; 5, 2008, 1718-24; bibliography on 1724. TIR 121 s.v. Engaddi.

# Inscriptions

#### A. Res sacrae

## 2807.-2808. The synagogue at Tell es-Sultan

Two inscriptions are preserved in a small but elegant polychrome mosaic floor of a synagogue discovered at Tell es-Sulṭan and excavated in 1936. The exacavators uncovered a single hall with the apse in the southwest, facing Jerusalem; two rows of pillars separated the hall into a nave and two aisles. The mosaic is decorated with geometrical shapes, vegetative figures and Jewish symbols, without representations of humans or animals. Both inscriptions are in the nave. Inscription no. 2808 is in the center of the floor, no. 2807 was placed just inside the entrance on the northeastern side, so that the visitor would see it first upon entering the building.

## 2807. Community dedication from a synagogue, 6-8 c. CE

Six lines of square Jewish script within a double-line black frame; the letters are formed by black, red and green tesserae; the lines of the text are separated by a single line of red tesserae.

Meas.: The entire mosaic floor is 10 m wide and 13 m long.

Pres. loc.: In situ.

דכירןלטביהוידכרנהוןלטבכל קהלהק++שהרביהוזעוריהדסייע יתהוןמלכיהדעלמהואתחזקוןועבדון פסיפסהדידעשמהתוןודבניהוןודאנשי בתיהוןיכתוביתהוןבספרחייה[--] צדיקיהחבריןלכלישראלשל[--]



fig. 2807.1

דכירן לטב יהוי דכרנהון לטב כל | קהלה קדישה רביה וזעוריה דסייע | יתהון מלכיה דעלמה ואתחזקון ועבדון | פסיפסה. דידע שמהתון ודבניהון ודאנשי | בתיהון יכתוב יתהון בספר חייה [עם כל] | צדיקיה, חברין לכל ישראל, של[ום, אמן]

Translit.: dkyrn ltb yhwy dkrnhwn ltb kl | qhlh qdyšh rbyh wz`wryh dsyy` | ythwn mlkyh d`lmh w`thzqwn w`bdwn | psypsh. dyd` šmhtwn wdbnyhwn wd`nšy | btyhwn yktwb ythwn bspr hyyh [`m kl] | şdyqyh, hbryn lkl yśr'l, šl[wm, `mn]

Remembered be for the good (and) may their memory be for the good, the whole holy congregation, elders and minors (old and young), whom the king of the world aided and who contributed to and made the mosaic. He who knows their names, and the names of their children and the people of their houses, will write them in the Book of Life with all of the righteous. (May they be) friends/companions to all Israel. Peace, Amen.

Comm.: The text is carefully composed; no words are broken over lines. Baramki dated the mosaic to the 8 c. CE based on numismatic evidence, but Foerster and others have more probably dated it to the 6-7 c. CE.

In l.1, *dkyrn* is in defective spelling, instead of dkyryn. While the opening formula dkyr(yn)ltb is widespread in Jewish and non-Jewish dedications, the repetitive "(and) may their memory be for the good" is not usually joined to it, and may be understood as emphasizing the blessing. The term "holy congregation" in 1.2 appears in two other late synagogues in Iudaea/Palaestina (Susiya, no. 3880; Beth She'an, Naveh, Stone and Mosaic no. 46), and refers to those who prayed and studied together in the synagogue, see commentary at no. 3880 for discussion. The "holy congregation" is a different expression and concept from the designation of the synagogue itself, or the town, as a "holy place," of which there are many more instances, see no. 2731 (Na'aran) and comm. there. In ll.4-5, Sokoloff interprets אנשי בתיהון 'nšy btyhwn as "their wives."

The collective ethic of this congregation is expressed also in the anonymity of the dedication, an unusual phenomenon in euergetistic epigraphy, all Jewish instances being from Iudaea/Palaestina, and all but one in Aramaic, see discussion in comm. to no. 2734 in Naʿaran. Anonymity reflects not the inability of any single individual to make a significant donation, but the idea of "worship as



fig. 2807.2

a common responsibility of all members of the community" (Stemberger). Strikingly, this inscription reaches beyond the members of the community to connect them to "all the righteous" inscribed in the Book of Life (cf. the synagogue inscription from Chorazin, Naveh, Stone and Mosaic no. 17), and this ecumenical perspective continues in the expression – in Hebrew, with final nun – "friends of all Israel," which stresses the unity of all Israel, compare e.g. Jdg 20,11, and the near-parallel from yHag. 83,79d cited by Naveh; Fine goes so far as to translate, "all of Israel is interconnected."  $spr\ hyyh$ , "The Book of Life," is Aramaic, with the definite article h, and not Hebrew  $spr\ hyym$ , as ed. pr. and other editors have restored.

The expression "the old with the young," found also (restored) in the synagogue inscription from Huseifa (Naveh, Stone and Mosaic no. 39), is a Biblical expression (see Ps 115,13 and 2 Chron 34,30) which found its way into Jewish liturgy. As observed by Avi-Yonah in the ed. pr., this expression and others in the inscription - viz. "holy community," the names for God, the reference to the Book of Life, all Israel being *hbryn* – are similar to synagogue liturgy found in medieval prayerbooks, more specifically the Aramaic prayer yakum purkan and kaddish. The assumption was that the inscription reflects actual prayers recited in the synagogue in Late Antiquity. This opinion was accepted by many scholars after Avi-Yonah, cf. the detailed exposition of parallels by Weinfeld, and the notable article by Foerster (1981), who took the parallels even further afield to Jewish communities in India and Crimea. Yet Heinemann pointed out that the language in the first two lines was too common in Jewish liturgy to reflect any single prayer, and similarly Naveh pointed out that the language of 1.2, found also in the Talmud (bTaan. 23b), was too common to attribute it to any single source. As stated, the opening formula dkyr(yn) ltb was widespread in Aramaic dedicatory inscriptions throughout the East and was not uniquely Jewish, much less identified with any specific liturgy. Most likely, the parallels between the inscription and prayers reflect linguistic and liturgical traditions within Jewish Aramaic of Late Antiquity, rather than the direct dependence of one text on the other (Horowitz).

God is named in this text by two circumlocutions, "king of the world" and "he who knows their names." The first expression is paralleled in Alma, Ḥamat Gader and Susiya (Naveh, Stone and Mosaic, nos. 4, 32-4; nos. 3881, 3882 this vol.; cf. מרי mry šwmy at Umm el-Amad, Naveh no. 20); the second is so far unique. The name of God or even the word אלהים 'lhym is almost never used in public inscriptions (i.e. excluding amulets and gems), the rare exception being an epitaph from Phoenicia invoking [מוֹ 'lwy[m] (Noy - Bloedhorn, IJO III Syr30), and possibly a ceiling tile from Dura Europus (ibid. Syr120).

Bibl.: D. Baramki, QDAP 6, 1938, 73-7 at 76 (ed. pr.). - R. Hardy, AJSL 52, 1936, 257-76 at 265; C. Nims, AJSL 53, 1937, 199-216 at 206; C. Kopp, Grabungen und Forschungen im Heiligen Land 1867/1938, 1939, 116; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 88 (Hebr.); H. May, Biblical Archaeologist 7, 1944, 1-20 at 18; Goodenough, Jewish Symbols I 260ff. no. 47, II 129, III fig. 666, XII 46; E. Kutscher, in: F. Rosenthal ed., An Aramaic Handbook I.1, 1967, 51-70 at 69 no. 9c; Saller, Catalogue 44f. no. 49; J. Naveh, Leshonenu 38, 1973, 295-9 (Hebr.); G. Foerster - G. Bacchi, EAEHL 2, 1976, 550-75 at 571, 573; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 190f. no. 2; J. Heinemann, Prayer in the Talmud, 1977, 251ff.; Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 103-6 no. 69 (Hebr.); MPAT 266f., 294f. no. A34; M. Sokoloff, Maarav 1, 1978, 79-84 at 82 no. 69; M. Weinfeld, Shenatôn 4, 1980, 288-95 (Hebr.); G. Foerster, Cathedra 19, 1981, 12-40 (Hebr.); A. Horowitz, ibid. 41ff. (Hebr.); J. Naveh, in: L. Levine ed., Ancient Synagogues Revealed, 1981, 133-9 at 138f.; Y. Yahalom, Cathedra 19, 1981, 44ff. (Hebr.); Keel - Küchler 518f. no. 355; Chiat, Handbook 255; N. Wieder, Tarbiz 52, 1983, 557-79 (Hebr.); id., Tarbiz 53, 1984, 476 (Hebr.); Beyer, Aramäische Texte 388 no. ggJR 1; Ovadiah, MPI 75f.; Hachlili, Jewish Art 225ff., 296, 304 pls. 64, 67, 71, 73f.; Naveh, On Sherd and Papyrus 141ff. (Hebr.); G. Foerster, NEAEHL 2, 1993, 695f.; D. Urman, in: id. - P. Flesher eds., Ancient Synagogues 2, 1995, 373-617 at 473ff.; A. Shinan, in: S. Fine ed., Sacred Realm, 1996, 130-52 at 144f.; S. Fine, OEANE 5, 1997, 114-8 at 115; G. Stemberger, in: A. Kofsky – G. Stroumsa eds., Sharing the Sacred, 1998, 131-46 at 139; Baumann, Spätantike Stifter 327f.; Levine, Ancient Synagogue 205; Schwartz, Imperialism 275, 280-9; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 402f., 408; D. Bar, JEH 54, 2003, 401-21 at 416f.; Milson, Art and Architecture 407f.; Greenberg - Keinan 2009, 67 no. 317; Magen, Good Samaritan 114-7; Sorek 76f., 110-3, 106-10, 119-23; Hachlili, Ancient Synagogues 10-3, 536; Werlin, Synagogues 75-8 fig. 38.

Photo: Levine, Ancient Synagogue 350 fig. 81; Hachlili, Jewish Art 360 fig. 13 (dr.).

AY/JJP

# 2808. Mosaic greeting "Peace on Israel"

Medallion in double frame of black tesserae, in the upper portion there are a seven-branched menorah, lulav and shofar; in the bottom, separated by a line of black and red tesserae, one line of Jewish script. For a dr. of the complete mosaic see no. 2807. Meas.: medallion: ø 114.5 cm; l. 69.5 cm; letters 9.5-10.7 cm.

Pres. loc.: In situ. Replica in Good Samaritan Museum, Maʿale Adumim. Autopsy: 22 October 2013 (WE/DK).

# שלום על ישראל

Translit.: šlwm 'l yśr'l

Peace be on Israel!

Comm.: This inscription is in the nave and would have been seen by a visitor after the first one at the entrance. This blessing appears in synagogue inscriptions from 'Ein Gedi, Susiya, Ḥuseifa and Migrash, (nos. 3853 and 3870 this vol.; Naveh, nos. 38, 50); it has Biblical origins, cf. Ps 125,5 and 128,6.



fig. 2808

Bibl.: D. Baramki, QDAP 6, 1938, 73-7 (ed. pr.). – R. Hardy, AJSL 52, 1936, 257-76 at 265; H. May, Biblical Archaeologist 7, 1944, 1-20 at 10; E. Sukenik, Bulletin of the Rabinowitz Fund 1, 1949, 8-23 at 14f.; Goodenough, Jewish Symbols I 260ff. no. 47, III fig. 666, XII 46f.; B. Kanael, Die Kunst der antiken Synagoge, 1961, 63 fig. 63; Saller, Catalogue 44f. no. 49; G. Foerster - G. Bacchi, EAEHL 2, 1976, 550-75 at 571f.; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 190 no. 1; Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 103 no. 68 (Hebr.); Shanks, Judaism in Stone 37f., 40f., 108ff.; Keel - Küchler 518f. no. 355; Ovadiah, MPI 75f.; Hachlili, Jewish Art 225ff., 296, 304 pls. 64, 67, 71, 73f.; G. Foerster, NEAEHL

2, 1993, 618-21, 695; A. Shinan, in: S. Fine ed., Sacred Realm, 1996, 130-52 at 134f., pl. 50; Levine, Ancient Synagogue 205; L. Habas, in: L. Levine - Z. Weiss eds., From Dura to Sepphoris, 2000, 111-30 at 124; H. Shanks, BAR 27, 2001, 18-22; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 312f., 408; Milson, Art and Architecture 407f.; M. Herr, Cathedra 137, 2010, 27-62 at 55 (Hebr.); Magen, Good Samaritan 32-5, 105, 114-7; Sorek 71; J. Magness, The Archaeology of the Holy Land from the Destruction of Solomon's Temple to the Muslim Conquest, 2012, 307f., fig. 14,15; Hachlili, Ancient Synagogues 314ff., fig. VI,27, 352f., 517ff., fig. XI,2a; S. Fine, Art, History and the Historiography of Judaism in Roman Antiquity, 2014, 222f.; E. Eshel, in: Herodium I 471; Werlin, Synagogues 79f.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

AY/JJP

# 2809.-2810. Church of Abuna Philip (St. Andrew), north side of the Wadi Kelt

## 2809. Greek building inscription of a church

Mosaic inscription in a frame.

Meas.: outer frame: h 1.05, w 1.66 m; inner frame: h 0.88, w 1.58 m; letters 10 cm.

Findspot: At the western end of the nave, just in front of the main entrance (or perhaps of the bema).



fig. 2809.1

(palmette) ΜΑΓΝΙΑΝΟΣΡΑΤΙΩΤΓ ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΤΩΑΓΙΩ ΑΝΔΡΕΑΕΚΤΙΣΕΝΚΑΙΕ ΨΉΦΩΣΕΝΣΠΟΥΔΗΗΡΑΚ ΛΙΟΥΠΡΕΣΒΓΚΑΙΚΩΣΤΑΝ ΤΙΝΟΥΔΙΑΚΓΠΟΛΛΥΧΡΟΝΙΟΥ

Μαγνιανὸς σρατιώτ(ης) | εὐχαριστῶν τῷ ἀγίῳ | Ἀνδρέᾳ ἔκτισεν καὶ ἐ|ψήφωσεν σπουδῆ Ἡρακ|λίου πρεσβ(υτέρου) καὶ Κωσταν|τίνου διακ(όνου) (καὶ) Πολλυχρονίου

Magnianus the soldier, giving thanks to the saint Andrew, built (the church) and had the mosaic made by the zeal of the priest Heraclius, the Deacon Costantinus and Pollychronius.

Comm.: If Di Segni's thoughts (DGI) on no. 2810 are correct, the church was built in the first third of the 7 c. AD (or perhaps in the late 6 c. AD). On the location of the inscription just in front of the bema, cf. Baumann, Spätantike Stifter 289. – 1.1: A Latin name. στρατιώτ(ης) Meimaris.

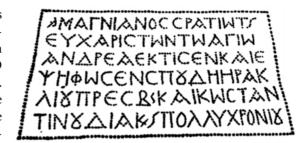


fig. 2809.2

For the omission of *tau* in σρατιώτ(ης), cf. PAES IIIA 3,349 (Umm el-Ğimāl): Νέων Χαμιου, σρατιότης τέρτη Κυρνακέ; it is sometimes found in names too: SEG 16, 78: Μενεσράτου; 43, 104: Φιλόσρατος; Hesperia 6, 1937, 382ff. no. 2 l.34: Φιλοσράταν (all from Attica); Fouilles de Delphes III 1, 273: Νικοσράτου; 3, 273: Καλλίσρατος. – ll.2f.: Di Segni agrees with Meimaris' argument: "As a soldier, his patron is likely to have been not the apostle Andrew, but the general of the same name martyred with his soldiers under Maximian." – l.5: The omission of the *nu* in the name of Constantine points to the spelling used in later Greek (there are dozens of examples, even in imperial titulatures). – l.6: Di Segni is certainly right that Pollychronius was a lesser cleric (or that somebody else was supervising the building).

Bibl.: A. Augustinović, Gerico e Dintorni, 1951, 77-80 fig. 25 (ed. pr.). – Bagatti, Church 294f.; id., Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria, 1979, 82, 19\* fig. 29; Meimaris, Sacred Names 116 no. 625; Ovadiah, MPI 143f.; SEG 37, 1492 B; DGI 602-9 no. 207; Bagatti, Samaria 98f., fig. 29; H. Taha - A. Qleibo, Jericho: A Living History, 2010, 62ff.; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity I 282f., fig. 144; Madden, Corpus 82f. no. 105; M. Jennings, Beyond the Walls of Jericho: Khirbet al-Mafjar and the Signature Landscapes of the Jericho Plain, 2015, 79. – Cf. Ovadiah, Corpus 73f. no. 63; O. Hamdan - C. Benelli, Bilad Al-Sham, 2008, 19-25.

Photo: O. Hamdan - C. Benelli, Bilad Al-Sham, 2008, 24; Bagatti, Church 295 fig. 168 (dr.).

# 2810. Greek funerary inscription of Tryphon

Mosaic inscription in a vertical tabula ansata.

Meas.: h (with ansae) 149, (tabula) 95, w 49 cm; letters 8 cm (Hamdan - Benelli 25).

Findspot: Southeast of no. 2809, covering a grave. (See drawing of the complex at Meinardus 196).

(cross) ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΑΤΑΚΙΤΕ ΟΜΑΚΑΡΙ ΟΣΤΡΥΦΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟΣΤΟ ΥΧΎΚΥΜΗ ΘΙΣΜΗΝΙΦΕ ΒΡΟΥΑΡΙΩ ΚΗΜΕΡΑΕ Τ΄Δ΄ Τ΄ (cross)





fig. 2810.1

fig. 2810.2

ένθάδε | κατάκιτε | ὁ μακάρι|ος Τρύφον, | δοῦλος το|ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ, κυμη|θὶς μηνὶ Φε|βρουαρίω̞ | κ', ἡμέρᾳ ε', | ἰ(ν)δ(ικτιῶνος) ι'

Here lies the blessed Tryphon, servant of Christ, who went to sleep on February 20th, day 5 (=Thursday), indiction 10.

Comm.: Di Segni, DGI points out that the grave had already been planned when the floor was paved, and that the inscription in the frame was added later, i.e. after the death of Tryphon. Meinardus 192 reports that some other graves in Room II were

planned at the time of its construction too. – Il.7ff.: Augustinović understood the date as the 10th year of Justin II (cf. no. 2833), i.e. 575 – but this would be indiction 8, and February 20th was a Sunday (not a Thursday). Bagatti understood  $\Phi\epsilon|\beta\rho o u\alpha\rho i\omega|$  | κ' ἡμέρφ, ε' | ἰ(ν)δ(ικτιῶνος), (ἔτους) ι' as year 10 of Tiberius II, i.e. February 20th, 587, which is impossible for the same reasons; the correct interpretaion was found by Meinardus: possible dates are 592, 637, and 682 AD (cf. Worp, who came to the same conclusion). Di Segni concurs, but opts for 637 (apud Bagatti, Samaria 99\*\*\*; DGI): "Since the dedicator [scil. of the church] qualifies himself as a soldier [scil. in no. 2809], it is unlikely that the church was founded after the Arab conquest," i.e. she believes that the church was founded some time before the death of Tryphon in February 637 and a few months before the Arabs came. 592 cannot be completely excluded.

Bibl.: A. Augustinović, Gerico e Dintorni, 1951, 80ff. (ed. pr.). – B. Bagatti, SBF 3, 1952/3, 137 no. 49; O. Meinardus, Bull. Soc. Arch. Copte 18, 1965/6, 187 (dr.), pl. 6a+b; Ovadiah, Corpus 73f. no. 63; B. Bagatti, Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria, 1979, 82, 19\* fig. 30; Meimaris, Sacred Names 55 no. 323; Ovadiah, MPI 143f.; SEG 37, 1492 C; K. Worp, Tyche 6, 1991, 229f.; SEG 41, 1557; BE 1992, 651; DGI 602ff. no. 206; Bagatti, Samaria 98f., fig. 30; Feissel, Chroniques 235 no. 754 bis; O. Hamdan - C. Benelli, Bilad Al-Sham, 2008, 19-25; H. Taha - A. Qleibo, Jericho: A Living History, 2010, 62ff.; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity I 282f., fig. 144; Madden, Corpus 82f. no. 105; M. Jennings, Beyond the Walls of Jericho: Khirbet al-Mafjar and the Signature Landscapes of the Jericho Plain, 2015, 79.

Photo: O. Hamdan - C. Benelli, Bilad Al-Sham, 2008, 25; A. Augustinović, Gerico e Dintorni, 1951, 81 fig. 26 (dr.).

WA

## 2811.-2812. Basilical church in the northwestern section of Jericho

A Church found on the property of the Greek archimandrite Anthimus, south of Tell Abu Hindi. The church consisted of a central nave and two aisles; the western wall showed three entrances, the presbytery and apse in the east have not been excavated. Attached to the northern wall was a chapel. The mosaic pavements of the church show geometrical designs enriched with representations of plants and animals as well as inscriptions nos. 2811 and 2812.

Bibl.: A. Augustinović, Gerico e dintorni, 1951, 66-77; Ovadiah, Corpus 73 no. 62; H. Taha - A. Qleibo, Jericho: A Living History, 2010, 64.

#### 2811. Greek mosaic inscription in the central nave

All we know about this inscription derives from Augustinović's description. The inscription is located "all'altezza del terzo paio di colonne, nella nave centrale, con termine destro precisamente al limite sud della nave stessa. Le lettere sono di cm.

11. L'iscrizione (in quanto conservata) è in quattro righe, larga m. 0,75, lunga m. 2,05, ma continua ancora sotto la terra non rimossa; si ha quindi l'impressione che sia una di quelle iscrizioni dedicatorie che corre per tutta la larghezza della nave centrale davantati ai gradini del presbiterio." About 40 cm to the east are two stones, which could be part of the chancel screen. "La parte scoperta dell'iscrizione è stata due volte riparata (nello spazio infereriore riparato, sembra che corresse ancora una riga di lettere). Se fosse scoperta intieramente, porterebbe senza dubbio all'identificazione della chiesa; ma così, dobbiamo restare all'oscuro." No photograph or further details are available.

Bibl.: A. Augustinović, Gerico e dintorni, 1951, 72, 74. – Ovadiah, Corpus 73 no. 62.

WA

## 2812. Greek funerary inscription of Daniel, Macarius and Ioannes, the deacons

Meas.: h 0.5, w 1 m; letters 12 cm.

Findspot: This mosaic inscription was found above a tomb in the nave.

(cross) ΘΗΚΗΔΑΝΙΗΛ ΜΑΚΑΡ∫ΙΩΑΝ ΝΟΥΔΙΑΚΟΝ[..] (cross)



fig. 2812

Usually given as: θήκη Δανιήλ, | Μακαρ(ίου) (καὶ) Ἰωάν|νου διακόν[ων]

The grave of Daniel, Macarius and Ioannes, the deacons.

Comm.: Ovadiah dates the mosaic to the 6 c. AD. – l.2: Macarius is attested as a personal name, although abbreviated personal names are very rare in inscriptions like this; but there is no place for an article. Augustinović tried to connect the grave to the church: "forse benefattori o partecipanti alla costruzione della chiesa." – l.3: διακόν[ου]?

Bibl.: A. Augustinović, Gerico e Dintorni, 1951, 74f. (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, Sacred Names 170 no. 856; Ovadiah, MPI 143f.; SEG 37, 1492A; H. Taha - A. Qleibo, Jericho: A Living History, 2010,

64; Madden, Corpus 81f. no. 104; M. Jennings, Beyond the Walls of Jericho: Khirbet al-Mafjar and the Signature Landscapes of the Jericho Plain, 2015, 78. – Cf. Ovadiah, Corpus 73 no. 62.

Photo: A. Augustinović, Gerico e Dintorni, 1951, 74 fig. 22.

WA

# B. Inscriptions of public character and in architectural context

# 2813. Building inscription of the legio X Fretensis(?) under the governor Iulius Commodus Orfitianus

Fragment of a plaque of local limestone, the left-hand side is missing. The back as well as the outer sides are rough. The inscription is written inside a tabula ansata with a thunderbolt in the right ansa. Some of the letters are much smaller than the others, especially the letter O, but not in order to save space. In l.1 the final letter N is written inside the O.

Meas.: h 41, w 43, d ca. 20 cm; letters ca. 5 cm.

Findspot: The stone was seen by Clermont-Ganneau in 1871 in the house of the sheikh of Shelwân, but in 1881 it must have moved to the Armenian Patriarchy (Clermont-Ganneau, ARP 27f. with n.\* mentioning the spot in Jericho from where it had been taken away).

Pres. loc.: Armenian Museum, Jerusalem. Autopsy: 13 June 1998.

- [--]ANTON
- [--]EROAVG
- [--]FECIT
- [--]MMODOCOS

[Imp(eratoribus) Marco] Anton(ino) | [et Lucio V]ero Aug(ustis) | [leg(io) X Fret(ensis)?] fecit | [sub Iulio Co]mmodo co(n)s(ulari/e)

When Marcus Antoninus and Lucius Verus were emperors the legio X Fretensis(?) has built (this) under the command of the consular governor Julius Commodus.



fig. 2813.1

Comm.: For the reconstruction of the text see Eck - Cotton. The inscription does not mention the building on which it was displayed. The latter is likely to have been raised by the legio X Fretensis, rather than by the legio VI Ferrata, which was stationed in the vicinity of modern Lajun in Galilee.



fig. 2813.2

The presence of Lucius Verus together with Marcus (Aurelius) Antoninus dates the inscription to the years 161-169 AD. For the governor C. Iulius Commodus Orfitianus, his cursus honorum and the date of his governorship around 165 AD, see CIIP II 1228.

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 6, 1874, 80-111 at 88 (ed. pr.). – Id., AMSL 11, 1885, 157-251 at 218 no. 74; Ephemeris Epigraphica 5, 1444; P. von Rohden, De Palaestina et Arabia provinciis Romanis quaestiones selectae, 1885, 42f. no. 28; J. Germer-Durand, RB 1, 1892, 369-87 at 386; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 27ff., 489; CIL 3, 6645 and p. 2313; Vincent - Abel, Jérusalem nouvelle 889; S. Applebaum, SCI 8/9, 1985/8, 138-44 at 138, 143f.; W. Eck - H. Cotton, ZPE 127, 1999, 211-5 (=Eck, Judäa - Syria Palästina 92ff.); AE 1999, 1691; Eck, Language of Power 132f.

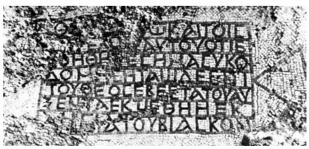
Photo: A. and N. Graicer; A. Fassbender, ZPE 127, 1999, 214 (dr.).

WE

# 2814. Greek building inscription mentioning Auxentas and Tubias

Mosaic inscription in a tabula ansata; the lines are divided by rows of tesserae. Meas.: h 65, w 115 cm (tabula); letters 7.5 cm.

Findspot: Nuseib 'Uweishira, 3 km sw. of Jericho, on a hill just above the Wadi Kelt. Byzantine church, described by Netzer - Birger and Ribak; floor paved with a mosaic; the inscription is found between the mosaic carpet of the central nave and the entrance to the church.



ΔΟΞ[..]++ΩΚΑΙΤΟΙΣ +[.]+ΕΛΟΙΣΑΥΤΟΥΟΤΙΕ [.]ΟΗΘΗΣΕΣΗΜΑΣΥΚΟ ΔΟΜΗΣΗΤΑΩΔΕΕΠΙ

fig. 2814.1

# ΤΟΥΘΕΟΣΕΒΕΣΤΑΤΟΥΑΥ ΞΕΝΤΑΕΚΤΙΣΘΗΗΕΚ ΛΗΣΙΑΤΟΥΒΙΑΣΚΟΝ

δόξ[α τ]ῷ Θ(ε)ῷ καὶ τοῖς | ἀ[γ]γέλοις αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐ|[β]οηθήσες ἡμᾶς ὐκο|δομῆση τὰ ὧδε. ἐπὶ | τοῦ θεοσεβεστάτου Αὐ|ξέντα ἐκτίσθη ἡ ἐκ|λησία Τουβίας ΚΟΝ

Glory to God and his angels, because you helped us to built these (buildings) here. The church was built under the most pious Auxentas ... Tubias.

Comm.: Di Segni dates the text to the 5 c. AD on the strength of the letter forms. – 1.2: Di Segni refers to two churches dedicated to Michael (Maresha no. 3508, Herodion nos. 3326, 3327) and to the worship of angels in a mo-

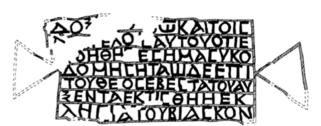


fig. 2814.2

nastic milieu (Joh. Moschos, pratum c. 4, 10, 25). – Il.2ff.: ὅτι ἐ[κβ]οηθήσ(ας) ἐς ἡμᾶς ὑκο|δομήση τὰ ὧδε, "for having come to our help He built the (buildings) here" Di Segni; corr. Feissel. – l.3: Di Segni remarks that God alone had helped to build the church (which of course qualifies all her other thoughts on the importance of angelology here). – Il.5f.: "The termination in -a shows the influence of Aramaic," Di Segni n.10. Auxentas seems to be a hypocoristic of Αὐξέντιος, and on hypocoristics of this type cf. Gignac II 16: "The gen. and dat. fluctuate between -α, -α, and -ατος, -ατι" (with a plethora of examples for -α from Egypt). It is unknown what position Auxentas had; θεοσεβέστατοι are usually high dignitaries in the church, but the epitheton could also have been bestowed on a "simple" priest. – l.7: fin.: kappa has an abbreviation mark (nothing in Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations); κο(ι)ν(οβίου) or κο(ι)ν(οῦ) Di Segni, who understood "the church of Toubias' coenobium" (interpreting the name as undeclined).

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, CAHL 201-4 (ed. pr.). – SEG 40, 1480; E. Netzer - R. Birger, CAHL 191-200; Feissel, Chroniques 234 no. 751; Ribak, Religious Communities 199f.; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity I 277 fig. 141,1; Madden, Corpus 116 no. 160; B. Mulholland, The Early Byzantine Christian Church, 2014, 173 pl. 6,4.

Photo: L. Di Segni, CAHL 201f. (ph. and dr.).

# C. Funerary inscriptions

#### 2815.-2828. The Goliath family tomb

A multi-story two-chamber loculus tomb was discovered in the Jewish necropolis at Jericho in 1979. The two chambers are located on different levels and connected by a passage and a staircase. The walls of the chambers are covered with plaster. The upper chamber is decorated with a colorful fresco depicting a vine tree with grapes and birds on the branches; it contains eight loculi and a pit. The lower chamber contains only six loculi.

A total of 22 ossuaries were found in the tomb, decorated with conventional ornamental elements: metopes in zigzag frames and six-petaled rosettes are quite characteristic (e.g. see nos. 2815, 2816, 2818, 2820, 2821). On 14 of the 22 ossuaries appear inscriptions, mostly chiseled on the front, sides and lids of the ossuaries and a few on the back. Two inscriptions are written in ink (no. 2817a and b) and one in charcoal (no. 2828). Most inscriptions are inscribed at least twice on the ossuaries and sometimes more than twice (see nos. 2816, 2820-2823, 2825). There is a total of 32 inscriptions, 17 of which are in Greek and 15 in Jewish script. Three ossuaries in one loculus bear bilingual inscriptions (nos. 2823, 2825, 2826). Two of the three ossuaries (nos. 2823 and 2825) were evidently inscribed by the same hand, as can be concluded from the semblance in the style of the script as well as from orthographic peculiarities in Greek and in Jewish script. According to R. Hachlili in ed. pr., the same hand incised nos. 2822 and 2827, likewise nos. 2819, 2820.

Based on information from the inscriptions and finds in the cave, the tomb is dated to the 1 c. CE. For example, in no. 2817 a person named Theodotus is said to be the freedman of a Queen Agrippina. The Agrippina in question is without doubt Agrippina the Younger, wife of the Emperor Claudius. The inscription must therefore date between 50 and 59 CE (see comm.).

The inscriptions show a similar structure, with the name of the deceased typically followed by a family relationship (e.g., a daughter/son/wife of ...). No. 2817 mentions the name of the deceased and his status as a freedman manumitted by "Queen" Agrippina. No. 2819 mentions two names in the nominative although the ossuary contained the remains of one male (see comm.). No. 2820 mentions only the name of the deceased (perhaps the father of the individual from ossuary no. 2819). No. 2822 mentions the name of the deceased with an epithet "zby", probably designating the place of origin of the deceased.

Most of the names in this group are typical Jewish names (R. Hachlili, ed. pr.): Elʿazar in no. 2826, Iudas in no. 2815, Salome in no. 2824, Shelamzin in no. 2821, Simon in nos. 2819, 2820. Maria in no. 2821 and Mariame in no. 2815 are variants of the same common Jewish name מרים mrym. Manaemus (=Menaḥem) in no. 2819 occurs in Josephus and on ossuaries from Jerusalem (cf. CIIP I 183, 187, 318). Ismael is found in nos. 2818, 2824. Theodotus (no. 2817) is the only Greek name. It is the Greek equivalent of the name Natanaʾel="gift of god" or "godsend." In no. 2821 the

name Neta'el is probably a female variant of the name Natana'el. Yeho'ezer/Ioezer (יהועזר/I $\Omega$ EZPO $\Sigma$ ) is the most frequent name in the Goliath tomb inscriptions (nos. 2816, 2822, 2823, 2826, 2827).

The nickname "Goliath" is attached to individuals in texts nos. 2816, 2823-2825 and probably designated the tall stature of those individuals rather than a family name, see comm. to nos. 2816 and 2823.

# 2815. Ossuary of Mariame wife of Iudas with Greek inscription, ca. 10-70 CE

The ossuary (ed. pr. no. I) is decorated with metopes in zigzag frames containing six-petaled rosettes. On its front, above the frame of the right metope, is a Greek inscription.

Meas.: box: h 31, w 67, d 25.5 cm (Rahmani); l. 22.5 cm; letters 2.5 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: Chamber A, in front of Loculus 1 and the passage between the two chambers of Tomb H, in the family tomb in Jericho.

Pres. loc.: Reg. no. ASOJS Jer 135/H I.

#### ΜΑΡΙΑΜΗΓΥΙΟΥΔΟΥ

Μαριάμη γυ(νη) Ἰούδου

Mariame wife of Iudas.

fig. 2815.1

fig. 2815.2

Comm.: The roughly cut inscription identifies the occupant of the ossuary by the name of her husband. For this naming practice, see Hachlili, Funerary Customs 315. There is some evidence for a second body: an infant, presumably her child. The names are exceedingly common. Ἰούδας is a variant of Ἰούδα (ππππ)



fig. 2815.3

(see Evans 79). Paleographically, one may note the eta formed like a chair.

Bibl.: R. Hachlili, BASOR 235, 1979, 31-66 no. 1 [misprinted]=SEG 31, 1407.1 [corrected] (edd. prr.). – Ead. - P. Smith, BASOR 235, 1979, 67-70; SEG 42, 1434; Rahmani, CJO no. 782; Hachlili - Killebrew 100-11, 142-55; Y. Peleg, BASOR 325, 2002, 65-73 at 69f.; Evans 69-72, 79f.; Hachlili, Funerary Customs 179, 290ff., 294.

Photo: Hachlili - Killebrew 101 fig. 3,44a IF, 146 fig. 4,3; R. Hachlili, BASOR 235, 1979, 36 fig. 3 (dr.).

# 2816. Ossuary of Yeho'ezer son of El'azar Goliath with Aramaic inscription, 10-70 CE

Limestone ossuary (ed. pr. no. II), ornamented on front and left and right sides with six-petaled rosettes inside zigzag frames. Inscriptions in Jewish script incised on the blank back (a) and lengthwise across the lid (b); notable are the *he*, the three different forms of *ayin* and the ligatured *bet-resh* in each inscription.

Meas.: box: h 24, w 51, d 19.5 cm; ll. ca. (a) 18, (b) 20 cm; letters ca. 2 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: Chamber A; before Loculus 1 in the family tomb in Jericho. Pres. loc.: Reg. no. ASOJS Jer 135/H II.

(a) and (b) יהועזר בר אלעזר גלית



fig. 2816.1 (a)

Translit.: (a) and (b) yhw'zr br 'l'zr glyt

(a) and (b) Yeho'ezer son of El'azar Goliath.

Comm.: The bones of three bodies were found in the box, leading to the assumption (not watertight) that the two identical inscriptions, apparently written by different hands (but not necessarily at different times), represent two different sons of El'azar; but in fact it could be that only one of the deceased was identified on the box itself. Ed. pr. mistakenly reads bn instead of br, see Naveh. Y(eh)o-'ezer is the most frequently recurring inscribed name in this family tomb, see comment on no. 2818. Goliath could be parsed as belonging to either father or son in this inscription; the nickname appears in Greek and Hebrew in nos. 2823-2825; it presumably started as a nickname indicating unusual height of one family member, and then was subからなりなりなりては一つましたか

fig. 2816.2 (a)



fig. 2816.3 (b)

ハイントナイトアイトアノノントスト

fig. 2816.4 (b)



fig. 2816.5 (a)

sequently used by other descendants, either because they themselves were unusually large, or merely out of respect for the father/grandfather, but there is no clear evidence from the inscriptions that the name became a "family name." If the name describes Elʿazar here, then he seems to have been the first to have used it, since the other two clearly belong to one Yoʻezer or another.

Bibl.: R. Hachlili, BASOR 235, 1979, 31-66 no. 2 (ed. pr.). – Ead. - P. Smith, ibid., 67-70; J. Naveh, IOS 9, 1979, 17-31 at 18 n.6; R. Hachlili, EI 17, 1984, 188-211 (Hebr.); Rahmani, CJO no. 783; Hachlili - Killebrew 142-55; Yardeni, Textbook A 237, B 83 no. 2; Hachlili, Funerary Customs 179, 208f.

Photo: R. Hachlili, BASOR 235, 1979, 36 figs. 4-6 (ph. and dr.); Hachlili - Killebrew 103 fig. 3,45 II (lid).

JJP

# 2817. Ossuary of Theodotus freedman of Agrippina the Younger, between 50 and 59 AD

Limestone ossuary with a double lid (ed. pr. no. VIII): a thin flat one beneath a vaulted one; on the front "two metopes in doubled frames" (Rahmani, with more details). Two inscriptions in black ink are written on the back of the ossuary: inscription (a) on the right-hand side, inscription (b) in the upper left corner; a third inscription (c) on the right-hand side of the lid (if indeed it is a letter, which seems doubtful).

Meas.: h (with lid) 40, w 59.5, d 25 cm. Inscriptions: (a) h 4.1, w 12.8 cm; letters 1-1.3 cm; (b) h 1, w 7.7 cm; letters 0.4 cm.

Findspot: Chamber A, in Loculus 2.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1968-1294, reg. no. ASOJS Jer 135/H XV. Autopsy: 1 June 2014.

- (a) ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΥΑΠΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΥ-ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣΑΓΡΙΠΠΕΙΝΗΣ
- (b) ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΥΑΠΕΛΕΥ ΘΕΡΟΥΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ· ΑΓΡΙΠΠΕΙΝΗΣ:ΣΟΡΟΣ
- (c)  $\Theta(?)$



fig. 2817.1 (a)

- (a) Θεοδότου ἀπελευθέρου | βασιλίσσης Άγριππείνης
- (b) Θεοδότου ἀπελευ|θέρου βασιλίσσης | Άγριππείνης σορός
- (c) Θ(εοδότου) (?)

- (a) and (b) (Ossuary) of Theodotus, freedman of Queen Agrippina.
- (c) (Belonging to the ossuary) of Theodotus(?).

Comm.: Theodotus was first a slave and later a freedman of "Queen" Agrippina. This Agrippina is without any doubt to be identified with Agrippina the Younger, wife of the Emperor Claudius, and mother of his suc-

cessor, Nero. The Greek designation "queen" must stand for the Latin Augusta, a name/title bestowed on her by the senate in 50 AD. The appearance of her name supplies the inscription with a *terminus post* and *ante quem*: it is unlikely that Agrippina's name would have been mentioned after 59 AD, when her son Nero tried to erase her memory by a *damnatio memoriae*. Accordingly, Theodotus should have been dead before 59 AD, and his inscriptions were written between 50 and 54 as stated in almost all the literature about this inscription).

It is not clear how Theodotus became Agrippina's slave. Hachlili and others thought he was Agrippina's slave in Rome, maybe taken prisoner in a revolt. Hachlili suggests that after his manumission he returned to Jericho and to his familiy. This is unlikely: Ro-



fig. 2817.2 (b)



fig. 2817.3 (c)



fig. 2817.4 (a) and (b)

man freedmen had obligations towards their patrons after their enfranchisement: had Theodotus been a slave of Agrippina in Rome, he would have been obliged to stay there.

Therefore, one must find another explanation for his being buried in the tomb of the Goliath family. Two explanations are possible: Theodotus may have lived as both slave and freedman in Rome and after his death his bones were transferred to his homeland. Another explanation seems more likely, however. The palm and balsam plantations near Jericho were imperial property. They were run by imperial slaves and freedmen as was all property in the *patrimonium Caesaris* everywhere in the provinces. Agrippina may well have received this property and its staff – in-

cluding Theodotus – from her husband, at the time (see Eck 1999, 252ff.; id., Rom und Judaea 170ff.). This accounts better for the burial of this Jewish freedman of Agrippina in the tomb of the Goliath family.

It is worth noting that although his status as a *libertus* of Agrippina is mentioned, the *nomen gentile* Iulius which he must have received when set free is not (cf. two freedwomen of Agrippina in CIL 6, 20384 and 37591). This public display of the status of a freedman of Agrippina demonstrates that Rome's social value system was acceptable to at least part of Jewish society. This is also implied by the uninhibited reference to  $\alpha \pi \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \dot{\nu} \theta \epsilon \rho o \beta \alpha \sigma i \lambda (\sigma \sigma \eta \epsilon' \lambda \gamma \rho i \pi \pi \epsilon i \nu \eta \epsilon)$  here.

The Greek name Theodotus is the equivalent of the Hebrew name Natanael—"gift of god" or "godsend." Rahmani reconstructed the name of the father of a certain Maria, buried in another ossuary of this familiy tomb, as Nat[an]el (cf. no. 2821). According to Hachlili (following Rahmani) this Maria was the daughter of Nat[an]el, daughter of Shlomsion (ed. pr.); furthermore, this "Natanael" should be identified with the Theodotus of the present inscription, whose original name, before his enslavement, was Natanael. This whole reconstruction is wrong: the name of Maria (of no. 2821) is followed by that of her *mother*: "Neta'el daughter of Shelamzin." The alleged identity of Theodotus with the alleged "Nat[an]el" is therefore invalid, as are the conclusions drawn from it. That Theodotus belonged in one way or the other to the Goliath family seems clear, but the precise relationship remains uncertain.

Bibl.: R. Hachlili, BASOR 235, 1979, 31-66 at 33 no. 3, figs. 40-43 (ph., dr.) (ed. pr.). - SEG 31, 1405; Keel - Küchler 513 no. 351; R. Hachlili - A. Killebrew, BAR 9, 1983, 44-53; iid., PEQ 115, 1983, 109-39 at 125; Kuhnen, Nordwest-Palästina 57, 63; id., Palästina in griechisch-römischer Zeit, 1990 fig. 2; D. Piatelli, in: A. Kasher - U. Rappaport - G. Fuks eds., Greece and Rome in Eretz Israel, 1990, 75-83 at 75f.; SEG 40, 1474; Van der Horst, Ancient Jewish Epitaphs 142; C. Barrett - C. Thornton, Texte zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments, 1991, 66 no. 63; S. Llewelyn, New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity 6, 1992, 162ff. no. 23; SEG 42, 1434; P. van der Horst, BAR 18, 1992, 46-57; id., BiZ 36, 1992, 161-78 at 177; R. Hachlili, NEAEHL 2, 1993, 693ff. at 694; G. Mussies, in: Early Jewish Epigraphy 253f.; Rahmani, CJO no. 789; M. Hengel, in: B. Funck ed., Hellenismus, 1996, 269-306 at 298; id., Judaica et Hellenistica. Kleine Schriften I 1996, 1-90 at 19f.; H. Cotton - W. Eck, RhM 140, 1997, 155 n.12; SEG 47, 2051; Williams, Jews 73 no. III,28; W. Eck, in: A. Oppenheimer ed., Jüdische Geschichte in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit, 1999, 237-63 at 252ff.; Hachlili - Killebrew 100ff. no. VIII 142-5 no. 3; J. Kloppenborg Verbin, JJS 51, 2000, 243-80 at 261f., 271ff.; Millard, Pergament und Papyrus 132f.; Y. Peleg, BASOR 325, 2002, 65-73 at 69f.; Evans 25f.; Hachlili, Funerary Customs 179, 183ff.; ead., in: N. Kokkinos ed., The World of the Herods 1, 2007, 247-78 at 258 no. 3a,b, 260ff.; SEG 57, 1828; Zugmann, Apostelgeschichte 286; Eck, Rom und Judaea 170ff.; id., NT 55, 2013, 1-21 at 5-8.

Photo: WE; Hachlili - Killebrew 105 fig. 3,47 VIII (lid).

# 2818. Ossuary of Ioezer son of Ismael with Greek inscriptions, ca. 10-70 CE

The front of the ossuary (ed. pr. no. XII) is decorated with three metopes containing six-petaled rosettes. A Greek inscription appears across the top, above the central rosette (a). A second two-line inscription is incised on the back side of the ossuary (b). The underside of the lid is also inscribed, lengthwise, less neatly, and with larger letters (c).

Meas.: box: h 29, w 54, d 22 cm (Rahmani); ll. (a) 9, (b) 33, (c) 45 cm; letters ca. (a) 2, (b) 9, (c) 10 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: Chamber B, before Loculi 12 and 13, in the family tomb in Jericho.

Pres. loc.: Reg. no. ASOJS Jer 135/H XII.

- (a) ΙΩΕΖΡΟΣ
- (b) ΙΩΕΖΡΟΣ ΙΣΜΑΗΛΟΥ
- (c) ΙΩΕΖΡΟΣΙΣΜΑΗΛΟΥ
- (a) Ἰωέζρος
- (b) Ἰωέζρος | Ἰσμαήλου
- (c) Ἰωέζρος Ἰσμαήλου
- (a) Ioezer.
- (b) and (c) Ioezer son of Ismael.

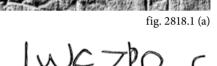


fig. 2818.2 (a)

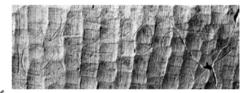


fig. 2818.3 (b)



fig. 2818.5 (c)



fig. 2818.6 (c)

fig. 2818.4 (b)

Comm.: This ossuary contained the remains of an adult male, 40 years old and crippled. The Greek orthography of the name Yoʻezer, derived from the Hebrew יהועזר yhwʻzr or in



fig. 2818.7 (a)

its contracted form יועזור  $yw^czr$ , does not match spellings in the LXX or Josephus. The name Ishmael is not uncommon in the Jewish onomasticon of the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods, appearing also among the priestly and rabbinic families of Jerusalem. On both names, see Rahmani p. 240. Mussies 253f. suggests that Jews did not name their sons after the son of Abraham, but rather because of the name's meaning "God will hear." The position of the third inscription on the inside of the lid is a reminder of the primary function of such texts as identifiers in multi-generational tombs.

Bibl.: R. Hachlili, BASOR 235, 1979, 31-66 no. 4 (ed. pr.). – Ead. - P. Smith, ibid., 67-70; SEG 31, 1407.2; G. Mussies, in: Early Jewish Epigraphy 242-76; Rahmani, CJO no. 793; Hachlili - Killebrew 100f., 142-55; Y. Peleg, BASOR 325, 2002, 65-73 at 69f.; Hachlili, Funerary Customs 179, 290ff., 294; Zugmann, Apostelgeschichte 212f.

Photo: Hachlili - Killebrew 106 fig. 3,48 12 F, 147 figs. 4,5a-c; R. Hachlili, BASOR 235, 1979, 37 figs. 7-9 (dr.).

NK

# 2819. Ossuary of Manaemus (=Menaḥem) son (?) of Simon with Greek inscription, ca. 10-70 CE

The front of the ossuary (ed. pr. no. XIII) is decorated with two metopes in zigzag frames. Inside the frame and along the left edge, a Greek inscription is incised vertically (a). On the more sparingly decorated right side, a second inscription appears at the top (b). Paleographically, note the lunate *sigma* and again the chair-like *eta*. Meas.: box: h 31, w 58.5, d 27 cm (Rahmani); ll. ca. (a) 28, (b) 20 cm; letters up to (a) 5.6, (b) 6.5 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: On the floor of Chamber B in the family tomb in Jericho. Pres. loc.: Reg. no. ASOJS Jer 135/H XIII.

- (a) ΜΑΝΑΗΜΟΣ
- (b) ΣΙΜΩΝ
- (a) Μανάημος
- (b) Σίμων
- (a) Manaemus (=Menahem).
- (b) Simon.



fig. 2819.1 (a)

fig. 2819.2 (a)



fig. 2819.3 (b)



fig. 2819.4 (b)



fig. 2819.5 (a)



fig. 2819.6 (b)

Comm.: This ossuary contained the remains of one male, aged 18-20 years. The names are common in the onomasticon of this period. Rather puzzling is the appearance of a second name also in the nominative case, placed on

the side of the vessel. For a patronymic, we would expect the genitive (though see Puech 508, for whom the name is indeclinable). Rahmani suggests that we may have a double name for the occupant or simply a mistake, as the ossuary of Simon, ossuary no. XIV (ed. pr.), was found nearby (see no. 2820; Rahmani, p. 241). However, as Hachlili points out, the findspots in fact point to a father-son relationship when taken with the anthropological data. Ossuary no. XIV (ed. pr.) contained the remains of an adult male, 40-50 years old, who Hachlili plausibly conjectures was the father of our Menaḥem.

Bibl.: R. Hachlili, BASOR 235, 1979, 31-66 no. 5 (ed. pr.). – Ead. - P. Smith, ibid., 67-70; SEG 31, 1407.3; Puech 481-533; Rahmani, CJO no. 794; Hachlili - Killebrew 100f., 142-55; Y. Peleg, BASOR 325, 2002, 65-73 at 69f.; Hachlili, Funerary Customs 179, 290ff., 294.

Photo: Hachlili - Killebrew 107 figs. 3,49 XIII F, R, 147 figs. 4,6a,b; R. Hachlili, BASOR 235, 1979, 37 figs. 10-11 (dr.).

## 2820. Ossuary of Simon with Greek inscription, ca. 10-70 CE

Front and sides of the ossuary (ed. pr. no. XIV) decorated with rosettes inside zigzag frames. On the front, these are inside two metopes. Written over the front's left rosette is a first inscription, incised vertically and read from the bottom (a). On the right side of the ossuary, incised over the rosette, is a second inscription (b). Paleographically, note again the lunate sigma.

Meas.: box: h 33, w 58, d 24 cm (Rahmani); l. ca. 15 cm; letters 5-7 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: On the floor of Chamber B in the family tomb in Jericho.

Pres. loc.: Reg. no. ASOJS Jer 135/H XIV.

- (a) and (b)  $\Sigma IM\Omega N$
- (a) and (b)  $\Sigma i \mu \omega \nu$
- (a) and (b) Simon.



fig. 2820.3 (b)



fig. 2820.5 (a)



fig. 2820.1 (a)



fig. 2820.2 (a)



fig. 2820.4 (b)

Comm.: Ossuary no. XIV (ed. pr.) contained the remains of an adult male, 40-50 years old. His name was Simon שמעון šmʿwn, which is one of the most common names of the period, appearing elsewhere in the Jericho cemetery (nos. 2819, 2830, 2831). It is spelled here with an *omega*, which is the typical, but not the only spelling in Jewish epigraphy.

Bibl.: R. Hachlili, BASOR 235, 1979, 31-66 no. 6 (ed. pr.). – Ead. - P. Smith, ibid., 67-70; SEG 31, 1407.4; Rahmani, CJO no. 795; Hachlili - Killebrew 100f., 142-55; Hachlili, Funerary Customs 179, 290ff., 294.

Photo: Hachlili - Killebrew 107 figs. 3,49 XIV F, R, 148 fig. 4,7a; R. Hachlili, BASOR 235, 1979, 38 figs. 12-13 (dr.).

NK

## 2821. Ossuary of Maria daughter of Neta'el with Aramaic inscription, 10-70 CE

Limestone ossuary (ed. pr. no. XV) decorated on front with two metopes, each with six-petaled rosette, separated by a triglyph representing a door; zigzag frames. Inscription (a) in Jewish script incised across the top of the "door" on the façade, another very similar inscription (b) inscribed on the back side, under the rim to the right, and a third inscription (c) on the top of the left side, text partly obscured by encrustration on stone.

Meas.: box: h 25, w 55, d 24 cm (Rahmani); ll. (a) 12, (b) 19, (c) 10 cm; letters ca. (a+b) 1.5, (c) 1-3 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: The floor of Chamber B in the family tomb in Jericho. Pres. loc.: Reg. no. ASOJS Jer 135/H XV.

- (a) מריה ברית נתאל שלמצין
- (b) מריה ברת נתאל בת שלמצין
- (c) [--] מריה ברת

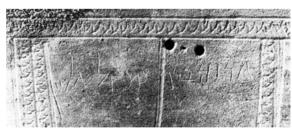


fig. 2821.1 (a)

Translit.: (a) mryh bryt nt'l šlmsyn

- (b) mryh brt nt'l bt šlmṣyn
- (c) mryh brt [--]
- (a) Maria, daughter of Neta'el (daughter of) Shelamzin.
- (b) Maria, daughter of Neta'el daughter of Shelamzin.
- (c) Maria, daughter of ...

# טריון באף צוב אל שלשין

fig. 2821.2 (a)

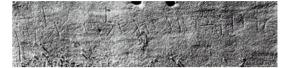


fig. 2821.3 (b)

טרון בריות פת זל בת שלסען

fig. 2821.4 (b)



fig. 2821.5 (c)

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fig. 2821.6 (c)

Comm.: The ossuary contained the bones of one woman aged ca. 40. Resolving the differences between inscriptions (a) and (b) will render the meaning. The *yod* in *bryt* in inscription (a) was probably a mistake and not (contra Hachlili) a diminutive, since *brt* is written correctly in the other two inscriptions. The proposal



fig. 2821.7 (b)

by Rahmani et al. to read tn(n) is vitiated by inscription (b), which clearly says that Neta'el is the *daughter* of Shelamzin; thus the inscriptions represent three generations of women, indicating perhaps the importance of the grandmother Shelamzin in the family structure and history. The spelling of her name is based on Naveh; it is a variation of Shelamzion (written variously, also as Shlomzion), com-

mon in the Second Temple period. This Shelamzin could be either the same woman as  $\Sigma \epsilon \lambda \alpha \mu \sigma i \omega$  in no. 2825 and therefore El'azar's wife, or as Salome in no. 2824, or someone completely different. The family knew.

Bibl.: R. Hachlili, BASOR 235, 1979, 31-66 no. 7 (ed. pr.). – Ead. - P. Smith, ibid., 67-70; J. Naveh, IOS 9, 1979, 17-31 at 18 n.6; R. Hachlili - A. Killebrew, Qadmoniot 14, 1981, 118-21 (Hebr.); Puech 505 no. 10; Rahmani, CJO no. 796; M. Hengel, Judaica et Hellenistica. Kleine Schriften I 1996, 1-90 at 19f.; Hachlili - Killebrew 142-55; Yardeni, Textbook A 237, B 83 no. 7; Y. Peleg, BASOR 325, 2002, 65-73 at 69f.; J. Price, in: E. Dąbrowa ed., The Roman Near East and Armenia, 2003, 39-45 at 41f.; Hachlili, Funerary Customs 179, 185f., 313-7.



fig. 2821.8 (c)

Photo: R. Hachlili, BASOR 235, 1979, 38f., figs. 14-17 (ph. and dr.); Hachlili - Killebrew 107 figs. 3,49 XV B, L, 148 figs. 4,8 b,c.

JJP

## 2822. Ossuary of Yeho'ezer the Ezobite with Aramaic inscription, 10-70 CE

Limestone ossuary (ed. pr. no. XVI), façade decorated by two incised six-petaled rosettes inside notched frame; right side with similar single rosette and frame. Two single-line inscriptions (a) and (b) in Jewish script, identical text written by different hands, on the blank left side; one word incised in Jewish script between two upper petals of rosette on right side (c); repeated text incised in Jewish script by same hand, on the edges of the lid (d).

Meas.: box: h 21.5, w 37.5, d 19.5 cm (Rahmani); ll. (a) 7, (b) 12, (c) 6, (d) 6.5 and 11 cm; letters 1-2 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: Chamber B, on the floor below Loculus 15, in the family tomb in Jericho. Pres. loc.: Reg. no. ASOJS Jer 135/H XVI.

- (a) יהועזר אזביא
- (b) יהועזר אזביא
- (c) אזביא

イントインスノイノ

fig. 2822.1 (a)

(d) יהועזר אזביא יהועזר אזביא

Translit.: (a), (b), (d) yhw'zr 'zby' (c) 'zby'

- (a), (b), (d) Yeho'ezer the Ezobite.
- (c) The Ezobite.

Comm.: The ossuary contained the bones of a four-year-old, and all inscriptions on the box refer to him. Repetition of the name of the deceased can be seen as a sign of grief and mourning. According to Hachlili, the same hand incised these inscriptions and those in no. 2827. Hachlili

in ed. pr. interpreted the epithet as אקביא 'qby', a personal name based on the root

עקב, the initial avin becoming alef. But Puech demonstrated that the second letter must be a zavin, and this reading was followed by Naveh (in IEJ; he originally accepted Hachlili's reading in 1979), Rahmani and Yardeni. The place where this Yeho'ezer was born can be identified as Βηθεζουβα, a town in the Transjordan, thus not far from Jericho, mentioned by Josephus, BJ 6,201 (cf. Rahmani). The epithet was added to the name of the deceased in order to identify him precisely and distinguish him from other family members with the same name. Note that the infant Yeho'ezer the Ezobite in no. 2827 had to be distinguished further from this homonymous relative by the addition of a nickname.

Bibl.: R. Hachlili, BASOR 235, 1979, 31-66 no. 8 (ed. pr.). – Ead. - P. Smith, ibid., 67-70;

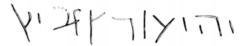


fig. 2822.2 (b)



fig. 2822.3 (c)

V1 27Y

fig. 2822.4 (c)



fig. 2822.5 (d)

イフトノノスタ

イノンアイノアノイノ

fig. 2822.6 (d)

J. Naveh, IOS 9, 1979, 17-31 at 18 n.6; Puech 508-11 no. 13; J. Naveh, IEJ 40, 1990, 108-123 at 118 n.22; Rahmani, CJO no. 797; Hachlili - Killebrew 142-55; Yardeni, Textbook A 237, B 83 no. 8; Hachlili, Funerary Customs 179f., 186f., 208f.

Photo: R. Hachlili, BASOR 235, 1979, 39 figs. 18-23 (ph. and dr.).

# 2823. Ossuary of Yeho'ezer son of Yeho'ezer Goliath with Greek and Aramaic inscriptions, ca. 10-70 CE

A first Greek inscription (a) appears on the right side of the ossuary (ed. pr. no. XVIII), above a six-petaled rosette and beneath the line frame; a second, in Jewish script (b), appears below that; a third, larger Greek inscription (c) is incised lengthwise on the face of the lid.

Meas.: box: h 37.5, w 63, d 24 cm (Rahmani); ll. ca. (a) 20, (b) 8.5, (c) 55 cm; letters up to ca. (a+b) 1, (c) 6.2 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: Chamber B, Loculus 14 of the family tomb in Jericho.

Pres. loc.: Reg. no. ASOJS Jer 135/H XVIII.

- (a) ΙΩΕΖΡΟΣ·ΙΩΕΖΡΟΥ·ΓΟΛΙΑΘΟΥ
- (b) יהועזר בר יהועזר גלית
- (c) ΙΟΕΖΡΟΣΙΟΕΖΡΟΥΓΟΛΙΑΘΟΥ
- (a) Ίωέζρος Ἰωέζρου Γολιάθου
- (b) יהועזר בר יהועזר גלית
- (c) Ἰοέζρος Ἰοέζρου Γολιάθου

Translit.: (b) yhw'zr br yhw'zr glyt

- (a) and (c) Ioezer son of Ioezer Goliath.
- (b) Yeho'ezer son of Yeho'ezer Goliath.

Comm.: The ossuary contained the remains of a male, aged 20-50 years. The inscriptions identify the occupant as one of seven individuals in the family named Y(eh)o'ezer. The repetition of the name and the curiosity of father and son sharing it has been explained with reference to the noble and possibly priestly status of the family (Hachlili, Funerary Customs 202). The nickname Goliath appears on four ossuaries three from Loculus 14 - in both Jewish and Greek script (see also nos. 2816, 2824 and 2825). In this inscription, the genitive case of Goliath (Γολιάθου) assigns that name to the homonymous father; see further, comm to no. 2824. The

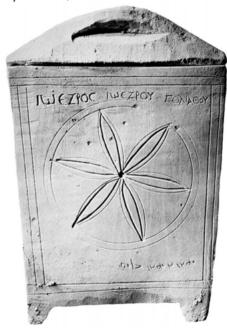


fig. 2823.1 (a) and (b)

Fig. 2823.2 (a)



fig. 2823.3 (b)

のいし とかんんび

fig. 2823.4 (b)

appearance of the nickname Goliath in the Jewish script patronymic of ossuary no. II (no. 2816) implies its existence in at least two of the three generations represented in the tomb. Hachlili suggests that the nickname persisted because the family was exceptionally tall, but in fact the epi-



fig. 2823.5 (c)

# IDEZPOTIO EZPOTIONIABOT

fig. 2823.6 (c)

thet could have applied only to certain individuals and not the whole family, see comm. to no. 2816. Interestingly, the individual whom Hachlili presumes to be the patriarch in ossuary no. XXI (no. 2826), was estimated to have stood 188.5 cm (ed. pr. 52); he is not, however, called Goliath in his inscription. Josephus mentions an Eleazarus nicknamed "Giant" ( $\Gamma$ ( $\gamma\alpha\varsigma$ ), a slave sent to Tiberius by Artabanus III, king of Parthia (AJ 18,103; Columella, cf. M. Stern, Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism I 1974, 426f.). Mussies raises the possibility that the slave Eleazarus in Josephus was in fact an ancestor of this family. The reference is Biblical: Goliath is described as "the mighty man of Gath" (1 Sam 17,4). For nicknames based upon physical characteristics and the surprising appearance of the names of historical enemies in the Jewish onomasticon, see Hachlili, Funerary Customs 219ff.

Bibl.: R. Hachlili, BASOR 235, 1979, 31-66 no. 9 (ed. pr.). – Ead. - P. Smith, ibid., 67-70; SEG 31, 1407.5; S. Llewelyn, New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity 6, 1992, 162ff. no. 23; G. Mussies, in: Early Jewish Epigraphy 255; Rahmani, CJO no. 799; Hachlili - Killebrew 100f., 142-55; Yardeni, Textbook A 237, B 83 no. 9; Y. Peleg, BASOR 325, 2002, 65-73 at 69f.; Hachlili, Funerary Customs 180, 182f., 202, 208f., 219ff., 290ff., 294.

Photo: R. Hachlili, BASOR 235, 1979, 41 figs. 27-30 (ph. and dr.); Hachlili - Killebrew 150 fig. 4,10c.

NK/JJP

# 2824. Ossuary of Salome wife of Ioezer Goliath and her sons Ismael and Ioezer with Greek inscription, ca. 10-70 CE

The front of the ossuary (ed. pr. no. XIX) is decorated with two whirl rosettes inside a zigzag frame. Between the rosettes and beneath the frame is an inscription in three lines.

Meas.: box: h 35, w 68.5, d 28 cm (Rahmani); l. ca. 30 cm; letters ca. 1-3 cm (ed. pr.).



fig. 2824.1

Findspot: Chamber B, in the front, left of Loculus 14, in the family tomb in Jericho. Pres. loc.: Reg. no. ASOJS Jer 135/H XIX.

# ΣΑΛΩΜΗΓΥΝΗΙΩΕΖΡΟΥΓΟΛΙΑΘΟΥ ΚΑΙΙΣΜΑΗΛΟΣΥΙΟΣΚΑΙ ΙΩΕΖΡΟΣΥΙΟΣ

Σαλώμη γυνὴ Ἰωέζρου Γολιάθου | καὶ Ἰσμάηλος υίὸς καὶ | Ἰωέζρος υίός

Salome wife of Ioezer Goliath and (her) son Ismael and (her) son Ioezer.

Comm.: The ossuary contained the remains of two individuals: a female, 40-50 years of age, and a child, 3-4 years old. The bones of a second child would seem to be missing. In fact, this is the only ossuary with inscriptions that are not corroborated by the anthropological findings (Hachlili - Smith 67). The ossuary is "damaged; badly worn and disintegrating" (Rahmani). The burials in Tomb H were disturbed both in antiquity and in more recent times. Salome's husband was presumably interred in ossuary no. XVII (see ed. pr., without inscription), set adjacent in Loculus 14. Her parents-in-law

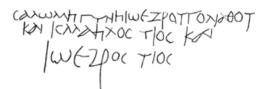


fig. 2824.2

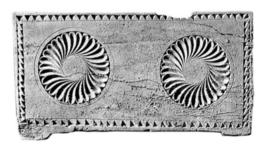


fig. 2824.3

are located nearby too (nos. 2825, 2826). This is another example of the wife of one of the family's sons receiving burial in the family tomb. However, it should be noted that if the genealogy of Hachlili and Smith is maintained, we may have to qualify the notion of Goliath as a "family name." Put another way, the naming practice is inconsistent. Hachlili writes, "in each inscription where the name Goliath appears, it is added to the personal name and family relation of the interred individual" (ed. pr. 52). Yet on his own ossuary, Salome's presumed husband is *not* called as here Ioezer Goliath, but rather Ioezer, *the son of Ioezer Goliath* (no. 2823; Γολιάθου). His wife and indeed his mother (no. 2825) refer to him as Ioezer Goliath, but he himself piously cedes the nickname to his father! For the names Yoʻezer and Ishmael, see no. 2818. For the name of Salome and its relation to the name Shelamzion, see Hachlili, Funerary Customs 199. Some believe that Salome is the late-Second Temple version of the name Shelamzion, which had been popularized earlier by the Hasmonaean dynasty.

Bibl.: Hachlili, BASOR 235, 1979, 31-66 no. 10 (ed. pr.). – Ead. - P. Smith, ibid., 67-70; SEG 31, 1407.6; Rahmani, CJO no. 800; Hachlili - Killebrew 100f., 142-55; Y. Peleg, BASOR 325, 2002, 65-73 at 69f.; Hachlili, Funerary Customs 180, 182f., 199, 208f., 290ff., 294; Zugmann, Apostelgeschichte 212f.

Photo: R. Hachlili, BASOR 235, 1979, 43 figs. 35, 36 (ph. and dr.); Hachlili - Killebrew 109 fig. 3,50 XIX F.

NK

# 2825. Ossuary of Shelamsion mother of Yo'ezer Goliath with Greek and Aramaic inscriptions, ca. 10-70 CE

Limestone ossuary (ed. pr. no. XX), front side decorated with two six-petaled rosettes and zigzag frame; single rosettes inside zigzag frame on right and left sides. Greek inscription (a) on the right side, above the rosette and beneath the zigzag frame; another inscription in Jewish script (b) on the bottom of the right side, between the circle and the frame. Another Greek inscription (c), incised by a different hand from (a), lengthwise on the lid.

Meas.: box: h 33.5, w 57, d 24.5 cm (Rahmani); ll. ca. (a) 17, (b) 9, (c) 48 cm; letters ca. (a+b) 1, (c) 5 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: Chamber B, in the back, on the right side of Loculus 14 in the family tomb in Jericho.

Pres. loc.: Reg. no. ASOJS Jer 135/H XX.

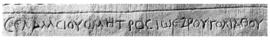


fig. 2825.1 (a)

- (a) ΣΕΛΑΜΣΙΟΥΣΜΗΤΡΟΣΙΩΕΖΡΟΥΓΟΛΙΑΘΟΥ
- שלמשיון המה די יועזר גלית (b)
- (c) ΣΕΛΑΜΣΙΟΥΣΜΗΤΡΟΣΙΟΕΖΡΟΥΓΟΛΙΑΘΟΥ

CENAMCIOY CMHT POCIMEZPOY PONIABOY

fig. 2825.2 (a)

- (a) Σελαμσιοῦς μητρὸς Ἰωέζρου Γολιάθου
- (b) שלמשיון המה די יועזר גלית
- (c) Σελαμσιοῦς μητρὸς Ἰοέζρου Γολιάθου

Translit.: (b) šlmśywn hmh dy ywʻzr glyt

- (a) and (c) Of Selamsio mother of Ioezer Goliath.
- (b) Shelamsion mother of Yo'ezer Goliath.

Comm.: This ossuary contained the remains of a woman, 50-60 years old. At the time of her death, the woman had fused thoracic vertebrae. According to the genealogy of Hachlili and Smith, this Shelamzion was the matriarch of the entire family, who long outlived her husband, Yeho'ezer (Goliath) son of El'azar (no. 2826), but this supposition can-

not be verified. In Loculus

14, she was interred near her son, daughter-in-law, husband, and at least one grandson. Her long and presumably active widowhood is understood to be behind the curious omission of her husband's name. That she names her son is not surprising (see Hachili, Funerary Customs 198, but with no further examples; see further Rahmani no. 98). It is important here to note the correct form of her Greek name, Selamsiô (Σελαμσιώ), which some editions garble (the name on the lid was mistranscribed as  $\Sigma E \Lambda A M \Sigma I O \Sigma$  by Hachlili in ed. pr. and reported thus in SEG 31, 1407.7; for the correct form, see comm. of Rahmani). For the Hebrew name Shelamzion, see comm. to nos. 2821 and 2824. On the lid, the variant spelling of the family's favorite personal name Ioezer with omicron seems to have been prompted by considerations of space. The reading of the Aramaic



fig. 2825.3 (b)

# 410 hay, 240x 11.40/+

fig. 2825.4 (b)



fig. 2825.5 (c)

# CENAMUMIMHTMI HEROY FONIABOY

fig. 2825.6 (c)

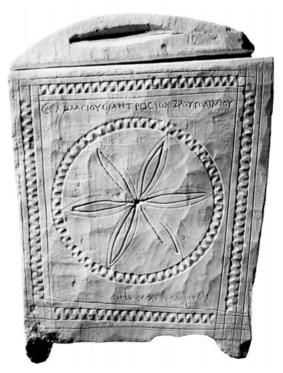


fig. 2825.7 (a and b)

text is based on Naveh, who explains the *he* instead of *alef* in *hmh* as an example of "the weakening of gutturals." Hachlili speculates that the same hand wrote the Aramaic inscriptions on this ossuary and no. 2823.

Bibl.: R. Hachlili, BASOR 235, 1979, 31-66 no. 11 (ed. pr.). – Ead. - P. Smith, ibid., 67-70; SEG 31, 1407.7; J. Naveh, IOS 9, 1979, 17-31 at 18 n.6; Beyer, Aramäische Texte 348 no. yJR 4; Rahmani, CJO no. 801; Hachlili - Killebrew 100f., 142-55; Yardeni, Textbook A 237, B 83 no. 11; Y. Peleg, BASOR 325, 2002, 65-73 at 69f.; Hachlili, Funerary Customs 180ff., 198, 208f., 290ff., 294.

Photo: Hachlili - Killebrew 151 figs. 4,11a-c; R. Hachlili, BASOR 235, 1979, 42 figs. 31-34 (ph. and dr.).

NK/JJP

# 2826. Ossuary of Yeho'ezer son of El'azar with Greek and Aramaic inscriptions, ca. 10-70 CE

Limestone ossuary (ed. pr. no. XXI), façade ornamented with two unusually stylized rosettes and frame. Two-line inscription in Jewish script (a) on the façade, in the upper left-hand corner; one-line Greek inscription (b) on the undecorated right side, beneath the rim.

Meas.: box: h 37, w 65, d 30 cm (Rahmani); ll. ca. (a) 8.5 and 5.5, (b) 25 cm; letters ca. (a) 4, (b) 6 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: Chamber B, in the back and on the left side of Loculus 14 in the family tomb in Jericho.

Pres. loc.: Reg. no. ASOJS Jer 135/H XXI.

- יהועזרבר (a) אלעזר
- (b) ΕΛΕΑΖΑΡΟΣ
- (a) יהועזר בר | אלעזר
- (b) Έλεάζαρος

Translit.: (a) yhw'zr br | 'l'zr

- (a) Yeho'ezer son of El'azar.
- (b) Eleazarus.

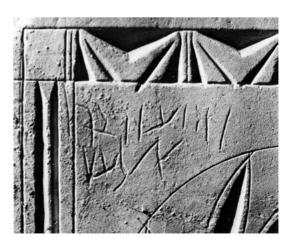


fig. 2826.1 (a)



fig. 2826.2 (a)



fig. 2826.3 (b)

Comm.: The ossuary contained the remains of one male, 25-30 years old. Significantly, the man (H30) was very tall (ca. 188.5 cm, from femurs 53 cm; cf. three other tall males, H10, H12, and

H20) (Hachlili – Smith). This is the only ossuary in Loculus 14 which does not bear an inscription stating a family relationship. Instead it bears two names: one name, Yeho'ezer, with patronymic El'azar in Jewish script; and another name in Greek, simply Eleazarus. The second name is very common in the onomasticon of the period and was also dear to the Goliath family. Hachlili under-

stands the (by ancient standards) enormous man interred in this ossuary to be Yeho'ezer son of El'azar (Goliath), the patriarch and original "Goliath." This supposition if true makes a neat association in Loculus 14 between husband and wife (ossuary ed. pr. no. XX=no. 2825), daughter-in-law (ossuary ed. pr. no. XIX=no. 2824) and son (ossuary ed. pr. no. XVIII=no. 2823). As Rahmani points out, given that only one man's bones were recovered, it is puzzling to find Ελεάζαρος. While a genitive would make more sense, this does seem to be a repetition of Yeho'ezer's patronymic. Perhaps it functioned to distinguish further this ossuary from that of the man's homonymous son laid to rest nearby.



fig. 2826.4 (b)

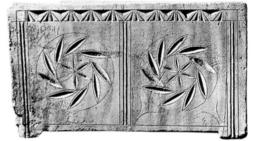


fig. 2826.5 (a)



fig. 2826.6 (b)

Bibl.: R. Hachlili, BASOR 235, 1979, 31-66 no. 12 (ed. pr.). – Ead. - P. Smith, ibid., 67-70; SEG 31, 1407.8; R. Hachlili, EI 17, 1984, 188-211 (Hebr.); Rahmani, CJO no. 802; Hachlili - Killebrew

100f., 142-55; Yardeni, Textbook A 237, B 83 no. 12; Beyer, Aramäische Texte II 278 no. yJR4.5; Hachlili, Funerary Customs 180ff., 199, 290ff., 294.

Photo: R. Hachlili, BASOR 235, 1979, 44 figs. 37-39 (ph. and dr.); Hachlili - Killebrew 110 figs. 3,51 21F, L, 152 fig. 4,13b.

NK/JJP

# 2827. Ossuary of Yeho'ezer the Ezobite "the cinnamon" with Aramaic inscription, ca. 10-70 CE

Limestone ossuary (ed. pr. no. XXII), façade decorated with two six-petaled rosettes inside line frame, right and left sides identical with one six-petaled rosette inside line frame. Two-line inscription (a) in Jewish script incised on plain back side. Lengthwise on the lid, the place-name is repeated twice in Jewish script (b). Meas.: box: h 19.5, w 32.5, d 16.5 cm (Rahmani); ll. ca. (a) 21 and 6.5, (b) 9 cm; letters ca. (a) 1-2, (b) 0.5-1.5 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: Chamber B, Loculus 15 in the family tomb in Jericho. Pres. loc.: Reg. no. ASOJS Jer 135/H XXII.

- (a) יהועזר אזביא קנמומא אזביא
- (b) אזביא אזביא



fig. 2827.1 (a)

Translit.: (a) yhw'zr 'zby' qnmwm' | 'zby' (b) 'zby' 'zby'

- (a) Yeho'ezer the Ezobite "the cinnamon," the Ezobite.
- (b) The Ezobite, the Ezobite.



fig. 2827.2 (a)

Comm.: The ossuary contained the bones of an infant. He had the same name and place-name as the child interred in the same loculus and recorded in no. 2822, see comm. ad loc. The term

of endearment "cinnamon," aside from showing real affection, would have helped to distinguish the two homonymous children in the cave.

Bibl.: R. Hachlili, BASOR 235, 1979, 31-66 no. 13 (ed. pr.). – Ead. - P. Smith, ibid., 67-70; J. Naveh, IOS 9, 1979, 17-31 at 18 n.6; R. Hachlili - A. Killebrew, Qadmoniot 14, 1981, 118-21 (Hebr.); Puech 508-11; R. Hachlili, EI 17, 1984, 188-211 (Hebr.); J.

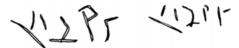


fig. 2827.3 (b)



fig. 2827.4 (a)

Naveh, IEJ 40, 1990, 108-23 at 118 n.22; Rahmani, CJO no. 803; Hachlili - Killebrew 142-55; Yardeni, Textbook A 237, B 83 no. 13; Beyer, Aramäische Texte II 278 no. yJR4.5; Hachlili, Funerary Customs 180, 187, 228-31 at 229.

Photo: R. Hachlili, BASOR 235, 1979, 40 figs. 24-26 (ph. and dr.); Hachlili - Killebrew 110 fig. 3,49 XXII B.

JJP

## 2828. Ossuary lid with Greek inscription, ca. 10-70 CE

A Greek inscription written in charcoal appears on the underside of a vaulted lid, found in a secondary context, but believed to belong to ossuary ed. pr. no. VI. Meas.: h ca. 50, w ca. 10 cm; letters 5-10 cm (Hachlili - Killebrew).

Findspot: Chamber A, between Loculi 1 and 2 in the family tomb in Jericho. Pres. loc.: Reg. no. ASOJS Jer 135/H VI.

ΑΒΓΔ

EΖ

ΗΘ

I

Φ





fig. 2828.1

Comm.: A stray lid was found in a deep pit cut into the bedrock of Chamber A (Hachlili 1984, 27 n.2). Such a pit is a formal feature of many of the first-century CE Judean tombs that contain ossuaries in loculi. It allowed a person to stand upright inside the chamber, and its sides served as benches (Hachlili 1980, 236). The lid was positioned standing in the northwestern corner of the pit, with its inscribed side facing the tomb's entrance (ed. pr. 47). The lid is believed to belong to ossuary ed. pr. no. VI, also found in Chamber A, but between Loculi 1 and 2. This inscription is the only one of the group in charcoal, and in many ways it represents the greatest mystery. Hachlili and Killebrew surmised that it was inscribed "sometime during the use of the tomb" (Hachlili - Killebrew 145). According to the archaeologists, then, it represents a pre-70 CE disturbance. Chamber A also contained a second pit, close to the entrance, "filled with a large pile of skulls and bones," as was Loculus 8 of the same chamber (ed. pr. 31). It seems clear that some shifting around of bones took place before the tomb went out of use. This explains the findspot of the inscription, but does it help with its content? The text is plainly a Greek abecedary, though the zeta is turned on its side and the theta is incomplete. The initial seven, or likely eight letters of the Greek alphabet are written above a double line, beneath which we find a phi. (This letter is secure, cf. Hachlili in ed. pr.). Abecedaries have been found in several locations in Iudaea/Palaestina; cf. nos. 2788, 2803, 3329, 3400, 3736, 3843; interestingly, a Greek abecedary found at Beth Sheʿarim (Schwabe - Lifshitz, Beth Sheʿarim II no. 73) also terminates at *iota*. Hachlili's view that the letters were meant to have magical or apotropaic force is much discussed (most fully by de Vaate). The erection of the lid in the corner of the pit lends the view support. However, suggestions that *phi* is a symbol rather than a letter, and that the text may be the result of ordering the contents of the tomb are also intriguing (Hachlili 1984, 27). Might *phi* not be the alphanumeric equivalent of 21? (For more typical alphabetic numerals, see McLean, Introduction to Greek Epigraphy 62.) While the remains of 31 humans were recovered from ossuaries, an indefinite number came from the aforementioned second pit of Chamber A. If the pits are contemporaneous, could the inscription derive from a late body count?

Bibl.: R. Hachlili, BASOR 235, 1979, 31-66 no. 14 (ed. pr.). – Ead. - P. Smith, ibid., 67-70; R. Hachlili, Biblical Archaeologist 43, 1980, 235-40; SEG 31, 1406; R. Hachlili, Cathedra 31, 1984, 27-30 (Hebr.); S. Llewelyn, New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity 6, 1992, 162ff. no. 23; A. de Vaate, in: Early Jewish Epigraphy 148-61; Rahmani, CJO no. 787; Hachlili - Killebrew 100f., 142-55; Hachlili, Funerary Customs 180, 188, 199, 290ff., 294, 508.

Photo: R. Hachlili, BASOR 235, 1979, 47 figs. 45, 46 (ph. and dr.).

NK

# 2829.-2831. Burial Cave D1 at Jericho

Two inscribed ossuaries (nos. 2829, 2830) and an inscribed funerary bowl (no. 2831) were found in the same unlooted loculus in the burial cave at Jericho which the excavators dubbed D1.

## 2829. Ossuary of Pelatya with Aramaic inscription, early 1 c. CE

Limestone ossuary, façade ornamented with two six-petaled rosettes inside zigzag frame; two-line inscription in formal Jewish script "lightly incised with a chisel" (Hachlili - Killebrew) on the left side; medial *mem* in final position.

Meas.: box: h 31.5, w 55, d 25.5 cm (Rahmani); letters ca. 1.5-3.5 cm (from scale in Hachlili - Killebrew 157 fig. 4,18).

Pres. loc.: Reg. no. ASOJS Jer 119/19.

פלטיאמן ירושלמ

פלטיא מן | ירושלם

Translit.: plţy' mn | yrwšlm

Pelatya from Jerusalem.







fig. 2829.2

Comm.: This ossuary was found on top of the ossuary bearing the inscription no. 2830. For the name and the relation of the deceased to the others in the tomb, see comm. to no. 2831.

Bibl.: R. Hachlili, BASOR 230, 1978, 45-56 (ed. pr.). – Ead., BAR 5, 1979, 28-35 at 34; ead., Qadmoniot 12, 1979, 62-6 at 64f. (Hebr.); J. Naveh, IOS 9, 1979, 17-31; R. Hachlili, Biblical Archaeologist 43, 1980, 235-40 at 238ff.; ead., EI 15, 1981, 406-11 (Hebr.); Beyer, Aramäische Texte 347 no. yJR 3; Naveh, On Sherd and Papyrus 192 (Hebr.); Rahmani, CJO no. 777; Hachlili - Killebrew 97, 157; Hachlili, Funerary Customs 188ff., 210-3; B. Zissu - Y. Goren, IEJ 61, 2011, 74-95 at 78.

Photo: Hachlili - Killebrew 157 fig. 4,18; D. Behar - T. Sagiv, BASOR 230, 1978, 51 figs. 8, 9 (ph. and dr.).



fig. 2829.3

JJP/AY

## 2830. Ossuary of Simon with Greek inscription, 1 c. CE

Limestone ossuary, the front is decorated with three rosettes in zigzag frames. Superimposed over the top of the left and center rosettes is a Greek inscription. Meas.: box: h 27, w 54, d 23 cm (Rahmani); letters ca. 1-2 cm (from scale in Hachlili - Killebrew 157 fig. 4,19).

Pres. loc.: Reg. no. ASOJS Jer 119/20.

#### ΣΙΜΩΝΟΣΙΜΑ

Σίμωνος (ἐτῶν) μα'

(Ossuary) of Simon, 41 years old.

Comm.: The ossuary contained the remains of one male, 40-50 years old. The inscription here identifies the occupant as Simon and gives his age at death. The name is one of the most common in the



fig. 2830.1

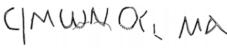


fig. 2830.2

onomasticon of the period. The alphanumeric form of his age and the siglum L for "years" are both epigraphically standard (see McLean, Introduction to Greek Epigraphy 149f.). Yet the siglum, which ultimately derives from Ptolemaic documents, is rare on ossuaries (cf. CIIP I 332). On his relation to the other two names mentioned in the tomb, see comm. to no. 2831.

Bibl.: Reported, transcribed, and discussed in R. Hachlili, BASOR 230, 1978, 45-56, but first published in SEG 31, 1408 (edd. prr.). – R. Hachlili, Qadmoniot 12, 1979, 62-6 at 65 (Hebr.); ead., BAR 5, 1979, 28-35 at 34; ead., Biblical Archaeologist 43, 1980, 235-40 at 238ff.; ead., EI 15, 1981, 406-11 (Hebr.); Rahmani, CJO no. 778; Hachlili - Killebrew, 97, 100, 157; E. Regev, PEQ 133, 2001, 39-49 at 43, 47; Hachlili, Funerary Customs 188ff.

Photo: T. Sagiv, BASOR 230, 1978, 53 fig. 12; R. Hachlili, EI 15, 1981, 409 fig. 6 (dr.).

NK

# 2831. Aramaic inscribed funerary bowl mentioning Yishmʿaʾel son of Shimʿon, early 1 c. CE

A bowl bearing two inscriptions, one (a) on the inside and the other (b) on the outside. The letters were painted on the bowl in a Jewish cursive script of the early Herodian period.

Meas.: bowl: ca. h 5, ø 13 cm; letters ca. 1-1.5 cm.

- (a) ישמעאלברשמעוןברפלטא[..]ירשלם
- ישמעאלברפלטא שמעוומוירשלם שמעוומוירשלם



fig. 2831.1 (a)

- (a) ישמעאל בר שמעון בר פלטא [מן] ירשלם
- (b) שמעון מן ירשלם בר פלטא | ישמעאל בר

Translit.: (a) yšm'`l br šm'wn br plṭ' [mn] yršlm.

- (b) yšm'`l br plṭ' | šm'wn mn yršlm.
- (a) Yishm'a'el son of Shim'on son of Pelata from Jerusalem.
- (b) Yishm'a'el son of Pelata, Shim'on from Jerusalem.



Comm.: The beginning of inscription (a) is marked with an oblique line before the name Yishmʻa'el. The language is apparently Aramaic, as indicated by the words br ("son of") and mn ("from"), although these may occasionally be found also in Hebrew inscriptions. The personal name Pelaṭa seems to be a hypocoristicon of the Biblical name Pelaṭiah ("YH saved," Neh 10,23); the name occurs in rabbinic sourc-

es (Ilan, Lexicon II 161) and in the synagogue inscription from Rehov (in Negev, unpublished). Both Pelața and Shim'on were interred in this tomb, but their respective relation to Yishm'a'el and each other is given differently in the two inscriptions on the bowl, if the Yishm'a'el mentioned in each is the same person. Hachlili prefers inscription (a) because of the precise indication of genealogy; inscription (b) does not mention Shim'on's relation to the others, and "was an addition which again mentioned the author and his relationship to the family and added the fact that Shim'on was from Jerusalem, as it was missing from Shim'on's ossuary inscription [no. 2830]" (Hachlili - Killebrew 157). If so, then the father Shim'on probably died before the grandfather since his ossuary was found *under* Pelațya's (no. 2829).

Bibl.: R. Hachlili, BASOR 230, 1978, 45-56 (ed. pr.). – Ead., Qadmoniot, 1979, 62-6 (Hebr.); ead., BAR 5, 1979, 28-35 at 34; ead., Biblical Archaeologist 43, 1980, 235-40 at 238ff.; ead., EI 15, 1981, 406-11 (Hebr.); Keel - Küchler 512f. no. 350; Beyer, Aramäische Texte 347 no. yJR 2a,b; D. Goodblatt, JSJ 38, 1987, 38-55 at 43; Hachlili, Jewish Art 97f., pl. 15 no. 15; ead., NEAEHL 2, 1993, 693ff.; ead. - Killebrew 97-100, 155-8; Millard, Pergament und Papyrus 94ff.; Yardeni, Textbook A 219, B 77; Hachlili, Funerary Customs 188ff., 210-3; E. Eshel - A. Kloner - É. Puech, BASOR 345, 2007, 39-62 at 40.

Photo: Hachlili, Funerary Customs pls. 5,12 a and b; 5,16 a and b (ph. and dr.).

AY/JJP

# 2832. Ossuary of Yehosef with Aramaic inscription, 1 c. CE

Broken and partly reconstructed ornamented limestone ossuary, a two-line inscription in Jewish script very faintly incised on the upper right side.

Meas.: box: h 25, w 62, d 21.5 cm (Rahmani).

Findspot: "Tomb A2" in Jericho. Pres. loc.: Reg. no. ASOJS Jer 119/12.

יהוסף | בר יתרא ו[--]

Translit.: yhwsp | br ytr' w[--]

Yehosef son of Yitra and ...



fig. 2832.1

Comm.: Not having autopsied the ossuary, we rely on the transcription by Rahmani, which is not entirely certain (requiring a ligature of *tav* and partial *alef*) but seems more precise than Hachlili's transcription rendering "Yehosef Yehosef." Yitra is a Biblical name which appears on another ossuary from Jerusalem, CIIP I 459.

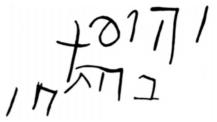


fig. 2832.2

Bibl.: Rahmani, CJO no. 773 (ed. pr.). - Hachlili - Killebrew 97, 158.

Photo: Rahmani, CJO 235 no. 773 (dr.), pl. 110 no. 773 R.

IJΡ

# 2833. Greek funerary mosaic of Abbot Cyriacus

Mosaic pavement, divided into two parts, one ornamental, and the other is inscribed (gray-blue tesserae on white ground). Parts of the ornament were repaired in antiquity. Meas.: mosaic: h 2.97, w 2.77 m; inscription: h 2.35, w 0.82 m.

Findspot: Housed in the northwest corner of the garden of the Russian hospice when first seen by Abel. Taha - Qleibo report that the mosaic can still be found "within a building belonging to the Russians."

(cross) **OHKHMAKAPI** ΩΤΑΤΟΥΚΥΡΙΑ ΚΟΥΠΡΕΣΒΓ **ΓΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ** ΤΟΥΓΣΥΝΣΤΗ ΣΑΜΕΝΟΥΤΟ ΕΥΑΓΕΣΕΥΚΤΗ ΡΙΟΝΤΟΥΑΓΙΟΥ **ΓΕΝΔΟΞΟΥΜΑΡ** ΤΥΡΟΣΓΕΩΡΓΙ ΟΥΙΔΩΡΗΣΑΜΕ ΝΩΤΗΑΓΙΩΤΑΓ ΝΕΑΕΚΛΗΣΙΑΤΗΣ ΕΝΔΟΞΟΥΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ ΕΝ ΤΈΡΟΣΟΛΥΜΟΙΣΕ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΣΕΝΜΗΝΙ  $\Delta$ EKENBPIO $\Upsilon$  $\overline{IA}$  $\overline{IN}$  $\Delta$  $\Gamma$ ΙΕΒΑΣΙΛΙΑΣΤΟΥΔΕΣ ΠΟΤΟΥΗΜΩΝΦΛΑΓ ΊΟΥΣΤΙΝΟΥΕΤΟΥΣ TOB (cross)





fig. 2833.1

θήκη μακαρι|ωτάτου Κυρια|κοῦ, πρεσβ(υτέρου) | (καὶ) ἡγουμένου, | τοῦ (καὶ) συνστη|σαμένου τὸ | εὐαγὲς εὐκτή|ριον τοῦ άγίου | (καὶ) ἐνδόξου μάρ|τυρος Γεωργί|ου (καὶ) δωρησαμέ|νω τῆ άγιωτά(τῃ) | νέᾳ ἐκλησίᾳ τῆς | ἐνδόξου θεοτόκου | ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐ|τελεύτησεν μηνὶ | Δεκενβρίου ια', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) | ιε', βασιλίας τοῦ δεσ|πότου ἡμῶν Φλα(βίου) | Ἰουστίνου ἔτους | το(ῦ) (δευτέρου)

Grave of the most blessed Cyriacus, priest and abbot, who also established the holy oratory of the holy and glorious martyr Georgius and gave (it) to the most holy new church of the glorious Mother of God in Jerusalem. He died on December 11th, indiction 15, in the 2nd year of the reign of our master Flavius Iustinus (11 December 566).

Comm.: Abel does not tell us that the mosaic was found at the place it was displayed. But many authors believe this to be the case and identify the ancient foundations of the new chapel with the chapel of St. George. This interpretation assumes that Cyriacus was buried in the chapel he himself had built. But Baumann 297 reminds us that it remains an open question whether the church of St. George was in Jericho at all (Halkin 1951 in favor of Jericho, against Perrot, who wanted to connect this foundation with the chapel of St. George in Jerusalem, CIIP I 846); cf. on ll.11f. ll.2f.: Abel tried to identify this Cyriacus with someone John Moschos had met (Pratum 46), but Vailhé suggested a person known from the concilium Constantinopolense in 536, who is described as the πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἡγούμενος of the laura Πύργοι and πρ. καὶ ἀρχιμανδρίτης (ACO 3, 36, 50, 130, 145, 158, 165). His laura is mentioned by John Moschos (5ff., 90, 100), and had connections with Jericho (6). – ll.3f.: Cyriacus is the superior of a monastery and a priest (Meimaris, Sacred Names 243 disagrees). – ll.5f.: For συνστησάμενος ἐκκλησίας ("establish, found, organize"), see Lampe, s.v. συνίστημι B 3; in this case, "founding" (out of his own money) is probably meant, cf. ll.11f. – ll.7f.: cf. Iust. Nov. 120,6: ἁγίους εὐκτηρίους οἴκους; CIIP I 825 (Jerusalem): τὸν εὐκτήριον ἅγιον

+ OHKH HAKAPI WTA TO YKYPIA KOYTTPECES S. H TO Y M & NOY TOYSCYNCTH CAMENOYTO EYA TECEYKTH PIONTOYATION SEN AOSOYMAP TYPOCTEWITI OYS DWPHEAME HWTHATIWTAS HEAEKAHCIATHO **ΕΗΔΟΣΟΥΘΕΟΤΟΚ**δ ENTEPOCOXYMOTCE ΤέλεΥΤΗ СΕ ΗΜΗ Ν **LEKENBPIOY LAINAS** ις ΒΑΚΙΛΙΑΚΤΥΔΕΚ TTOTOY H MWH 4XXX TOYCT I NOY ETOYC TOBSIT

fig. 2833.2

οἶκ(ον); C. Welles, in: C. Kraeling ed., Gerasa, 1938 no. 306: τὸ πᾶν ἔργον τοῦ ἁγίου εὐκτηρίου; SEG 37, 1541 (Gerasa; 6 c. AD): τὸ ἄγ(ιον) εὐκτήρ(ιον); 51, 2046 (Bostra, 7 c. AD): ἡ φηφωθεσί[α τοῦ] παρόντ(ος) ἁγ(ίου) εὐκτη[ρίου --]. For εὐαγής in con-

nection to a church building see only Nov. 117, 23: τῶ εὐαγεῖ μοναστηρίω; CIIP I 824: [τὴν ἁγίαν ταύτην ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ ε]ὐαγοῦς μοναστηρίου. - ll.8ff.: Meimaris, Sacred Names 112: "In most cases the epithet ... ἄγιος replaced the word 'Martyr' and in other cases the specific name is given in addition to the words ... ἄγιος, ... ἔνδοξος ... ἀθλοφόρος." In this case it is the famous soldier-saint, St. George, who is supposed to have died at Lydda. - ll.11f.: A wrong casus seems more likely than ou > ω in final position (Gignac I 208). Heisenberg believes that δωρησαμένω does not simply designate a benefactor (cf. Di Segni [DGI]: "gave donations"), because with δωρησάμενος, not only the recipient of the donation, but also the donated object has to be named: therefore, he thought of συνστησαμένου and δωρησαμένω having the same object (cf. for a very similar expression two inscriptions from Oinoanda: IGR 3, 489: χαρισάμενον σύν τῆ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ συστησάμενον εἰς πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα πανήγυριν άγώνων; ΒCH 24, 1900, 338: δωρησαμένην καὶ συστησαμένην μετὰ τοῦ άνδρὸς εἰς τὸν πάντα χρόνον καὶ αἰῶνα ἐξ οἰκείας Φιλοτειμίας ἀγῶνας), viz. τὸ εὐαγὲς εὐκτήριον, which was donated to the Nea. Such a donation is perhaps somewhat more likely if the εὐκτήριον was in Jerusalem, but its being in Jericho constitutes no legal problem. – ll.12ff.: This is the earliest non-literary attestation of the Nea. – ll.16ff.: Cf. no. 2676, which is said to be paleographically similar. – l.18: The second letter is damaged. Alt argues for the adoption of the Jerusalemite way of counting years in Jericho, a place without its own political status, and therefore he finds an indirect argument for the Jerusalemite fashion of this text.

Bibl.: F.-M. Abel, RB 20, 1911, 286-9 no. 1, 440 (ed. pr.). - I. Phokylidos, Nea Sion 11, 1911, 289f. (Greek); F. Bleckmann, ZDPV 36, 1913, 235f.; H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1925, 2382f., fig. 5712; L. Jalabert - R. Mouterde, DACL 7, 1926, 655f., 679f.; H. Leclercq, DACL 7, 1927, 2235; M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 2, 1933, 161f. no. 98 (ph.); id., QDAP 3, 1934, 54 no. 347 (repr. in: id., Art in Ancient Palestine, 1981, 308f. no. 98, 356 no. 347); SEG 8, 315; E. Loukianoff, 'O ΕΛΑΙΩΝ, 1939, 25f.; A. Augustinović, Gerico e Dintorni, 1951, 86ff.; Meimaris, Sacred Names 84 no. 536 (ll.11-15), 126 no. 683 (ll.8-11), 147 no. 759 (ll.12-15), 193 no. 968 (ll.1-4), 243 no. 1217 (ll.1-4); Meimaris, Chron. Systems 379f. no. 105; J. Binns, Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ, 1994, 74; DGI 599-602 no. 205. - Cf. R. Horning, ZDPV 32, 1909, 132; A. Heisenberg, BZ 20, 1911, 613f.; S. Vailhé, EO 14, 1911, 231f.; A. Baumstark, RQ 26, 1912, 39f.; C. Kaufmann, Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik, 1917, 280; A. Alt, Pjb 30, 1934, 76; A. Calderini, Epigraphica 2, 1940, 255; J. Perrot, Syria 27, 1950, 195f.; F. Halkin, AnBoll 69, 1951, 72; BE 1952, 173; Bagatti, Chiesa II 245f.; Baumann, Spätantike Stifter 297, 325; Bagatti, Samaria 98 fig. 27,4; Küchler, Jerusalem 530 fig. 290 (dr., transl.); H. Taha - A. Qleibo, Jericho: A Living History, 2010, 62; O. Gutfeld, in: Jewish Quarter Excavations V 259; M. Jennings, Beyond the Walls of Jericho: Khirbet al-Mafjar and the Signature Landscapes of the Jericho Plain, 2015, 114.

Photo: M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 3, 1934 pl. 17 fig. 2,3; F. Abel, RB 20, 1911, 288 fig. 1 (dr.).

# 2834. Greek funerary inscription of Domnus

Meas.: h 80, w 40 cm.

Findspot: In 1933, "vicino a Tell el-Qos, a sud della strada di 'Amman, davanti al Giardino del Governo" (Augustinović). Pres. loc.: Said to be in the Rockefeller Museum, inv. no. 5304 (or neg. no. 5304, not found there).

# MNHMION ΔΟΜΝΟΥ

μνημῖον | Δόμνου

Monument for Domnus.

Comm.: For the name Domnus, see CIIP II 1886.

Bibl.: A. Augustinović, Gerico e Dintorni, 1951, 90 (ed. pr.).

Photo: A. Augustinović, Gerico e Dintorni, 1951, 90 fig. 34a.



fig. 2834

WA

# 2835. Door of a grave with Greek inscription

Limestone; a door peg is preserved at the upper right-hand side; there is still lead in the dowel holes. Cross in a circle; an inscription below the cross. A decoration to the left of the inscription. The front, worked with a pick, was partly immersed and polished by water. The back was roughly worked into a frame in order to be set into an architectural structure.

Meas.: h 72, w 68-69, d 8.3-10 cm; letters 4.5-6.5 cm.

Findspot: Surface find at Tell es-Sultan.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. 1933-2664. Autopsy: 14 March 2010 (WA/WE).

$$\begin{split} & \text{IOY+[.]OS} \\ & \text{AFI}\Omega\text{T}\text{\int} \\ & \text{P+++O}\Delta\Omega \\ & \text{++++IE}\text{\int} \\ & \text{++O} \end{split}$$

IOΥ+[.]ΟΣ | 
$$\dot{\alpha}$$
γιωτ( $\dot{\alpha}$ τ..) |  
P+++ΟΔΩ | ++++IE∫ | ++O

... most holy ...



fig. 2835.1

Comm.: It seems that the beginnings of the lines are preserved. However, this remains uncertain. The left side of the stone may have been eroded by water. l.1: At the beginning a cross? Or a tau?  $\tau \circ \circ \circ$ ? Yo $\circ \tau \circ \circ \circ$  Fourth letter sigma, epsilon, omicron? – l.3:  $\theta \circ \circ \circ \circ \circ$ 

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: WE.



fig. 2835.2 WA

# 2836. Traces of inscriptions in a grave

"Soft yellowish stone (? limestone)," Reynolds. (a) Three adjoining fragments, each one with a very different surface, testify to the different fate of these fragments (parts of the *alpha* in l.2 are preserved on two fragments); it seems that these fragments preserved the left-hand side of the inscription. The fourth fragment (b), bro-

ken on all sides, is not necessarily part of a different inscription ("probably from the same panel," Reynolds), although it does not join the others. Theoretically, one might put it above the others. "The cutting shows some professional quality," Reynolds; it seems to be the same in fragment (b) and the parts of (a). Meas.: h 30.5, w 29.5, 4.5 cm; letters ca. 6 cm.

Findspot: Tomb K 23, discovered during the 1955-58 excavation seasons of the Joint Expedition to Jericho on the southern limit of Area K which lay northwest of Tell es-Sulṭan (cf. the map in Kenyon 35 fig. 14). The rock-hewn burial cave was entered from an open courtyard. The burial chamber could not be completely excavated; the rear wall contained at least two loculi. The contents of the tomb, which include inter alia 30 skulls, two ossuaries and pottery, were completely disturbed. The fragments of the inscription were found in the courtyard (cf. the detailed report by Bennett with a catalogue of the finds and plan and sections of the tomb on p. 524 fig. 266).

Pres. loc.: Exc. reg. no. K 23-13.

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{(a)} ++\text{[.]PEA}\Omega[\text{--]} \\ & BA\Sigma\Sigma\text{E[--]} \\ & \text{[.]}\Sigma\Upsilon[\text{--]} \\ & \text{[--]} \end{array}$$
 
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{(b)} \text{[--]}+\text{[--]} \\ & \text{[--]}+A\Sigma[\text{--]} \\ & \text{[--]}\text{EZH[--]} \end{array}$$



fig. 2836.1 (a)

- (a) χα[ι]ρε, ἄω[ρε --] | Βάσσε [--|.]ΣΥ[--|--]
- (a) Greetings to you, Bassus, who died too young ...

Comm.: (a) l.1: Perhaps, but not necessarily the first line. The reading is Reynold's (with a very minor exception), and the traces of the first two letters might be *chi* and *alpha* (but she too remarks that  $\chi\alpha[\tilde{\iota}]\rho\epsilon$ ,  $\tilde{\alpha}\omega[\rho\epsilon]$  usually follows the name; one might add that the usual formula is NN,  $\tilde{\alpha}\omega\rho\epsilon$ ,  $\chi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\rho\epsilon$ ). – l.3:  $\Sigma\Omega$  Reynolds, but it looks as if the break in the upper fragment has preserved part of the upper left hasta of an *upsilon*.

(b) Perhaps there was another line before the first one. Reynolds reads: [--] (ἐτῶν) [--|--] Bασ[σ --] --] ἔζη[σεν ἔτη --|--]. On l.1 she remarks that the letter could be either *epsilon* or *lambda*, whereas the first letter of l.3 "might be" *gamma*, *epsilon*, xi or tau ... "the only one which seems to give sense is E." – l.2: Reynolds sees a connection with (a) l.3.

She construed: "The inscription ... seems to have contained a series of entries, giving the names of the dead, with appropriate funerary formulae, made as they were buried in the tomb. Parts of several entries survive, distinguishable by variations in the fomulae used and in the letter forms. Two of them probably contain the same name, Bassus, suggesting that a family group was involved, as, of course, one would expect. The variations between the entries are not such as to indicate that they covered any long time range,



fig. 2836.2 (b)

and all probably belong to the late first century or the early second century A.D." According to Bennett (525), this dating agrees with the pottery evidence.

Bibl.: J. Reynolds, in: K. Kenyon, Excavations at Jericho II 1964, 721f. (ed. pr.). – Kuhnen, Nordwest-Palästina 62f. – Cf. C. Bennett, in: K. Kenyon, Excavations at Jericho II 1964, 523-32.

Photo: K. Kenyon, Excavations at Jericho II 1964, 756 pl. 24.

WA

## D. Instrumentum domesticum

# 2837. Greek lead lamella with a spell

Sheet of lead, rolled and put into a little case (lost). Meas.: h 14.8, w 6-6.2, th 0.1 cm; ø before unrolling 1.3 cm.

Findspot: Puech 303: "La provenance de la lamelle n'est pas connue avec certitude (une tombe de Jericho?) mais une découverte en Palestine semble assurée."

ΓΗΧΘΟΝΙΑΚΑΙΕΡΜΗ ΧΘΟΝΙΕΚΑΙΠΛΟΥΤΩΝ ΚΑΙΦΕΡΣΕΦΟΝΗΚΑΙΕΚΑ ΤΗΠΟΛΥΩΝΥΜΕΚΑΙΑΡ ΤΕΜΙΦΩΣΦΟΡΕΤΡΙΠΡΟ ΣΩΠΕΣΕΛΗΝΗΤΑΥΡΩ ΠΙΚΑΙΗΣΧΧΙΑΚΑΙΛΗΘΗ ΚΑΙΕΙΜΕΡΕΚΑΙΠΟΘΕ ΚΑΙΝΥΞΚΑΙΠΕΙΘΩΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΓΚΗΚΑΙΜΟΙΡΑΙΠΕΙ ΣΑΤΕΚΑΙΚΑΤΑΝΑΓΚΑ ΣΑΤΕΓΑΙΑΝΗΝΕΤΕΚΕΚΟ ΙΝΤΑΜΕΙΣΗΣΑΙΟΥΛΛΟΝ ΟΝΕΤΕΚΕΛΟΝΓΕΙΝΑ ΤΟΥΤΟΓΑΡΕΚΕΛΕΥΣΕ ΟΜΕΓΑΣΘΕΟΣΕΡΒΗΘ ΠΑΚΕΡΒΗΘΒΟΛΧΟΣΗΘ ΖΑΓΟΥΡΗΠΑΓΟΥΡΗΒΑΛΑ ΜΙΝΘΩΥΘΝΑΝΟΥΙΒ ΑΡΙΑΒΟΥΝΑΒΟΥΝΑΒ[..]Θ EIAA[.]AM+[.]+E[--][--]B *vacat* [--] [--]YNAX[--] AKOΥ[.]BIAI



fig. 2837.1

Γῆ χθονία καὶ Ἑρμῆ | χθόνιε καὶ Πλούτων | καὶ Φερσεφόνη καὶ Ἑκά|τη πολυώνυμε καὶ Ἄρ|τεμι φωσφόρε τριπρό|σωπε, Σελήνη ταυρῶ|πι καὶ Ἡσ΄υ'χία καὶ Λήθη | καὶ Είμέρε καὶ Πόθε | καὶ Νὺξ καὶ Πειθὼ καὶ | Ἀνάγκη καὶ Μοῖραι πεί|σατε καὶ καταναγκά|σατε Γαίαν, ἢν ἔτεκε Κο|ίντα, μείσησα Ἰούλλον, | ὅν ἔτεκε Λονγεῖνα. | τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκέλευσε | ὁ μέγας θεὸς Ερβηθ | Πακερβηθ Βολχοσηθ | Ζαγουρη Παγουρη Βαλα|μιν Θωυθ Νανου Ιβ|αρ Ιαβου Ναβουναβ[ου] θ|ειὰ Α[β]λαμ +[.]+Ε[--|--]Β [--|--] ΥΝΑΧ[-- Ι]|ακου[μ]βιαι

Earth of the nether world and Hermes of the nether world and Pluto and Persephone and Hecate with many names and Artemis bringing light, with three faces, bull-faced Selene and Quiet and Forgetfulness and Longing and Yearning and Night and Persuasion and Necessity and Goddesses of Fate – persuade and constrain Gaia, born by Quinta, ... Iullus, born by Longina. Because this orders the great God Erbeth Pakerbeth Bolchoseth Zagoure Pagoure Balamin Thouth Nanou Ibar Iabou Nabounabou Theia ...

Comm.: Puech 309 believes that the writing is consistent with a date in the 1 c. or 2 c. AD. The spell starts with the invocation of a number of gods and goddesses; as to be expected, the gods of the nether world have a certain preponderance; they are followed by some personifications; at least some of them may be connected with the purpose of the spell. Most of the divinities can be found in the magical papyri. - ll.5f.: It is not quite clear, whether τριπρόσωπε relates to Artemis or to Selene; it is known to have been used for Selene, PGM 4, 2786f. – l.8: Εἰμέρε= Ἡμέρε, "jour," Puech, who regards this as a contrast to the following Night. - ll.10ff.: We are not told what the magician's customer wants Gaia to do; for him and for the gods it is enough to use force to persuade her to follow the aim intended by himself and the gods. ll.12ff.: All the names are Latin; it is not necessary to change Iullus into Iulius or something similar. Puech 309 regards the concentration of Latin names as proof for the influence of the Roman military. - 1.13 contains one of the riddles of this spell: μείσησα could either derive from μισέω, hate, or from μείγνυμι, join; Puech prefers the latter. Since the participle refers

THX GONIAKAI EDMH YOUNE KAI MYOUTLUN KNIDEPCEDONHKNIEKA THTOXYWHYLLEKOPP フラン ナーション チェアメート アイラナ CULTECENHUHTAYAW TIMAH(XXIAKA) NHOH KNEILLEPEKNTIOGE KNINJZKNILEIOMKN MYLKHKNYMBE

fig. 2837.2

to Quinta, not to Gaia, Iullus, son of Longina, must have been the husband(?) of Quinta; Quinta and Iullus were the parents of Gaia. – l.16: The great god is not identified, but there seems to be no reason to identify him as Mithras or Sol invictus. – ll.16ff.: Either magical formulae or parts of the name of the great god. Ερβηθ Πακερβηθ Βολχοσηθ is known elsewhere, but normally as Iω Ερβηθ Ιω Πακερβηθ Ιω Βολχοσηθ (PGM 3, 71ff., 115f.; 4, 279, 2223ff., 3262, 3267f.; 12, 370, 451f.; 14, 22; 36, 5, 12ff., 78, 85ff.; 58, 23f.). – "La séquence Ζαγουρη Παγουρη ou inversement Παγουρη Ζαγουρη est elle aussi habituelle, souvent précédée de 'I(α)ω Σαβαόθ ('Αδωναί) et parfois suivie de 'Αβρασαξ" (Puech 308). PGM 7, 606ff. has Παγουρη as interchangeable with Μιχαήλ. – Βαλαμιν Θωυθ are sometimes found together, but Θωυθ alone is also possible (and even more frequent; on the spelling cf. Michel 505). – The following words are much more difficult to identify. – ll.19f.: A. Delatte - P. Derchain, Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes, 1964, 338 no. 517: Ἰαβὼθ Ἰαβοχκαροχγ and PGM 3 p. 237 a. – l.21: cf. Delatte - Derchain

137 no. 177: αφρευβηλα αβλαμωαν ... Puech 309 notes the absence of any magical word relating to Iao or any other Hebrew influence (Michael etc.).

Bibl.: É. Puech, in: H. Gasche - B. Hrouda eds., Collectanea orientalia, 1996, 303ff. no. 2 (ed. pr.).

Photo: É. Puech, in: H. Gasche - B. Hrouda eds., Collectanea orientalia, 1996, 305 fig. 2 (ph. and dr.).

WA

# 2838. Bronze candelabra with Aramaic inscription, 4-5 c. CE?

Meas · ø 55 cm

Pres. loc.: Louvre Museum, Paris, inv. no. AO 20187.



fig. 2838.1

הספר (?) בר לעזר דהדאבדה קנדילה מן דידה תהוי ברכתה בעמלה אמנ וכט סלה

Translit.: hspr(?) br l'zr dhd'bdh qndylh mn dydh thwy brkth b'mlh 'mn wkt slh

The scribe Bar La'zar ("son of La'zar/El'azar"), who made the lamp from his own means, may there be a blessing on his work, and all good things, selah.

Comm.: דהדאבדה dhd'bdh - If this is the correct reading, then דאבד הדה d'bd hdh is written for דעבד הדה d'bd hdh, "he made this (the lamp)" i.e. alef being written instead of ayin, a not uncommon confusion of guttural letters.

A very similar object was found in Kefar Hananiya (Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 34ff. no. 16), in which the partial inscription indicates that the obcalled כלילה ject was



fig. 2838.2



fig. 2838.3

klylh="wreath," and was dedicated "to the holy place Kefar Hananiya"; the donor's name there has not been deciphered. That text fills the entire band of metal, with two seven-branched menorahs. The inscription on the present object fills only part of the available space and identifies the object itself as *qndylh*= the Latin word candela, "lamp, light, candle"; the inscription is framed by incised designs resembling trees, each having seven branches, so that the original intention may have been to represent menorahs.

Bel dates the candelabra to the 4-5 c. CE. The abbreviation סב, for בול טוב kwl twb, lit. "all good," is not known in other contemporary texts but is frequent in later periods.

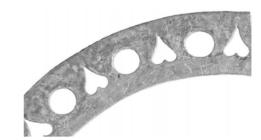


fig. 2838.4

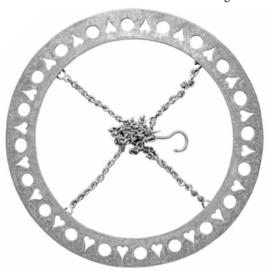


fig. 2838.5



Bibl.: N. Bel, in: id. - C. Giroire - F. Gombert-Meurice - M.-H. Rutschowscaya eds., L'Orient romain et byzantin au Louvre, 2012, 230-5 at 231f., fig. 214 (translation only).

Photo: T. Ollivier, courtesy of Louvre Museum.

fig. 2838.6

#### E. Varia

# 2839. Painted plaster with Greek letters

Four coats of paint on plaster, the inscription on the finishing coat, which is pinkgray with inscription in black. No photograph is available.

Findspot: In the Herodian building structures on the southern mound (named "Tell 1" by Kelso and Baramki) at Tulul Abu el-'Alayiq, west of modern Jericho.

NΘ

Bibl.: J. Kelso, in: J. Kelso - D. Baramki eds., Excavations at the New Testament Jericho and Kh. en-Nitla, 1955, 46.

WA

# 2840.-2843. Mason's marks from the "gymnasium" of the early Herodian palace

Transcriptions follow Pritchard's unclear notes of the inscribed marks. No photographs were provided.

# 2840. Mason's mark on column drum with Greek letter eta, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: drum: h 42.5, ø 47.7 cm (ed. pr.).

H(?)

Eta (?).

Bibl.: J. Pritchard, The Excavations at Herodian Jericho, 1951, 1958, 12 (ed. pr.). – Foerster, Masada V 99.

JJP

#### 2841. Mason's mark on column drum with Greek letter pi, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: drum: h 33, ø 41 cm (ed. pr.).

 $\Pi ++ (?)$ 

Pi ... (?).

Bibl.: J. Pritchard, The Excavations at Herodian Jericho, 1951, 1958, 12 (ed. pr.). – Foerster, Masada V 99.

# 2842. Mason's mark in column drum with letter zayin(?), 1 c. BCE

Meas.: drum: h 42.5, ø 42 cm (ed. pr.).

(?) +++

Translit.: ++z (?)

... zayin (?).

Bibl.: J. Pritchard, The Excavations at Herodian Jericho, 1951, 1958, 12 (ed. pr.). – Foerster, Masada V 99.

JJP

## 2843. Mason's mark in column drum twice with letter het, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: drum: h 34.5, ø 40 cm (ed. pr).

(?) +חח

Translit.: hh+ (?)

Het het ... (?)

Bibl.: J. Pritchard, The Excavations at Herodian Jericho, 1951, 1958, 12 (ed. pr.). – Foerster, Masada V 99.

JJP

# F. Fragments

# 2844. Marble fragment with inscription

"Within the church, a fragment of marble chancel decorated with acanthus leaves is set in a wall, as well as a fragment of inscription ... containing the beginning of two lines of script ... In the first line the part of the name Cassianus can be read, while the rest is too ruined to be made out" (Bagatti 98). No photograph was provided.

Meas.: w 17 cm: letters 3 cm.

Findspot: Coptic church of St. Anthony the Abbot, built 1922-24. A resident told Bagatti that ancient stones were found during construction works, reused partly in the church and partly in the pilgrims' hospice. Bagatti himself still saw capitals and column drums near the church.

```
CASSI[--]
+++++[--]
Cassi[--]|+++++[--]
```

Cassi...

Comm.: The beginning of two lines is preserved. Bagatti thought of the name Cassianus, but Cassius/-a is also possible.

Bibl.: B. Bagatti, Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria, 1979, 81 (ed. pr.). – Id., Samaria 98; H. Taha - A. Qleibo, Jericho: A Living History, 2010, 62.

WA

# 2845. Latin Fragment

Small Latin marble fragment, broken on all sides.

```
[--]O/QVETOVENTSV[--]
[--]++++[--]
```



fig. 2845

Comm.: The sense is unclear. Reading *Veto* suggests a formula frequently found in funerary inscriptions, for example:  $in\ h(oc)\ m(onumentum)\ veto\ aliter\ ossua\ deponi$  (CIL 3, 8585), whereas *Queto* could be a cognomen (cf. CIL 6, 23035; AE 1976, 721).

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 29 (ed. pr.). – CIL 3, 14155,8.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 29 (dr.).

# L. Gibeon (Gabaon, mod. al-Jib)

#### Introduction

The site of Gibeon/Gabaon (al-Jib) is notable for having the finest water supply in the region. It occupies the strongest position on the plateau east of the Beit Horon ascent and is passed by everyone who takes that route to Jerusalem.

# **Literary Sources**

Gibeon is one of the cities mentioned in the Bible (e.g. Josh 9,3ff.; 18,25). In 2 Sam 2,13 mention is also made of "the pool of Gibeon." Josh 10,1-15 contains the first description of many battles along the Beit Horon road, when Joshua is said to have commanded the sun to stand still "and he said in the sight of Israel, Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon; and thou, Moon in the valley of Ayalon." We are told that the enemy was defeated at Gibeon and then pushed down the road as far as Azekah and Makkedah. In the Septuagint Gibeon appears as  $\Gamma \alpha \beta \alpha \omega \nu$  or  $\Gamma \alpha \beta \alpha \omega \theta$ .

In 927 BC a military expedition was carried out by Pharaoh Shishak in Palestine (1 Kings 14,25-8; 2 Chron 12,1f.). An inscription preserved in the Amon Temple in Karnak contains a long topographical list which includes Gezer, Ayalon, Gatim, Beit Horon, Gibeon.<sup>2</sup>

Josephus gives the distance from Jerusalem as 40 stadia in AJ 7,283 but as 50 stadia in BJ 2,517. The latter passage describes Cestius Gallus' march from Lydda past Beit Horon to Gibeon (Gabao), where he placed his camp. Eus. Onom. 66,13 identifies Gibeon with a village four miles west of Beit El. It is not clear which site is meant. In 48,9, however, the present site is mentioned as a village seven miles from Aelia on the road to Emmaus: Βηρώθ (Josh 9,17). ὑπὸ τὴν Γαβαών. καὶ ἔστι νῦν κώμη πλησίον Αἰλίας κατιόντων ἐπὶ Νικόπολιν ἀπὸ ζ' σημείων.

Peter the Deacon, de loc. sanct. P2 (CCSL 175, p. 97), briefly mentions Gibeon: "Not far from Jerusalem is Gibeon, which was captured by Joshua, and sixty stades from Jerusalem is Emmaus (i.e. Nicopolis) ..." This is almost certainly based on the work of Bede who used the lost part of Egeria's Travels (AD 381-4).

Gibeon is mentioned again in the same decade as Egeria, in the account of Paula's journey to Jerusalem (AD 385-6): "From this [Nicopolis] she passed on and climbed to Lower and Upper Beit Horon, cities which were founded by Solomon,

<sup>1</sup> For references: F.-M. Abel, Géographie de la Paléstine 2, 3rd ed. 1967, 335f., and cf. A. Demsky, BASOR 212, 1973, 26-31; TIR 126f., s.v. Gabaon; Möller - Schmitt 58. For the battle of Gibeon, see N. Naʻaman, Canaan in the Second Millennium BCE, 2005, 349ff.

<sup>2</sup> J. Pritchard ed., Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, 3rd ed. 1969, 242f.

but later destroyed in the disasters of war; seeing on her right Ayalon and Gibeon, where Joshua the son of Nun fought against the five kings, and uttered his command to the sun and moon; and condemned the Gibeonites to become drawers of water and hewers of wood because of the deception by which they tricked him when they asked to become allies." This seems to imply that Gibeon was an existing village at the time, as it was a century before in Eusebius' days, for Paula's next stop was Gibeah and of this it is explicitly stated that it was razed to the ground. Like the previous passages, it shows that the village of Gibeon was one of the prominent landmarks on the way from Jerusalem to Emmaus-Nicopolis.<sup>4</sup>

Hüttenmeister and Reeg refer to the Targum on 1 Chron 16,39 which mentions the synagogue at Gibeon.<sup>5</sup> This therefore may be presumed to have existed at the time. The Georgian lectionary from Jerusalem may contain a reference to a church at el-Jib but the identification is by no means certain.<sup>6</sup>

The first early modern, western source to refer to and identify the place is R. Pococke: "To the north we looked down [sc. from Nabi Samwil] into a very fine valley, which I conjectured to be about ten miles lying from east to west, and five miles broad, and, according to the tradition, it seems to be the valley of Ajalon, in which the city of Gibeon was situated; and if so, this plain was the territory of the Gibeonites. There are two hills in it, beautifully improved; that to the west has two summits; on the northern one, there is a village called Geb, probably the ancient Gibeon, on which the sun stood still ..." E. Robinson gives a brief description of el-Jîb and identified it with ancient Gibeon, an identification now unanimously accepted following J. Pritchard's excavations in 1956, 1957 and 1959 which brought to light 31 jars stamped gb 'n.9

<sup>3</sup> Hier. epist. 108,8 (ed. Hilberg, CSEL LX, p. 314): atque inde [sc. from Nicopolis] proficiscens ascendit Bethoron inferiorem et superiorem, urbes a Salomone conditas, et varia postea bellorum tempestate deletas: ad dextram aspiciens Aialone, et Gabaon, ubi Jesus filius Nave contra quinque reges dimicans, soli imperavit et lunae: et Gabaonitas ob dolos et insidias foederis impetrati, in aquarios, lignariosque damnavit. Also: Epiphanius, Haer. 46 (GCS 31, p. 209).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. B. Bagatti, Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria, 1979, 89f.

<sup>5</sup> Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 138 s.v. Giv'on.

<sup>6</sup> Le Grand Lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem, ed. and trans. M. Tarchnishvili, vol. 2 (CSCO 205), 1960, 11 no. 985; 49 no. 1341 refers to a church dedicated to St. Isidore in the village of Gevbale (or "Gebali"). Other possibilities for identification have been suggested.

<sup>7</sup> R. Pococke, Description of the East, and some other Countries, vol. 2, 1745, 48f. Compare the engraving made from the same spot in C. Wilson ed., Picturesque Palestine, Sinai, and Egypt 1, 1881, in front of p. 189.

<sup>8</sup> E. Robinson, Biblical Researches in Palestine 1, 1856, 455ff.

<sup>9</sup> See below.

# **Archaeological Remains**

Gibeon was visited by numerous biblical scholars. Robinson noticed ancient remains and briefly describes the ancient water reservoirs. Guérin, Judée 1, 385 thought he recognized the ruins of the Crusader church. These were subsequently described by Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea, 94-100, who also refer to the springs and 34 tombs. B. Bagatti, SBF 25, 1975, 54-72, surveyed the remains of the building said to be a church and identified them as a Byzantine church of the 5 or 6 c. In 1981 D. Pringle and P. Leach of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem carried out a survey of the medieval remains in the Arab village of al-Jib. <sup>10</sup>

A major campaign of excavations was carried out by J. Pritchard on behalf of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology in 1956, 1957, 1959, 1960 and 1962. The site is spread over two low hills connected by a saddle. The southern of the two hills is Tel Gibeon, with the remains of settlement from the Early Bronze Age onwards. On the northern hill, occupied by the modern village of el-Jib, Bagatti and Pringle found remains from later periods: Roman (a cemetery), Byzantine, Crusader, and Ottoman. On the southern hill Pritchard found occupation from Early Bronze Age to Late Bronze Age, mainly represented by tombs. The first walled settlement, with a large pool, cut into the rock, developed in the Iron Age I. Gibeon reached its greatest expansion in the Iron Age II when numerous buildings covered the hill and a tunnel was cut from the town to the spring.

There is a gap in occupation between the 6 and 2 c. BC and remains of the 1 c. are still scanty, represented mainly by coin finds but there is a hoard of 23 coins of Alexander Jannaeus. From a total of 70 coins found in the trenches in the western part of the southern hill 33 were Hellenistic, including the hoard of coins of Alexander Jannaeus. There are substantial remains of settlement from the Roman period. Pritchard found remains of houses, and what is described as a bath, actually a small stepped pool, partly cut into the bedrock and partly built of stone. It measures 1.8x2.2 m and is built onto the walls of rooms. It has none of the characteristics of a Roman bath and is probably better identified as a ritual bath (miqve). This complex is dated by pottery and coins to the 1 c. AD. However, Pritchard's report does not make clear how the level marked by the coins of Alexander Jannaeus is distinguished from the level of the so-called Roman houses.

<sup>10</sup> Levant 15, 1983, 141-77.

<sup>11</sup> J. Pritchard, The Water System of Gibeon, 1961; id., Gibeon where the Sun Stood Still, 1962; id. et al., Winery, Defences and Soundings at Gibeon, 1964; id., NEAEHL 2, 1993, 511ff. and additional bibliography in NEAEHL 5, 2008, 2094.

<sup>12</sup> Pritchard, Winery (n.11) 23f., 40, 47ff.; for the other numismatic finds, 52-64.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 40 and fig. 26.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. 41 fig. 25.

The pottery from the latter phase, published by Pritchard, is typical of the Herodian/Early Roman period (1 c. AD):<sup>15</sup> cooking pots, juglets, pilgrim flasks, oillamps and a stone vessel. The coins also fit this pattern: Herod the Great (3 coins), Valerius Gratus (1), Pontius Pilatus (1), Antonius Felix (4), Herod Agrippa (10), and Domitian (1).

Gibeon appears to have been one of the settlements which existed in the 1 c. AD and came to an end in the period of the First Revolt. It is conceivable that the settlement was abandoned following the march of Cestius Gallus, who placed his camp there, as noted above. The site was not re-occupied until the 3 c. Some of the earlier wine cellars were reused at that time, one of them being transformed into a monumental tomb. The former wine cellar now served as an underground chamber reached by a number of steps. Eleven loculi were cut into the floor and several arcosolia were carved out of the walls.

The walls of the tomb are covered with a mural which consists of a fresco combined with stucco. The bas-relief of stucco, a strip 65 cm deep from the ceiling down to eye-level, was applied on the coloured wall, following which the entire surface was painted again. The stucco was applied as a paste or fixed onto the wall with iron nails.<sup>17</sup> The frieze depicts winged figures of genii, garlands decorated with ribbons and oval medallions, a fine example of a "peopled scroll." The ensemble is unique in Palestinian art and may belong to the artistic milieu of the end of the 3 c.<sup>18</sup> West of the tomb a columbarium was cleared.<sup>19</sup> It seems to be older than the tomb and has around 200 niches of 20x30x20 cm.

In this level Pritchard found the following coins: one each of Gallienus, Constantine, and one of his successors. The American excavations have uncovered no later remains of settlement in this part of the site, but some later intrusions and coins are assigned by Pritchard to the Byzantine period. Sporadic numismatic finds cover the period from the 12-19 c.

As already noted, the later periods of settlement have been found primarily on the northern hill which has been built over by the modern village. Bagatti found a few Roman tombs, but the periods primarily represented are Late Byzantine, Early Islamic, Crusader and Ottoman. <sup>20</sup> The structures of these periods have been surveyed by Bagatti and by Pringle. <sup>21</sup> The latter distinguishes two phases. The remains of the first phase, also described by Bagatti, <sup>22</sup> comprise a large barrel-vaulted chamber and some smaller vaulted chambers. Pringle has analysed these and concluded

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., fig. 38,12-22.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. 29ff.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. 31. The nails are visible in fig. 74 where they are holding together parts of a human figure.

<sup>18</sup> EAEHL 2, 1976, 449 dates it around AD 300.

<sup>19</sup> Pritchard, Winery (n.11), figs. 14-17, 80f.

<sup>20</sup> B. Bagatti, SBF 25, 1975, 54-72, esp. 54f.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.; Pringle (n.10) 142-60.

<sup>22</sup> Pringle (n.10) 147-54 figs. 2-4; Bagatti (n.20) 60-5.

that they are best compared with structures dating between the 5 c. and the 8 c.<sup>23</sup> Recognizing that information on Byzantine Gibeon is meagre he reaches no firm conclusion, but he notes that it would have occupied a significant position along a main road at that period as at all times. Various possibilities which he considers and rejects are: a monastery, a road station, an inn, a bath house, a villa or centre of an estate.

Fischer, Isaac and Roll agree with Pringle in his contention that the arrangement of the chambers around the vaulted hall at el-Jib has close analogies with the layout of Umayyad palaces<sup>24</sup> and they tend to conclude that the structure as a whole looks Early Islamic rather than Byzantine, even though there are specific details which occur in the Byzantine period. If the building is indeed Umayyad it may have been an estate building, the dwelling of a sheikh, which, surrounded perhaps by poorer buildings, would have controlled the vicinity.

#### Conclusions

The investigations carried out at Gibeon/el-Jib in the past century and a half have shown the existence of a settlement from the Early Bronze Age to the Middle Ages. The varying prominence of the remains in different periods naturally reflects actual changes in the importance of the place, but also the biased focus of archaeological investigation. The large-scale excavation carried out in Gibeon had the Biblical period for its target, a tendency reinforced by the circumstance that the post-biblical remains are mostly built over by the modern village.

It is clear, however, that in the Roman period Gibeon was an important station near one of the two main roads from the plain to Jerusalem, the Beit Horon road. As such it occurs in sources from the Roman, but not from the Byzantine period. Although there are no remains to show that this was a substantial settlement in the Byzantine period, some sherds and coins of this period are evidence of some sort of presence. Several other sites in the immediate vicinity of Gibeon were occupied in the Byzantine period: Bir el-Biyar with the remains of a church, <sup>25</sup> Bir Nabala, 'Id, and Sha'ab Siyag, all of which are agricultural settlements.

It seems clear that Gibeon, which had all the qualities required for a strong town in the Iron Age, lost its importance as a stronghold in the later periods, and particularly in the Byzantine period with its diffuse settlement pattern. The con-

<sup>23</sup> Pringle (n.10) 155f., revising earlier conclusions by Robinson (n.8) 455 and Bagatti (n.20) 67-72.

<sup>24</sup> Pringle (n.10) 158; Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II 170.

<sup>25</sup> M. Noth, ZDPV 66, 1943, 37 n.1, observing that Gibeon was the significant site in the area, has suggested that the Byzantine remains at Kh. Bir el-Biyar were, in fact, part of the larger settlement area of Gibeon. It is questionable whether this is the right approach if Gibeon itself was unimportant in the Byzantine period.

# 314 L. Gibeon (Gabaon, mod. al-Jib)

trol of the main roads to Jerusalem was no longer achieved by the occupation of a strong tactical position right on the road, but was exercised by the provincial authorities. It is not known which of the other settlements in the region were equipped with road stations or inns, but there was nothing at Gibeon which would have equipped it better for the provision of travellers and pilgrims than any other site in the area, although the spring at Gibeon would have been an advantage to travelers in all periods.

# Inscriptions

## 2846. Ossuary with partial Aramaic name, 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE

Partly reconstructed limestone ossuary with ornamented façade and vaulted lid. On rough-finished back side, five letters from the end of an Aramaic inscription containing a name.

Meas.: h 24, w 42, d 21 cm; letters 3-3.5 cm.

Findspot: This ossuary and no. 2847 were purchased together in Jerusalem and said to come from al-Iib (Biblical Gibeon/Gabaon).

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1975-655. Autopsy: 12 July 2007 and 23 September 2014.

[--] בַר חדו

Translit.: [--] br hdw

... son of Ḥaddu.



fig. 2846

Comm.: The last letter could conceivably be a *nun*, rendering the name Ḥaddan.

Bibl.: Rahmani, CJO no. 557 (ed. pr.).

Photo: IAA.

JJP/AY

## 2847. Ossuary of Salona Katana with Greek inscription, 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE

Two-line Greek inscription on the roughly finished, blank back side of a limestone ossuary with ornamented façade and vaulted lid. Many letters retraced.

Meas.: h 32, w 56, d 28.5 cm; inscription l.1: 48, letters 8 cm; l.2: 29, letters 3-6 cm.

Findspot: This ossuary and no. 2846 were purchased together in Jerusalem and said to come from al-Jib (Biblical Gibeon/Gabaon).

Pres. loc.: Hechal Shlomo Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1975-650. Autopsy: 16 February 2009.

# ΣΑΛΩΝΑΚΑΤΑΝ AMAPAIAMH

Σαλώνα καταν|α Μαραιάμη

Salona Katana ("the small") Maraiame.

Comm.: The occupant of the ossuary had two names, Salona and Maraiame; a more remote possibility is that the ossuary contained the bones of two different women. Salon(a) is a variant of the woman's name Shalom, see CIIP I 342 שלון šlwn and CIIP Ι 591 (Σαλων). Κατανα is Hebrew קטנה *qtnh* "small," a common nickname, see CIIP I 568 comm. and Rahmani comm. ad no. 552. Gatier in BE suggests to read the first two words as a greeting + proper name: σαλω(μ) Κατανα, but this is highly unlikely. Maraiame is a variant of Miriam, even if at is more commonly interchanged with  $\varepsilon$  and  $\alpha$  (Gignac I 191-5).



fig. 2847.1



fig. 2847.2

Bibl.: Rahmani, CJO no. 552 (ed. pr.). – SEG 44, 1349; BE 1996, 487; Hachlili, Funerary Customs 219ff.; Zugmann, Apostelgeschichte 212f.

Photo: IAA; Hachlili, Funerary Customs 221 pl. 5,21b (dr.).

JJP

## 2848. Fragmentary tomb inscription with Hebrew letters

Findspot: Clermont-Ganneau recorded in 1873-4 (and published in 1896) "a rock-hewn tomb, one of a group lying near the rather extensive ruins of Iben Nada, to the west of el Jib. I did, in fact, notice over the door the remains of an inscription in square Hebrew characters, but could only make out the first letters ..."

יהו[--]

Translit.: yhw[--]

Comm.: There is little possibility of finding this today. The letters are obviously the beginning of a theophoric name.

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 377f. (ed. pr.).

# LI. Choziba (Wadi el-Kelt, mod. Deir Mar Jiryis)

#### 2849.-2853. Monastery of St. Georgius in the Wadi el-Kelt

The monastery of St. Georgius in the Wadi el-Kelt was rebuilt in the 19 c., using the old remains of the monastery τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν θεοτόκου (Antonius, Vita Georgii 3); Choziba was the ancient place-name (literary references were collected by Schneider 298f.). At first only an oratory for St. Stephen was founded, probably not long after the discovery of his relics in 415 AD; the step from a laura to a monastery was taken by St. John, who arrived there in the second half of the 5 c. AD (the only reliable date for his life is 518 AD, when he entered his name in the list of the synod of Jerusalem as Bishop of Caesarea). The monks were divided into οἱ τοῦ κοινοβίου ἀδελφοί and κελλιώται; the latter came only to the Sunday services. It seems that the Persian invasion of 614 was only a short interruption in the monastic life. It still existed in the times of Charlemagne (see McCormick 31), the Commemoratorium de casis dei vel monasteriis sadly being defective at an important place: in monasterio sanctae Mariae in Coziba abba n[omine Teofi]lactus, m[onachi]. Some medieval inscriptions are noted by Schneider 309-13 (cf. M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 2, 1933, 153f. no. 62,3 [repr. in: id., Art in Ancient Palestine, 1981, 300 no. 62,3]).

Above the modern entrance to the monastery was a hermitage, to be reached – still in the 1970s – only by a succession of ladders (Meimaris, pl. 35 fig. 1); it consists of an upper and a lower cave. In the northwest corner of the upper cave there is a small chapel (and a grave, allegedly belonging to St. John, the monastery's founder). The walls of the chapel were plastered and adorned with paintings and inscriptions.

Bibl.: A. Schneider, RQA 39, 1931, 297-332 (repr. in: id., Reticulum, 1998, 142-72); Y. Meimaris, SBF 28, 1978, 171-92; M. McCormick, Charlemagne's Survey of the Holy Land, 2011.

#### 2849. Greek inscription on a painting of a gazelle with four lilies

Four anthemia of lilies, forming a cross; a gazelle, grazing, to the left. At the right-hand side, the plaster has fallen from the wall, but Meimaris supplies a symmetrical reconstruction (see fig.), i.e. a gazelle at the right side too.

Findspot: West wall of the chapel, southern corner.

 $\frac{\overline{\mathrm{I}\Sigma}\,\overline{\mathrm{X}\Sigma}}{\Theta\mathrm{O}\Upsilon}\,[\text{--}]$ 

Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς, | θ(ε)οῦ [υ(ἱό)ς]

Jesus Christ, son of God.

Comm.: Meimaris 1978, 176 gives different interpretations of the painting; he takes the gazelles to symbolize "the righteous monks seeking Christ" or as symbolizing paradise. But this does not seem to be a eucharistic scene ("the gazelles, the Christians, are approaching in order to eat the



fig. 2849

anthemia, which, according to the inscription, depict Jesus Christ": this generic explanation has no cogent connection to any inscription). – ll.2f.: [υίός,]  $\sigma$ ωτήρ]?

Bibl.: Y. Meimaris, SBF 28, 1978, 175ff. (ed. pr.). – Id., Sacred Names 22 no. 57 (l.2) (not mentioned on pp. 60ff. where Meimaris collected instances of the title υίός).

Photo: Y. Meimaris, SBF 28, 1978 pl. 40 fig. 6 (dr.).

WA

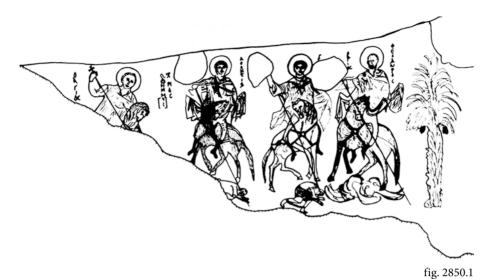
#### 2850. Wall painting with SS. Demetrius, Leontius, Georgius and Theodorus

Painting of four riding saints, framed by two date palms; on the left-hand side the tree as well as parts of the horse and the saint are lost. The riders, wearing halos, with spears in their hands seem to pierce a fallen enemy, i.e. they conform to the generally known iconography of these and similar saints. Only the cross at the top of the spear, which belongs to the rider on the left, is preserved; the other crosses are destroyed. The enemy of St. Theodorus is a dragon; the two middle riders triumph over a kneeling man; the enemy of St. Georgius has chained legs and bound hands. The inscriptions are to be read vertically, the title to the left, the name to the right of the head.

Meas.: h (saint, horse, enemy) 50-54 cm.

Findspot: North wall of the chapel, western part.

- (a) ΟΑΓΙΟΣ
  - ΔΗΜΗ[--]
- (b) ΟΑΓΙΟΣ ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΣ
- (c) [--] ΓΕ[--]
- (d) ΟΑΓΙΟΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ



- (a) ὁ ἄγιος | Δημή[τριος]
- (b) ὁ ἄγιος | Λεόντιος
- (c) [ὁ ἄγιος] | Γε[ώργιος]
- (d) ὁ ἄγιος | Θεόδωρος
- (a) St. Demetrius.
- (b) St. Leontius.
- (c) St. Georgius.
- (d) St. Theodorus.



fig. 2850.2

Comm.: The diplomatic text follows the drawing by Meimaris; he refers to LCI for the iconography of the individual saints, i.e. 6, 41ff. (Demetrius); 365ff. (Georgius); 7, 399 (Leontius); 8, 447ff. (Theodorus). All of them were martyrs as well as soldiers.

Bibl.: Y. Meimaris, SBF 28, 1978, 177ff. (ed. pr.). – Id., Sacred Names 125 no. 678 (c) without text, 131 no. 697 (d) without text, 132 no. 703 (b).

Photo: Y. Meimaris, SBF 28, 1978 pl. 41 figs. 8 (dr.) and 9.

#### 2851. Painting of the crucifixion with Greek inscriptions

Jesus on a *tau*-shaped cross, dressed in a sleeveless chiton, represented with two wings. To his right and left stand two Roman soldiers, the one carrying a lance, the other a hyssop; in addition two sinners on the cross as well as John and the Virgin. Each figure is identified by an inscription. The faces of the figures were deliberately destroyed. Below Jesus' left wing is a depiction of the sun, below his right wing one of the moon. "B. Bagatti pointed to me that ... above the crucified Christ is depicted the brazon [sic] serpent" (Meimaris 1978, 186; cf. Jn 3,14), but Meimaris himself says "the serpent is not clearly depicted." Apart from (a), the inscriptions are written vertically except for (b), where the three final letters are written horizontally; inscription (d) consists of two vertical lines written on both sides of the faded body of the sinner on the left-hand side.

Meas.: h 60, w 75 cm.

Findspot: North wall of the chapel, in the center, next to no. 2850.

- (a)  $\overline{I\Sigma} \overline{X\Sigma}$
- (b) ΛΟΝΓΙΝΟΣ
- (c)  $\Lambda$ AMAXO $\Sigma$
- (d)  $\Delta Y \Sigma M A \Sigma$  $O \Lambda H \Sigma T H \Sigma$
- (e)  $\Gamma E \Sigma T A \Sigma$
- (f) [--]
- (g)  $I\Omega ANNI\Sigma$
- (a) Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς
- (b) Λονγίνος
- (c) Λάμαχος
- (d) Δυσμᾶς | ὁ λήστης
- (e) Γεστᾶς
- (f) [άγία Μαρία (?)]
- (g) Ίωάννις
- (a) Jesus Christ.
- (b) Longinus.
- (c) Lamachus.
- (d) Dysmas, the robber.
- (e) Gestas.
- (f) *Holy Mary* (?).
- (g) Ioannis.

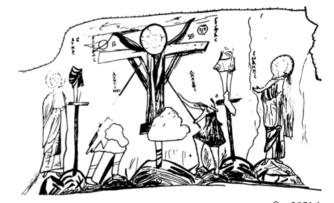


fig. 2851.1



fig. 2851.2

- Comm.: (a) The winged representation of Christ has, according to Meimaris, no parallel in ancient, medieval or modern art. Nevertheless, he quotes the Triodion, the liturgical book of the orthodox church (Τριώδιον, ἔκδοσις ἑβδομή, Venice 1897, 380i): "And so where the body existed, there also was raised (on the wood of the cross) the eagle Christ, the eternal king, the new Adam." However, Hesychios of Jerusalem, who is much nearer to the time of our picture than the Triodion, gives the same epithet to Christ (PG 93,1280); cf. also LCI 1, 1968, 70. Meimaris found similar depictions of an "eagle Christ" from Bawit (Clédat) and from 10 c. Armenia (Der Nersesian).
- (b) Evangelium Nicodemi (=Acta Pilati) 16,7 (ed. Tischendorf 283): καὶ ὅτι λογχῇ τὴν πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ ἐξεκέντησεν Λογγῖνος ὁ στρατιώτης. The only other apocryphal text to name Longinus is the letter of Pilate to Herodes (ed. James). A first guide, though old, to the enormous tradition sprung from this name is Burdach. Longinus the soldier was later conflated with the centurio of Mk 15,39.
- (c) This name Lamachus appears here for the first time; of course, every gospel tells the story of the reed or hyssop; Meimaris records that he is elsewhere mostly known as Stephaton, cf. Kretzenbacher.
- (d) ΔΗΜΑΣ, i.e. Δημᾶς Meimaris, but his drawing clearly shows ΔΥΣΜΑΣ, with a lunar sigma to the right of delta and upsilon, and at least an indication of another lunar sigma at the end (Δημᾶς is read by Ms. C in EvNic 10,2); Evangelium Nicodemi 9,5: καὶ Δυσμᾶς καὶ Γέστας οἱ δύο κακοῦργοι συσταυρωθήτωσάν σοι; 10,1: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς δύο κακούργους ἐκρέμασαν; "Zusatz der kopt. u. armen. Übers.: 'den Dysmas rechts, den Gestas links'." (M. Schärtl, in: Chr. Markschies J. Schröter eds., Antike christliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung 1, 2012, 248 n.40); 10,2: εἶς δὲ τῶν κρεμασθέντων κακούργων ἔφη αὐτῷ λέγων, εἰ σὺ εἶ Χριστός, σῶσον σεαυτὸν καὶ ἡμᾶς. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Δυσμᾶς ἐπετίμα αὐτῷ λέγων. Tischendorf's app. mentions a tradition εἶς δὲ τῶν κρεμασθέντων κακούργων, ὀνόματι Γεστᾶς. Cf. for Dysmas, LCI 6, 1974, 68ff.
  - (e) On Gestas cf. (d).
  - (g) I $\Omega$ ANI $\Sigma$  Meimaris 1978, 181, but see his drawing.

Bibl.: Y. Meimaris, SBF 28, 1978, 181-6 (ed. pr.). – Cf. K. v. Tischendorf, Evangelia apocrypha, 1853; M. James, Apocrypha anecdota 2, 1897, 66ff.; J. Clédat, Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouit, 1904/16; K. Burdach, Der Gral, 1938; S. Der Nersesian, Aght'Amar, Church of the Holy Cross, 1965 pl. 69; L. Kretzenbacher, Österr. Zeitschr. Volkskunde 55, 2001, 1ff.; B. Ehrman - Z. Pleše eds., The Apocryphal Gospels, 2011.

Photo: Y. Meimaris, SBF 28, 1978 pl. 43 figs. 12 (dr.) and 13.

#### 322

#### 2852. Greek inscriptions on a painting of the enthroned Mary

Mary with the infant Jesus on a throne; to her right, St. John the Baptist, to her left, his father, St. Zachary in priestly robes.

Meas.: h 58, w 65 cm.

Findspot: North wall of the chapel, western part.

- (a) AT MP
- (b)  $[..]\Gamma IO\Sigma [.]\Omega ANI\Sigma$
- (c)  $OA\Gamma IO\Sigma [...]APIA\Sigma$
- (a)  $\dot{\alpha}\gamma(i\alpha) M(\alpha)\rho(i\alpha)$
- (b) [ὁ ἅ]γιος [Ἰ]ωάνις
- (c) ὁ ἄγιος [Ζαχ]αρίας
- (a) St. Maria.
- (b) St. Ioanis.
- (c) St. Zacharias.



fig. 2852.1

Comm.: Meimaris says that the scene is "quite common in the Christian art of the VIth and VIIth centuries A.D." (1978, 176), but later on he observes that "the combination of the enthroned Theotokos flanked by St. John the Baptist and St. Zacharias is new, and appears to be entirely local" (no example mentioned in G. Kaster, LCI 8, 1976, 633ff.). One may point out that the name Zacharias is attested two more times in funerary inscriptions from Choziba (nos. 2966, 3067), almost certainly a minor reflex of the Baptist's popularity.



fig. 2852.2

Bibl.: Y. Meimaris, SBF 28, 1978, 186ff. (ed. pr.). - Meimaris, Sacred Names 82 no. 520 (a).

Photo: Y. Meimaris, SBF 28, 1978 pl. 45 figs. 16 (dr.) and 17.

#### 2853. Painted Greek quotation of Ps 85,8-13

The quotation was used as a long dividing line between the paintings (nos. 2849-2852) on the upper parts of the walls and the geometric decorations on the lower parts of the walls.

Findspot: Starting at the southwestern corner of the western wall of the chapel, going along the northern wall; the fig. below showing the section under painting no. 2851 (see fig. 2 there).



fig. 2853

[--]ΙΝΟΜΟΙΟΣΣΟΥΈΝΘΕΟΙΣΚΕΚΑΙΟΥΚΕΣΤΙΝΚΑΤΑ[--]ΟΤΟΥΜΕΓΑΣΕΙ ΣΟΥΚΑΙΠΟΙΩΝΘΑΟΥΜΑΣΙΑΣΟΥΕΙΘΣΜΟΝΟΣ¦ΟΔΗΓΗΣΑΣΜΕΚΕΤΗΟΔΩ ΣΟΥ¦ΚΑΙΠΟΡΕΟΥΣΟΜΕΤΗΑΛΗΘΙΑΣΟΥ[--]

- (8) [οὐκ ἔστ]ιν ὅμοιός σο΄ι᾽ ἐν θεοῖς, κ(ύρι)ε, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν κατὰ [τὰ ἔργα σου. (9) πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ὅσα ἐποίησας, ἥξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιόν σου, κ(ύρι)ε, καὶ δοξάσουσιν τὸ ὄνομά σου,] (10) ὅτ'ι᾽ μέγας εἶ σ'ὺ᾽ καὶ ποιῶν θα'υἰμάσια, σ'ὺ᾽ εἶ <ὁ> θ(εὸ)ς μόνος. (11) ὁδηγήσας με, κ(ύρι)ε, τῆ ὁδῷ σου, καὶ πορε'ὑ᾽σομε <ἐν> τῆ ἀληθία σου· [εὐφρανθήτω ἡ καρδία μου τοῦ φοβεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομά σου. (12) ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι, κύριε ὁ θεός μου, ἐν ὅλη καρδία μου καὶ δοξάσω τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, (13) ὅτι τὸ ἔλεός σου μέγα ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ καὶ ἐρρύσω τὴν ψυχήν μου ἐξ ἄδου κατωτάτου.]
- (8) Among the gods there is none like unto thee, O Lord; neither are there any works like unto thy works. (9) All nations whom thou hast made shall come and worship before thee, O Lord; and shall glorify thy name. (10) For thou art great, and doest wondrous things: thou art God alone. (11) You have taught me thy way, O Lord; I will walk in thy truth: unite my heart to fear thy name. (12) I will praise thee, O Lord my God, with all my heart: and I will glorify thy name for evermore. (13) For great is thy mercy toward me: and thou hast delivered my soul from the lowest hell. (Adapted King James Version [there as Ps 86,8-13])

Comm.: LXX Ps 85,8-13 is not otherwise attested in Felle, Biblia epigraphica (who missed this text, but quotes Ps 85,1-3 and 85,17 in his nos. 79, 692). – (8)  $\Sigma$ OY painting; (10) OTOY;  $\Sigma$ OY;  $\Theta$ AOYMA $\Sigma$ IA painting; (11)  $\Pi$ OPEOY $\Sigma$ OME painting: the ligature ou is used for *iota* and *upsilon*; (10)  $\sigma$ 'Ù'  $\varepsilon$ l  $\delta$ l  $\theta$ ( $\varepsilon$ d) $\varsigma$ : Meimaris' trans-

script indicates a lacuna after  $\varepsilon \tilde{l}$ , but he comments: "The inscription has a few omissions e.g. the article of the masculine gender 'O',  $\Theta EO\Sigma$  instead of  $O \Theta EO\Sigma$ "; at the end of the verse, the transcript records a lacuna, but Meimaris says that  $\mu \dot{\varepsilon} \gamma \alpha \varsigma$  was given only once, whereas LXX has  $\sigma \dot{\upsilon}$   $\varepsilon \tilde{l}$   $\dot{\upsilon}$  θε $\dot{\upsilon}$ ς  $\dot{\upsilon}$   $\dot{$ 

Bibl.: Y. Meimaris, SBF 28, 1978, 191f. (ed. pr.).

Photo: Y. Meimaris, SBF 28, 1978 pl. 44 fig. 15.

WA

# 2854. Mosaic in a kellion with Greek inscription

A large medallion inside a square mosaic; flowers and a running dog pattern in the corners; an inscription (a) on the eastern side; another inscription (b) at the southwestern corner. The mosaic belonged to a rather impressive construction with a small courtyard at the entrance; one needs to climb 4 m via a ladder and another 2 m in order to reach the complex made up of several rooms, balconies and two cisterns (6.5x17 m); a small chapel with a repository for relics stood at the NE corner (plan and reconstruction in Patrich, CAHL 215f., fig. 13).

Meas.: h 1.45, w 1.45 m; ø medallion 1.2 m; letters 8 cm.

Findspot: In one of the monastic cells in Wadi el-Kelt associated with the monastery of St. Georgius and lying about 1.5-2.5 km east of it. The cave is no. 13 in Patrich's count (cf. the map in Patrich 207 fig. 1).

- (a) ΦΩΣΖΩΗΣ
- (b)  $A\Omega$
- (c) ΥΠΕΡ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ ΚΑΙΑΝΤΙΛΗΜΨΈΩΣ ΤΩΝΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΗΣΑΝ ΤΩΝΚΑΙΚΑΡΠΟΦΟ ΡΟΥΝΤΩΝΩΝΚΣΓΙ ΝΩΣΚΕΙΤΑΟΝΟΜΑΤΑ



- (a) φῶς ζωῆς
- (b) A  $\Omega$
- (c) ὑπὲρ | σωτηρίας | καὶ ἀντιλήμψεως | τῶν καρποφορησάν|των καὶ καρποφο|ρούντων, ὧν κ(ὑριο)ς γι|νώσκει τὰ ὀνόματα
- (a) Light of life.
- (b) Alpha (and) Omega.

(c) For the salvation and succor of the past and present benefactors, whose names the Lord knows.

Comm.: (a) Felle thinks that this is not a variation on the common φῶς ζωή, but an echo of Jn 8,12: ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου. ὁ ἀκολουθῶν ἐμοὶ οὐ μὴ περιπατήση ἐν τῆ σκοτία, ἀλλ' ἕξει τὸ φῶς τῆς ζωῆς.

- (b) om. Koikylides 1901.
- (c) Since the inscription was first read, a large part of the middle section disappeared; Patrich records significant lacunae which are not indicated in the text here. l.3: ἀντιλήμψεως πάντων Koikylides 1901, Lecoffre, Horning. This formula of humility is well known. ll.4-7: Koikylides 1901 with incorrect division of lines.



fig. 2854.2

Bibl.: Κ. Koikylides, Ὁ ἐν Μαδηβᾳ μωσαικὸς καὶ γεωγραφικὸς περὶ Συρίας Παλαιστίνης καὶ Αἰγύπτου χάρτης, 1897, 25f. (non vidi) (ed. pr.). – R. Kraetzschmar, ZDPV MN 3, 1897, 55f. no. 4 (review of Koikylides with full reproduction of inscriptions [a]-[c]); Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 2, 1898, 174 (only [a] and [b] after Koikylides); Κ. Koikylides, Τὰ κατὰ τὴν Λαύραν καὶ τὸν χείμαρρον τοῦ Χουζίβα, 1901, 81f.; V. Lecoffre, RB 11, 1902, 158 (after Koikylides 1901); R. Horning, ZDPV 32, 1909, 131f.; Μ. Ανί-Yonah, QDAP 2, 1933, 153f. no. 62 (repr. in: id., Art in Ancient Palestine, 1981, 300 no. 62); B. Bagatti, SBF 3, 1952/3, 130 no. 36; ESI 6, 1987/8, 66 with fig. (=HA 90, 39f.); J. Patrich - B. Arubas - H. Kali, Israel. Land and Nation N.S. 4, 1986/7, 183f., 186, 188, 193 (ph., dr.) (Hebr.); SEG 38, 1648; J. Patrich, CAHL 214, 216, 218 ("These inscriptions, published already in 1901 ... have since been ignored"); J. Moralee, For Salvation's Sake, 2004, 167 no. 293 (c 1-6); Feissel, Chroniques 234 no. 749; Felle, Biblia epigraphica 123 no. 195; Thiel 2007, 131f. – Cf. A. Baumstark, RQA 20, 1906, 140; Baumann, Spätantike Stifter 308.

Photo: J. Patrich, CAHL 218 fig. 14 (ph. and dr.).

WA

#### 2855.-3074. Burial cave with painted inscriptions

About 100 m east of the monastery of St. Georgius in Wadi el-Kelt there is a cave once used for burials (see plans and overview photograph, figs. A-D), 9 m long, 7 m wide. The walls are coated with white plaster, the roof is colored in a reddish brown; walls and roof carry many painted crosses and inscriptions. "Letztere sind

mit braunroter, grauer und gelber Farbe aufgemalt teils sehr deutlich und kalligraphisch schön, teils aber auch schlecht und fast unleserlich, nur wenige in schönen Unzialen, die meisten mehr oder weniger kursiv. ... Etwa ein Dutzend Inschriften konnte ich überhaupt nicht lesen, andere nur teilweise, einige sind mir entgangen, was bei der sehr unregelmäßigen Deckenoberfläche und dem wirren Durcheinander der Beschriftungen ... entschuldbar sein dürfte" (Schneider 316f.). This description accounts for the fact that some texts were only seen by one of the three persons who recorded the inscriptions (Koikylides, Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Schneider):

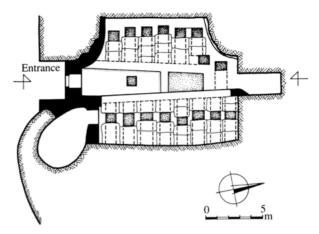


fig. 2855.A Ground plan, Hirschfeld, Judean Desert Monasteries 136 fig. 67 (=Schneider, plan 2)

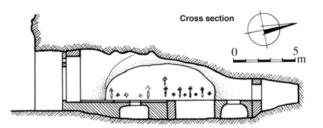
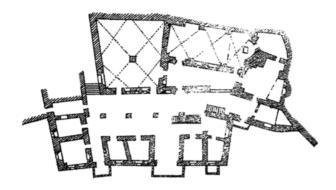


fig. 2855.B Cross section, Hirschfeld, Judean Desert Monasteries 136 fig. 67

the absence of a text in any of the editions cannot be used as an argument against its existence. The majority belong to the 6 c. and 7 c. AD, with a few to be dated even to the 10 c. AD (Koikylides 67f. wanted to divide the inscriptions into four or more chronologically different groups, according to the size of the letters). Photographs of the necropolis with the skulls still in place are given by Meinardus and Hirschfeld. Several graffiti of the 19 c. are not recorded (cf. Meinardus 242). The inscriptions nos. 2855-2939 are written on the left side (and the adjacent ceiling), nos. 2940-2997 on the middle wall (and the adjacent ceiling), nos. 2998-3073 on the right side (and the adjacent ceiling). Schneider 330ff. gives indices of personal names, geographical names, ranks and the like. Patlagean used the dates in the inscriptions to compare the seasonal mortality in Choziba with the mortality in Moab and in Egypt.

The order below follows that of Schneider ("Ich begann links beim Eingang und las dann fortlaufend, bis ich wieder zum Eingang zurückkam, und zwar so, daß ich abschnittweise unten an der Wand anfing und nach aufwärts las, einschließlich der Inschriften an der Decke." [Schneider 317]). Additional identifications of Koikylides (nos. 3002, 3032, 3035, 3074) and Papadopoulos-Kerameus

# Σχεδιογράφημα ἐσωτεριχὸν τῆς Μουῆς χαὶ τῆς Ἐχκλησίας.



Τὸ ἀρχαῖον Κοιμητήριον τῆς Μονῆς·

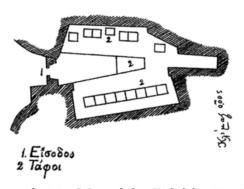


fig. 2855.C Ground plan, Koikylides 1901, 12

(nos. 2888, 3034, 3056) are inserted into Schneider's order. The drawings provided by Papadopoulos-Kerameus do not always fit Schneider's and Koikylides' readings. Schneider gave drawings only for nos. 2874, 2875, 2884, 2923, 2930, 3066.

Bibl.: Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea, 112f.; Koikylides 1901; Papadopoulos-Kerameus; Schneider, Choziba (repr. in: id., Reticulum, 1998, 142ff. [with further lit. on p. 170]); O. Meinardus, SBF 16, 1965, 241f.; E. Patlagean, Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, 1977, 93f.; Y. Meimaris, SBF 28, 1978, 173-92; TIR p. 104; Y. Hirschfeld, BAR 21, 1995, 28-37, 70; Ribak, Religious Communities 170.



fig. 2855.D Overview, Hirschfeld, Judean Desert Monasteries 136 fig. 67

#### 2855. Painted wall inscription with an unidentified name

(cross) EKOI[--] OMAKAPITHΣ ΟΥ[--]ΕΛΑ ΔΜΗΝΟΕΜΒΡ ΚΑΙΔΓ (cross)

έκοι [μήθη] | ὁ μακαρίτης | ΟΥ[--]ΕΛΑ|Δ, μη(νὶ) Νοεμβρ(ίω) | κα', ἰ(ν)δ(ικτιῶνος) γ'

... of blessed memory fell asleep, on November 21st, indiction 3.

Comm.: l.1: ἐκοιμήθη Koikylides; l.3f.: ΟΥ[...] ἑλα|δ(ικός) Schneider; he quotes this under the heading "Ortsnamen." He believes that this inscription is part of a series, which includes no. 2955 (the latter seems problematic); no. 3013: Ἰωάννης διάκ(ονος) ΕΛΑ|ΔΙΚΟΣ; no. 3062: ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἀνδρέας ΕΛΑΔΙΚ; no. 3073: ἀ[ν]αστ[ά]σις

 $E\Lambda\Lambda A\Delta$ . He seems to be right about the series, but does this inscription belong to it and what does  $E\Lambda A\Delta IK$  mean?

- a) It is certainly tempting to understand OY[--]E $\Lambda$ A| $\Delta$  as something like Oů[ãρος] έλα|δ(ιχός), thereby joining it to the other texts. This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that none of the personal names collected by Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 91f. can be made to fit the reported OY[--]E $\Lambda$ A| $\Delta$ . A bit disconcerting is the linebreak between the *alpha* and the *delta* (since there is no similar linebreak in any of the other texts of this series). If one looks for a short name Ou[-ca. 5 letters-] and starts a new word with E $\Lambda$ A, then one might look at ἐλαδᾶς, oil-seller (Sophocles s.v.). Cf. SB 3, 6250 (Alexandria, 491 AD): ὁ ελαδ[... τοῦ] κοινοβ(ίου) τοῦ ἀ(ββᾶ) Εὐσταθί(ου), where ἐλάχ[ιστος] is considered possible. But this would place our inscription outside the series.
- b) There is no word beginning with ἐλαδ[--] in LSJ, Lampe, Sophocles; it seems that Schneider relied on no. 3073, the only instance with two lambdas, and understood here (and at every other instance) Ἑλλαδικ(ός). However, ἑλλαδικός generally means "things Greek," even in  $[--]\tilde{\varphi}$   $\beta(\alpha \sigma \iota \lambda \iota \kappa \tilde{\varphi}) \sigma \pi \alpha [(\theta \alpha \rho \iota \tilde{\varphi})]$  (καὶ)  $\sigma \tau \rho \alpha \tau \eta \gamma (\tilde{\varphi})$  Έλλαδι $[\kappa \tilde{\omega} \nu]$  (lead seal, 7-8 c., A. Avramea, Σύμμεικτα 10, 1996, 11ff. no. 15). As far as one can see, we have no certain instance of ἑλλαδικός meaning "coming from Greece." l.3: om. Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 76 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 317 no. 1 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 157 no. 1).

WA

#### 2856. Painted wall inscription of Apellianus

(cross) ΕΚΥΜΗΘΗ ΑΠΕΛΛΙΑΝΟΣ ΜΗΝΟΗΒΡΙΟΥ[..] ΙΝΔΙΓ

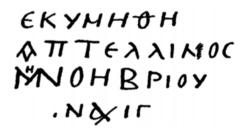


fig. 2856

έκυμήθη | Άπελλιανός, | μη(νὸς) Νοηβρίου [..], | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιγ'

Apellianus fell asleep on November ..., indiction 13.

Comm.: 1.2: ἀπέλλης Koikylides, ἀπελλῖνος Papadopoulos-Kerameus. – 1.3: Νοημβρίου Schneider; Νοηβρίου η' Koikylides.

330

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 76 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 197 no. 2; Schneider, Choziba 317 no. 2 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 157 no. 2).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 197 fig. 2 (dr.).

WA

#### 2857. Painted wall inscription of Epiphani...

(cross) ΕΚΥΜΗ ΘΙΕΠΙΦΑ NI[--]ΜΗΕΙΟΥΛ[..] INΔ[..]

ἐκυμή $|\theta|$ ι Ἐπιφα $|\nu|$ [--], μη $(\nu)$ ) Εἰουλ $(i\omega)$  [..] | ἰνδ $(i\kappa \tau i\tilde{\omega} \nu o \varsigma)$  [..]

Epiphani... fell asleep ... on July ...th, indiction ...

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 317 no. 3 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 157 no. 3) (ed. pr.).

WA

#### 2858. Painted wall inscription of Bassus

(cross) ΕΚΟΙΜΗΘΗ ΒΑΣΣΟΣ ΜΗΝΙΑΠΡΙΛ ΙΩΛΙΝΔΙΑ ΕΙΣΤΟΘΑΝΑΤΙΚΟΝ (cross) ∢ΚΥμμθΗ βλεεος ἄΔπηλιωληΝΔΙΑ ΕΙστοθανλτικον+

fig. 2858

έκοιμήθη | Βάσσος, | μηνὶ Ἀπριλ|ίω λ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ια', | εἰς τὸ θανατικόν

Bassus fell asleep on April 20th, indiction 11. To mortality.

Comm.: ll.1-3: Could no longer be seen by Schneider; line division of ll.4-5 according to Schneider. – l.2:  $B\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma[o\varsigma]$  Koikylides. – l.3:  $\mu\eta(\nu i)$  Koikylides. – l.4: If we discard the astrological meaning, this word is mostly used in the sense of "plague," but this does not seem to fit. Perhaps realm of death?

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 76 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 197 no. 1; Schneider, Choziba 317 no. 4 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 157 no. 4).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 197 fig. 1 (dr.).

#### 2859. Painted wall inscription

(cross) ANEΠAH

[--]

[--]

[--]

ἀνεπάη | [--|--]

Came to rest ...

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 317 no. 5 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 157 no. 5) (ed. pr).

WA

#### 2860. Painted wall inscription of Elias

(cross) ΕΚΟΙΜΗΘΙΗΛΙ ΑΣΓΕΡΜΗΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΟΥΙΗΙΝΔΒ

# ϯͼϗͽϳμηθηλι Αςτ<sup>ͼ</sup>ριζςεπτέμβ

fig. 2860

έκοιμήθι 'Ηλί|ας Γερ(--), μη(νὶ) Σεπτεμβρίου ιη', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) β'

Elias ... came to rest on September 18th, indiction 2.

Comm.: l.1 ἐκοιμήθ(η) Koikylides, Papadopoulos-Kerameus; fin.:  $\mu\eta$ (--) Koikylides. – l.2: Γερ non vidit Koikylides; Papadopoulos-Kerameus offers some suggestions for the abbreviation, of which Γερ(ασηνός) seems the most probable. – [ $\mu\eta\nu$ ός] Schneider; PIOΥΙΗΙΝΔΒ read only by Koikylides (was it a third line?).

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 73 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 200 no. 12; Schneider, Choziba 317 no. 6 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 157 no. 6).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 200 fig. 12 (dr.).

#### 2861. Painted wall inscription of the Deacon Ioannes

(cross) I $\Omega$ ANNI $\Sigma$   $\Delta$ IAK $\Omega$ N APMENI $\Sigma$ NEI $\Omega$ N[.] M[--] [--]NO $\Upsilon$ [--] $\Lambda$ [..] IWANNIC APMENIC NEIWN

Ἰωάννις | διάκων(ος)· | Άρμενὶς | ΝΕΙΩΝ[.]|Μ[--|--]ΝΟΥ|[--]Λ[..]

fig. 2861

Ioannes the deacon. Armenis ...

Comm.: l.1: Papadopoulos-Kerameus saw no cross; Ἰωάννης Koikylides. For monks named Ioannes in Choziba see no. 3003. – l.4: NE $\Delta$  Koikylides; NE $\Omega$ N Schneider. – ll.5-7: non vidunt Koikylides, Papadopoulos-Kerameus. In all likelihood these lines expressed the date of Ioannes' death.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 76 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 198 no. 6; Schneider, Choziba 317 no. 7 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 157 no. 7); Meimaris, Sacred Names 167 no. 824. – Cf. D. Feissel, in: J. Davies - J. Wilkes eds., Epigraphy and the Historical Sciences, 2012, 1ff.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 198 fig. 6 (dr.).

WA

# 2862. Painted wall inscription of Anastasis from Ascalon

[--] ΚΗΑΝΑΣΤΑ ΣΙΣΑΣΚΑ[--]

[--] | κη', Άναστά|σις Άσκα[λωνίτης]

... 28th, Anastasis from Ascalon.

Comm.: "κη ist wohl der Rest der Datumsangabe" Schneider, cf. for the position of the date, e.g., no. 2863.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 317 no. 8 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 157 no. 8) (ed. pr.).

#### 2863. Painted wall inscription of Nestabus from Ascalon

(cross) MHA $\Pi$ PK $\Theta$ (christogram) NE $\Sigma$ TABO $\Sigma$ A $\Sigma$ KA $\Lambda$  $\Omega$ 

μη(νὶ) Ἀπρ(ιλίω) κθ', | Νέσταβος | Ἀσκαλω(νίτης)

April 29th, Nestabus from Ascalon.

Comm.: l.1: For the position of the date in front of the name, cf. no. 2862. For the name, cf. CIIP III 2426 (a famous saint).

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 318 no. 9 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 157 no. 9) (ed. pr.).

WA

#### 2864. Painted wall inscription

(cross) ANE $\Pi$ AH [.] $\Omega$ N[--] MH $\Delta$ EKE[--]

ἀνεπάη | [.]ΩΝ[--], | μη(νὶ) Δεκε[μβρίω --]

... came to rest, December ...

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 318 no. 10 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 158 no. 10) (ed. pr.).

WA

# 2865. Painted wall inscription of Zenobius from Cilicia

(cross) ΟΜΑΚΑΡ $\int$  ΖΗΝΟΒΙΟΣ KIΛΙΞΜΑ  $I\overline{\Theta}INΔ\overline{B}$ 

ό μακάρ(ιος) | Ζηνόβιος | Κίλιξ, Μα(ίου) |  $\iota\theta$ ',  $\iota\nu\delta$ (ικτιῶνος) β'

The blessed Zenobius from Cilicia, (who died) on May 19th, indiction 2.

+OMAKAPS
ZHNOBIOC
KILIZMA
IĀINA B

fig. 2865

334

Comm.: l.1: Abbreviation not reported by Koikylides. – l.3: Μαίου Koikylides, Schneider; Μα(ρτίου)?

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 71 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 199 no. 8; Schneider, Choziba 318 no. 11 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 158 no. 11).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 199 fig. 8 (dr.).

WA

# 2866. Painted wall inscription of the monk Conon the Isaurian

(cross)  $KON\Omega[.]I\Sigma A\Upsilon P \int MOMH \cdot I \cdot O\Upsilon \Lambda \int \cdot I \cdot N\Delta \cdot I \cdot EN\Theta A \Delta EKEITAI (cross)$ 

፟∰ ΚΟΝω«ΙζΑΥΡ<sup>ς</sup> ΜΑΪΙΟΥΛΊΝΔΙ ΕΝΦΑΔΕΚΕΙΤΑΙ+

Κόνω[ν] "Ισαυρ(ος) | μο(ναχός), μη(νὶ) Ἰουλ(ίω) ι', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ι', | ἐνθάδε κεῖται

fig. 2866

Conon, the Isaurian, monk, on July 10th, indiction 10, lies here.

Comm.: l.1: Ἰσαυρος Koikylides. For Isaurian monks in Choziba, see Patlagean; there was an Isaurian martyr called Conon. – l.2:  $\mu\eta(\nu l)$  Ἰουλ(ίω) ι' Schneider. – l.3: κῖτε Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 76 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 198 no. 7; Schneider, Choziba 318 no. 12 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 158 no. 12); Meimaris, Sacred Names 231 no. 1144. – Cf. E. Patlagean, Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, 1977, 336f.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 198 fig. 7 (dr.).

WA

#### 2867. Painted wall inscription of Ioannes the elder

(cross) Τ'ΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΓΈΡΩΝ ΜΗ ΤΟΥΛΙΟΥ  $\overline{KB}$  FEPWN WIOY MIOY

(cross) Ἰωάννης | γέρων, | μη(νὸς) Ἰουλίου | κβ'

Ioannes the elder, (who died) on July 22nd.

fig. 2867

Comm.: l.1: Ἰωάνης Papadopoulos-Kerameus. Given the number of different Ioannes, the specification is perhaps not unnecessary (cf. no. 2937 for another Ioannes named γέρων; for monks named Ioannes in Choziba in general see no. 3003), but Meimaris in no. 2931 saw things differently: "A title conferring dignity given to the desert and monastery monks." He also noted (in his comments to no. 2937) that the term  $\gamma$ έρων was never abbreviated in Choziba.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 76 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 197 no. 3; Schneider, Choziba 318 no. 13 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 158 no. 13); Meimaris, Sacred Names 239 no. 1200.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 197 fig. 3 (dr.).

WA

#### 2868. Painted wall inscription of Anastasis

(cross) ΑΝΑΣΤΑ ΣΙΣΜΑΚΑ ΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΙΤΕ

Άναστά σις μακά (ριος) | ἐνθάδε κῖτε

Anastasis, the blessed, lies here.

Comm.: 1.2: μακαρ Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 76 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 318 no. 14 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 158 no. 14).

WA

#### 2869. Painted wall inscription of Stephanus

(cross) ΕΚΙΜΗΘΙΣΤΕΦΑ ΝΟΣΕΜΜΗΕΙΟΥΛ[..] ΙΝΔΓ

ἐκιμήθι Στέφα|νος ἐμ μη(νὶ) Εἰουλ(ίω) [..], | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γ'

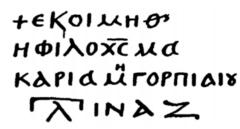
Stephanus fell asleep, on July ..., indiction 3.

Comm.: l.1: ἐκοιμήθη Koikylides. – l.2: μηνί Koikylides; Εἰουλ(ίω) om. Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 76 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 318 no. 15 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 158 no. 15).

#### 2870. Painted wall inscription of Macaria

(cross) ΕΚΟΙΜΗΘΓ ΗΦΙΛΟΧΣΜΑ ΚΑΡΙΑΜΗΓΟΡΠΙΑΙΟΥ ΛΙΝΔΙΖ



έκοιμήθ(η) | ή φιλόχ(ριστο)ς Μα|καρία, μη(νὸς) Γορπιαίου | λ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ΙΖ

fig. 2870

The christ-loving Macaria fell asleep, on Gorpiaios 30th, indiction 17(?).

Comm.: ll.1f.: Koikylides did not mention the abbreviations. – l.3: For the use of Macedonian months, see no. 2909; Macaria came perhaps from a place in southern Palestine. – l.4:  $i\nu\delta$   $\zeta$ ' Koikylides, Papadopoulos-Kerameus. – "Diese Frau no. 39, 103 und die Diakonisse Anastasia (no. 197) sind wohl auf der Durchreise im Kloster verstorben" (Schneider), nos. 2894, 2958, 3057, as well as no. 3032 are not mentioned by Schneider.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 71 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 199 no. 9; Schneider, Choziba 318 no. 16 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 158 no. 16).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 199 fig. 9 (dr.).

WA

# 2871. Painted wall inscription of Ioannes, priest of Borelia

(cross) ΕΚΟΙΜ ΟΜΑΚΙΩ ΑΝΝΗΣΠΡΕΣΒ ΒΟΡΗΛΙΩΝΜΗ ΛΩΟΥΕΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΒ ΙΝΔΑΕΤ[..]

έκοιμ(ήθη) | ὁ μακ(άριος) Ἰω|άννης, πρεσβ(ύτερος) | Βορηλίων, μη(νὸς) | Λώου ε΄, Σεπτεμβρί(ου) β΄, | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) α΄, ἔτ(ους) [..]

The blessed Ioannes, priest of Borelia, fell asleep on Loios 5th, September 2nd, indiction 1, year ...

Comm.: Koikylides' text ends with IN $\Delta$  A and he did not mention the abbreviations. For monks named Ioannes in Choziba see no. 3003. – 1.4: Alt 91: "Da das

Choziba-Kloster in der Luftlinie etwa 80 km von burēr entfernt und durch das ganze Massiv des judäischen Gebirges von ihm getrennt ist, mag es freilich zunächst als sehr gewagt erscheinen, wenn ich den uns nur hier bezeugten Ortsnamen Borelia, den Schneider zwar als solchen erkannte, aber nicht zu deuten wußte, mit jenem weit abgelegenen philistäischen Dorf in Verbindung bringe." But Alt points to the fact that monks from Ascalon, Gaza and Maiumas are more strongly represented in this monastery as from any other region. The double date has its parallels in Ascalon too. According to Alt, Borelia was not Ioannes' home town, but the place where he acted as priest. Alt 92: "Die Abweichungen der Schreibung Βορηλίων von der anderen gräzisierten Form Βουριρῶν und von der arabischen burēr sind nicht so erheblich, daß sie die Identifikation ausschlössen." Cf. ἐκ τῆς πεδιάδος ἀπὸ Βουριρῶν τῆς κώμης (Cyril, v. Sabae 79, ed. Schwartz, p. 185). – l.5: "... ist nach der Ära von Askalon gerechnet, bei der der 5. Loos dem 2. Sept. entspricht" (Schneider); for the Macedonian months, see no. 2909.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 74 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 318 no. 17 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 158 no. 17); Meimaris, Sacred Names 190 no. 935 (ll.1-4). – Cf. A. Alt, ZDPV 68, 1951, 90ff.

WA

#### 2872. Painted wall inscription

(cross) ΕΥΤΥΧ[--] ΑΔΕΛΦΗΣΑΥΤΗΣ

Εὐτυχ[--] | ἀδελφῆς αὐτῆς

Eutych... of her sister.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 318 no. 18 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 158 no. 18) (ed. pr.).

WA

# 2873. Painted wall inscription of Elias from Ascalon

(cross) ΑΝΕΠΑΗ ΟΜΑΚΗΛΙΑΣ ΑΣΚΑΛΩΝΙΤ ΜΗΝΙΙΟΥΝΙΩΙΙΝΔΙΕ

ἀνεπάη | ὁ μακ(άριος) Ἡλίας | ἀσκαλωνίτ(ης), | μηνὶ Ἰουνίω ι', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιε'

*The blessed Elias of Ascalon came to rest on June 10th, indiction 15.* 

Comm.: ll.2f.: Koikylides did not mention the abbreviations. – l.4: Schneider did not see the first six letters, and Koikylides wrote at the end:  $i\nu\delta$   $\theta$ '  $\xi\tau\sigma\nu\varsigma$   $\sigma$ '. The double date is not per se impossible, but neither  $\sigma$ ' nor  $\tau$ 0 are remotely possible.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 71f. (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 318 no. 19 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 158 no. 19).

WA

#### 2874. Painted wall inscription of Armenius the priest

(staurogram) ΑΡΜΕΝΙΟΣ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ

Άρμένιος | πρεσβύτερος

Armenius the priest.

**半** A P M E N I O C TTP E C B Y T E P O C

fig. 2874.1 (Papadopoulos-Kerameus)



fig. 2874.2 (Schneider)

Comm.: Schneider dates the letters of this inscription to the 5 c. AD, taking this as one of the earliest texts. No. 2875 although written right below this text, was evidently written later.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 71 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 199 no. 10; Schneider, Choziba 318 no. 20 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 158 no. 20 with 169 fig. 4); Meimaris, Sacred Names 190 no. 936.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 199 fig. 10 (dr.); Schneider, Choziba pl. 8 fig. 10 (dr.).

WA

#### 2875. Painted wall inscription of Procopius of Ascalon

(cross) ΜΗΣΕΤΜΒΡΙΟΥ ΙΕΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΑΣΚΑΛΟΥΝΙΤ∫ (cross) + \$\text{\$\tex{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$

μη(νὸς) Σε(π)τ(ε)μβρίου | ιε', Προκοπίου | 'Ασκαλουνίτ(ου) fig. 2875.1 (Papadopoulos-Kerameus)

On September 15th, (grave of) Procopius of Ascalon.

Comm.: The text, although written right below no. 2874, has a different script and is obviously of a later date. – l.2: The personal name Procopius is very common in Christian Palestine, and Schneider finds another bearer of this name in Choziba (Miracula b. Mariae Virginis [BHG 669], c.3). – l.3: Σεπτεμβρίου, Ἀσκαλωνίτου Koikylides.

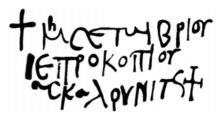


fig. 2875.2 (Schneider)

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 71 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 199 no. 11; Schneider, Choziba 318 no. 21 (repr. in: id., Reticulum, 158 no. 21 with 169 fig. 4).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 199 fig. 11 (dr.); Schneider, Choziba, pl. 8 fig. 10 (dr.).

WA

#### 2876. Painted wall inscription

(cross) EKYM $\Theta$ HO [--]PIO $\Sigma$ [--]EIN $\Delta\Delta$ 

ἐκύμθη ὁ | [μα(κάριος) --]ριος, | [μη--] ε', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ'

(The blessed) ...rius fell asleep ... 5th, indiction 4.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 318 no. 22 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 158 no. 22) (ed. pr.).

WA

#### 2877. Painted wall inscription of Theodorus

(cross) ΟΜΑΚΘΕΟΔΩ ΡΟΣΜΗΝΟΕΜΒΡΙ ΙΝΔΖ

ό μακ(άριος) Θεόδω|ρος, μη(νὶ) Νοεμβρ(ίω) ι', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ζ'

The blessed Theodorus, (who died) on November 10th, indiction 7.

Comm.: Koikylides did not report the abbreviations. l.1: ἐκοιμήθη Koikylides, explicitly rejected by Schneider. – l.2: Νοεμβρί(φ) [..] Schneider.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 73 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 318 no. 23 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 158 no. 23).

#### 2878. Painted wall inscription of Ioannes

(cross) I $\Omega$ ANNH $\Sigma$  [--] $\Phi$ O[...] $\Omega$ [.] MH $\Sigma$ EB[--] [--]K

[ [ [ ωάννης ] ] ] [ [ [ ωακάριος ἀδελ] Φὸ [ ς ἡμ] <math>[ ω [ ν] ] ] ] [ [ μη (νὸς ) ] Σεβ (τεμβρίου ) ] ]

Ioannes, our blessed brother, (who died) on September ...

Comm.: l.2: The supplement depends on the supposed length of the lacuna. – l.3:  $\Sigma \epsilon \beta [\tau \epsilon \mu (\beta \rho i o \upsilon)$  --] vel sim. is possible too. – l.4:  $[i\nu \delta] \varkappa$  Schneider; perhaps rather  $[i\nu \delta i] \varkappa (\tau i \omega \nu o \varsigma)$  [..], even though this is an unusual abbreviation (but see some examples in Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations 72). – For monks named Ioannes in Choziba see no. 3003.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 318 no. 24 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 158 no. 24) (ed. pr.).

WA

# 2879. Painted wall inscription of Sosimus

(cross) ΕΚΙΜΗΘ ΟΜΡΣΩΣΙΜΟΣ ΜΗΕΙΟΥΛΙΟΥΚ ΙΝΔΙΓ

ἐκιμήθ(η) | ὁ μ(ακά)ρ(ιος) Σώσιμος, | μη(νὸς) Εἰουλίου κ', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιγ'

The blessed Sosimus fell asleep, on July 20th, indiction 13.

Comm.: ll.1-3: ἐκοιμήθη ὁ μακάριος Ζώσιμος, μηνὶ Εἰουλίφ Koikylides. – l.3: κ' non vidit Schneider.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 73 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 318 no. 25 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 158 no. 25).

#### 2880. Painted wall inscription of Gabriel

(cross) ΕΚΥΜΙ ΘΙΓΑΒΡΙΗΛΜΗΜΑΡΤΙΟΥΖ

έκυμί|θι Γαβριήλ, μη(νὸς) Μαρτίου ζ'

Gabriel fell asleep, on March 7th.

Comm.: l.1: ἐκοιμήθη Koikylides. – l.2: μηνί Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 73 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 318 no. 26 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 158 no. 26).

WA

#### 2881. Painted wall inscription of the Deacon Marcus

(christogram) ΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΕΙΤΑΙ ΟΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣΜΑΡΚΟΣΟΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣΕΝΧΩ ΕΚΟΙΜΗΘΗΜΗΜΑΙΩΗΙΝΔΒ

ἐνθάδε κεῖται | ὁ μακάριος Μᾶρκος, ὁ διάκονος, ἐν X(ριστ)ῷ. | ἐκοιμήθη μη(νὶ) Μαίφ η' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) β'

Here lies the blessed Marcus, the deacon in Christ. He came to rest on May 8th, indiction 2.

Comm.: l.1: κῆται Koikylides. – l.2: Schneider did not see ὁ διάκονος ἐν X(ριστ)ῷ. – l.3: Koikylides ends with μηνὶ Μαίφ.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 73 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 319 no. 27 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 158 no. 27); Meimaris, Sacred Names 167 no. 825.

WA

# 2882. Painted wall inscription of the hermit Ioannes

(cross) ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣΟΜΑΚΑΡΚΕΛΛΙΩΤ +ΙΜαΝΝΗ COMακρκελλίωτ ΑΡΑΒΟΜΗ ΑΠΡΙΛΙΖ (cross) απριχίζ+

Ἰωάννης, ὁ μακάρ(ιος) κελλιώτ(ης) | Ἄραβο(ς), μη(νὶ) | Ἀπριλ(ίω) ιζ'

fig. 2882

Ioannes, the blessed hermit, Arabus, (who died) on April 17th.

Comm.: The right-hand side of both ll.2 and 3 does not resemble the rest of the inscription. Koikylides mentioned this inscription twice (on the same page) but recorded no abbreviations. For monks named Ioannes in Choziba see no. 3003. – l.1: MAKP Papadopoulos-Kerameus; κελλαριώτης Koikylides (on κε(λ)λαρίτης, see Feissel, Chroniques 230 no. 733; Lampe knows this and related words only in the usual sense of the Latin *cellarius*). κελλιώτ(ης): "a monk who had his own cell outside but in the vicinity of the monastery, and who went to the monastery on Saturdays and Sundays for the common worship," Meimaris; if Meimaris' collection for Palestine is complete, this term is attested epigraphically only in Choziba. – l.2: APABE...X Koikylides, Åράβες Papadopoulos-Kerameus; Ἄραβο(ς) is not necessarily an ethnicon, but rather implies that the man came from provincia Arabia, cf. E. Schwartz, Kyrillos von Skythopolis, 1939, 359 n.1. – l.3: Ἀπριλίου Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 73 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 200 no. 16; Schneider, Choziba 319 no. 28 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 159 no. 28); Meimaris, Sacred Names 234 no. 1168.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 200 fig. 16 (dr.).

WA

# 2883. Painted wall inscription of the priest Antiochus

(cross) ΕΚΟΙΜΗΘ[--]Κ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΜΗΔΕΚΕΜΡΙΟΥ ΗΙ

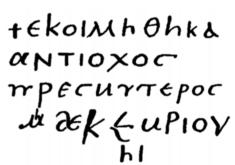


fig. 2883

έκοιμήθ[η ὁ μα]κ(άριος) | Άντίοχος | πρεσβύτερος, | μη(νὸς) Δεκεμρίου | ηι'

The blessed priest Antiochus fell asleep, on December 18th.

Comm.: l.1: ἐκοιμήθηκα Papadopoulos-Kerameus.

Bibl.: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 201 no. 18 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 319 no. 29 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 159 no. 29); Meimaris, Sacred Names 190 no. 937 (ll.1-3).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 201 fig. 18 (dr.).

#### 2884. Painted wall inscription of Longinus the Cappadocian

(staurogram) EN $\Theta$ A $\Delta$ EKITE  $\Lambda$ ON $\Gamma$ INO $\Sigma$ KA $\Pi$   $\Pi$ A $\Delta$ O $\Xi$ KOIMH $\Theta$ I $\Sigma$  MH $\overline{AZ}$  (cross)

ένθάδε κῖτε | Λονγῖνος Καπ|πάδοξ κοιμηθίς, | μη(νί) Α(--) ζ'

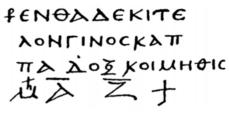


fig. 2884.1 (Papadopoulos-Kerameus)

Here lies Longinus, the Cappadocian, having fallen asleep on the 7th A...

Comm.:l.1:κῆται Koikylides. – l.2: Longinus: a Christian name, cf. no. 2851. – ll.2f.: Cappadocian, cf. nos. 2892, 3050. – l.4: April or August.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 72 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 201 no. 19; Schneider, Choziba 319 no. 30 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 159 no. 30 with 169 fig. 5).

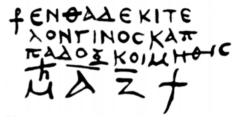


fig. 2884.2 (Schneider)

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 201 fig. 19 (dr.); Schneider, Choziba pl. 8 fig. 11 (dr.).

WA

# 2885. Painted wall inscription of Georgis from Ascalon

(cross) ΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΙΤΕ ΓΙΟΡΓΙΣΑΣΚ ΜΑΡΜΑΡΑ ΡΗΣΜΗΑΥΓΟΥ ΣΤΟΥΚ ΄Ι΄ΝΔ∫Ζ (cross) +ENDDDEKITE
HOPHCACK

HAPMAPA

PHCHALOY

CTOY K

INDS

fig. 2885

ένθάδε κῖτε | Γιόργις Ἀσκ(αλωνίτης) | μαρμαρά|ρης, μη(νὸς) Αὐγού|στου κ', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ζ'

Here lies Georgis from Ascalon, marble-worker, (who died) on August 20th, indiction 7.

Comm.: l.3: MAPMAPA "Vielleicht ist irgendein Orts- oder eher Berufsname darin zu vermuten" Schneider. l.4: ...ΗΣ Koikylides, ΕΗΣ Schneider; "μαρμαράρης (für -ιος) 'Marmorbildhauer'," Alt (and this was the reading of Papadopoulos-Kerameus). On marble-workers in Palestine, see CIIP II 1536 (where this example was missed). It is perhaps not insignificant that the deceased came from a city with its own harbor. Professions are otherwise rare in the Choziba texts (see nos. 2932, 2944, 3055 and maybe 2959). – l.4: Αὐγούστου Koikylides, ΑΥΓ Schneider, ΑΓΟΥ Papadopoulos-Kerameus.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 72 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 202 no. 21; Schneider, Choziba 319 no. 31 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 159 no. 31). – Cf. A. Alt, ZDPV 68, 1951, 91 n.2.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 202 fig. 21 (dr.).

WA

#### 2886. Painted wall inscription of ...phones from Ascalon

(cross) ΕΚΥΜΗΘΙ ΟΜΑΚΑΡ [--]ΦΟΝΗΣ ΑΣΚΑΛΩΝ ΜΗ[--] ΙΝΔΗ

 $\dot{\epsilon}$ κυμήθι |  $\dot{\delta}$  μακάρ(ιος) | [--]φονης | Ασκαλων(ίτης), | μη(νὶ) [--], |  $\dot{\epsilon}$ ινδ(ικτιῶνος) η'

The blessed ...phones from Ascalon fell asleep, month ..., indiction 8.

Comm.: [--] $\phi$ ong=[--] $\phi$ ong=[--] $\phi$ o/whog? Even this is rare as ending of a name.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 319 no. 32 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 159 no. 32) (ed. pr.).

WA

#### 2887. Painted wall inscription of Victor and Theodorus

(cross) ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΕΥΝΥΧΟΣ

Βίκτωρ | Θεόδωρος | εὐν(ο)ῦχος

Victor, Theodorus, the Eunuch.

TBIKTWP
DEODWPOC

fig. 2887

Comm.: l.3: εὐνοῦχος Koikylides, εὐν(ο)ῦχος Papadopoulos-Kerameus; Εὐνῦχος Schneider. Koikylides and Schneider quote Moschos, PG 87, 3041, Θεόδωρος εὐνοῦχος as hermit εἰς τὰ μέρη τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰορδάνου. – The examples for Εὔνουχος as a personal name in Pape, WGE are not quite convincing (none in LGPN). For another eunuch cf. no. 3007. On ου>υ, see Gignac I 214f. Koikylides has a fourth line, Στέφανος, which has not been seen by either Papadopoulos-Kerameus or Schneider (as far as one can see, this line does not belong to any of the other individuals named Stephanus in the cemetery, see nos. 2869, 2899, 2903, 2913, 2968, 3065).

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 71 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 200 nos. 13, 14; Schneider, Choziba 319 no. 33 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 159 no. 33).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 200 figs. 13-14 (dr.).

WA

#### 2888. Painted wall inscription of Cyrillus

(cross) ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΣ

 $+KYP/\lambda\lambda OC$ 

Κύριλλος

fig. 2888

Cyrillus.

Comm.: In the vicinity of no. 2887.

Bibl.: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 201 no. 17 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 201 fig. 17 (dr.).

WA

# 2889. Painted wall inscription of Georgis and Paulus

(cross) ΓΕΩΡΓΙΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ

Γεώργις | Παῦλος

Georgis, Paulus.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 71 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 319 no. 34 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 159 no. 34).

#### 2890. Painted wall inscription of Cyricus

(cross) ΚΥΡΙΚΟΣ ΜΗΟΚΤΩΙΔΕ

Κύρικος, | μη(νὶ) Ὀκτω(βρίω), ἰ(ν)δ(ικτιῶνος) ε'

Cyricus, month of October, indiction 5.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 319 no. 35 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 159 no. 35) (ed. pr.).

WA

#### 2891. Painted wall inscription of the monk Ioannes from Antioch

(cross) ΊΩΑΝΝΗΣΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ ΑΠΟΠΟΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΑΣ ↑ÏWANNHC細が ARROANTIOXIAC

Ἰωάννης μοναχὸς | ἀπὸ πό(λεως) ἀντιοχίας

fig. 2891

Ioannes, the monk, from the city of Antioch.

Comm.: l.1: Ἰωάννης ... Papadopoulos-Kerameus. – l.2: ἀπὸ πόλεως Koikylides; ἀπὸ ἀντιοχίας Meimaris, but see the facsimile; most likely Antioch in Syria.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 76 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 197 no. 4; Schneider, Choziba 319 no. 36 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 159 no. 36); Meimaris, Sacred Names 231 no. 1145.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 197 fig. 4 (dr.).

WA

#### 2892. Painted wall inscription of Theodorus of Cappadocia

(cross) ΕΚΥΜΗΘΗΟΜΑΚΑΓ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣΚΑΠΑ ΔΟΞΜΗΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ ĪΘΊ ΝΔΊ Γ (cross)

ἐκυμήθη ὁ μακά(ριος) | Θεόδωρος Καπά|δοξ, μη(νὸς) Ἰουλίου | ιθ᾽, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιγ᾽ EKYMHOHOMAKD OSMIOYXIOY IOTXIT+

fig. 2892

The blessed Theodorus of Cappadocia fell asleep, on July 19th, indiction 13.

Comm.: l.1: The cross was not seen by Papadopoulos-Kerameus; ἐκοιμήθι, μακάριος Koikylides. – ll.2f.: Θεόδωρος ὁ Κάππαδοξ Koikylides, Θεόδωρος ὁ Καπάδοξ Papadopoulos-Kerameus. On Cappadocia, cf. no. 2884.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 72 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 200 no. 15; Schneider, Choziba 319 no. 37 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 159 no. 37).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 200 fig. 15 (dr.).

WA

#### 2893. Painted wall inscription of Thomas

Placed close to no. 2892.

(cross) EKOIMH $\Theta$ H OMAKAP  $\Theta\Omega$ MA $\Sigma$  IN $\Delta$ IKTI $\overline{E}$  MH'T'OY $\Delta$ I $\Omega$   $\overline{KB}$  (cross)

έκοιμήθη | ὁ μακάρ(ιος) | Θωμᾶς, | ἰνδικτ(ιῶνος) ιε', | μη(νὶ) Ἰουλίω | κβ'

The blessed Thomas fell asleep, indiction 15, on July 22nd.

τεκοιμι<del>ο</del>μ ομακαρ Θωμας ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙ' <del>Θ</del> μ΄ ΪΟΥΧΙΟ Κ΄Β Τ

fig. 2893 Papadopoulos-Kerameus.

Comm.: 1.3: Φωλ[--] Schneider. – 1.4: ἐνδικτι(ῶνος) θ' Papadopoulos-Kerameus.

Bibl.: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 201 no. 20 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 319 no. 38 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 159 no. 38).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 201 fig. 20 (dr.).

#### 2894. Painted wall inscription of Iuliana

# (cross) ΕΚΥΜΗΘΗΜΑΚΑ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΑΜΗΑΥΓΓΙΝΔΑ

έκυμήθ(η) ή μακα(ρία) | Ἰουλιάνα, μη(νὶ) Αὐγ(ούστω) ς', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) α'

The blessed Iuliana fell asleep, August 6th, indiction 1.

Comm.: l.1: ἐκοιμήθη Koikylides, who mentioned no abbreviations in this text. – l.2: For deceased women in Choziba see nos. 2870, 3032; ἰνδ. ε' Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 73 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 319 no. 39 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 159 no. 39).

WA

# 2895. Painted wall inscription of Ioannes the priest

(cross) ΕΚΥΜΗΘ OMAKAP IΩAN[...] [...]EBP[--]

ἐκυμήθ(η) | ὁ μακάρ(ιος) | Ἰωάν[νης | ὁ πρ]ε(σ)β(ύτε)ρ(ος) [--]

The blessed Ioannes the priest, fell asleep ...

Comm.: No example of the abbreviation  $\pi \rho \epsilon \beta \rho$  in Meimaris, who does, however, have  $\pi \rho \epsilon \beta$  (no. 2908),  $\pi \rho \beta$  (no. 3022) and  $\pi \rho \sigma \beta$  (192 no. 158, SE of Amman; 195 no. 180, Kh. el-Mekhayat). Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations 96 quotes only this inscription. Alternatively, one may suggest an abbreviation of a month's name, e.g. [μη. No] $\epsilon \beta \rho [(i \omega)]$ . – For monks named Ioannes in Choziba see no. 3003.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 319 no. 40 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 159 no. 40) (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, Sacred Names 190 no. 938.

#### 2896. Fragmentary painted wall inscription

[--] [--]ΦΕΒΡ [--]ΝΔ [..] [--|-- μη(ν-)] Φεβρ(--) | [--, ί]νδ(ικτιῶνος) | [..]

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 319 no. 41 (reprinted in: id., Reticulum 159 no. 41) (ed. pr.).

WA

#### 2897. Painted wall inscription of the monk Sergis from Arethusa

(cross) ΕΚΟΙΜΗΘΗΟΜΑΚΑΡ ΣΕΡΓΙΣΜΟΝΑΑΡΕΘΟΥΣΙΟΣ ΜΗΜΑ ΤΟΥΖ

... month of February, indiction ...

+ EKOLHAHOMOKODOC

fig. 2897

έκοιμήθη ὁ μακάρ(ιος) | Σέργις μονα(χὸς) Άρεθούσιος, | μη(νὸς) Μαίου ζ'

The blessed monk Sergis from Arethusa fell asleep, on May 7th.

Comm.: l.1: ἐκοιμήθι ὁ μακάριος Koikylides. – l.2: ΣΕΡΣΙΕΜΟΝΑΣ Koikylides, ΑΦΣΙΣ[.]ON Schneider. On Arethusa: Schneider thought of the Syrian city (cf. Cohen 101f.), which still named Arethusa at this time, whereas Arethusa in Palestine (cf. Cohen 235ff.) had lost the name by then. – l.3: [..]ΜΑΙΟΥ Papadopoulos-Kerameus.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 72 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 202 no. 22; Schneider, Choziba 319 no. 42 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 159 no. 42). – Cf. G. Cohen, The Hellenistic Settlements in Syria, the Red Sea Basin, and North Africa, 2006.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 202 fig. 22 (dr.).

#### 2898. Painted wall inscription of Brother Romanus

(cross) EN $\Theta$ A $\Delta$ EKATAK P $\Omega$ MA NO $\Sigma$ O[--] [--]M[..] MHA $\Pi$ PA IN $\Delta$ E (cross)

ἐνθάδε κατάκ(ειται) | Ῥωμα|νὸς ὁ [ἀδελ|φὸς ἡ]μ[ῶν],| μη(νὶ) Ἀπρ(ιλίω) α', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε'

Here lies our Brother Romanus, (who died) on April 1st, indiction 5.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 320 no. 43 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 159 no. 43) (ed. pr.).

WA

# 2899. Painted wall inscription of Stephanus the Isaurian

(cross) ΕΚΕΜ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΙΣΑΥΡΟΣ

έκεμ(ήθη) | Στέφανος | "Ισαυρος

Stephanus the Isaurian fell asleep.

Comm.: l.1: ἐκοιμήθη ἐν κ(υρί)ω Koikylides. – l.3: ὁ օ Τσαυρος Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 72 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 320 no. 44 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 159 no. 44).

WA

# 2900. Painted wall inscription of Eusebis

(cross) MHNINOEMBP[..] EKOIMH $\Theta$ H EY $\Sigma$ EBI $\Sigma$ IN $\Delta$ A

μηνὶ Νοεμβρ(ίω) [..] | ἐκοιμήθη | Εὐσέβις, | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) α'

... November, Eusebis fell asleep, indiction 1.

Comm.: Koikylides thought no. 2901 to be part of this inscription here. – l.3: ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ ιε Koikylides; Εὐσέβις(?) Schneider.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 72 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 320 no. 45 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 159f. no. 45).

WA

#### 2901. Painted wall inscription of a person from Ascalon

[--] ΑΣΚΑΛΩ[--]ΚΑ

[--] | Άσκαλω[ν(ίτης), μη(--) --] κα'

... from Ascalon, on 21st of ...

Comm.: Koikylides thought this inscription to be a part of no. 2900.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 320 no. 46 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 160 no. 46).

WA

#### 2902. Painted wall inscription of the Deacon Stephanus

(cross) ΕΚΟΙΜΟΜΑΚΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣΔΙ ΑΚΟΜΗΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΟΥΙΝΔΙΓ

έκοιμ(ήθη) ὁ μακ(άριος) Στέφανος δι|άκο(νος), μη(νὸς) Σεπτεμβρίου, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιγ'

The blessed Deacon Stephanus fell asleep, month of September, indiction 13.

Comm.: 1.2: Meimaris omits the date.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 320 no. 47 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 160 no. 47) (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, Sacred Names 167 no. 826.

#### 2903. Painted wall inscription of Stephanus of Cappadocia

(cross) ΑΝΕΠΑΗΟΜΑ ΚΑΡΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΠΠΑΔΟΞ ΜΗΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΑΙΝΔ[..]

352

ἀνεπάη ὁ μα|κάρ(ιος) Στέφανος | Καππάδοξ, | μη(νί) Ίανουαρ(ίω) α', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) [..]

The blessed Stephanus of Cappadocia came to rest, on January 1st, indiction ...

Comm.: ll.1f.: μα|κάριος Koikylides. – l.3: Κάπαδοξ, ὁ γέρων Koikylides. – l.4: The abbreviations are not recorded by Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 73 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 320 no. 48 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 160 no. 48).

WA

#### 2904. Painted wall inscription of Ioannes, the Roman(?)

(cross) ΑΝΕΠΑΗΟΜΑΚΑ ΡΙΟΣΙΩΑΝΝΗΣΟΡΩΜΕΟΣ ΙΝΔΓΜΗΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟ

ἀνεπάη ὁ μακά|ριος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ῥωμε̃ος, | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γ', μη(νὶ) Αὐγούστ(ω) ς'

The blessed Ioannes, the Roman(?) came to rest, indiction 3, August 6th.

Comm.: For monks named Ioannes in Choziba see no. 3003. "Ein 'Ρωμαῖος wird Miracula [scil. beatae Mariae virginis] 2 erwähnt" (Schneider). – l.3: Αὐγούστου Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 73 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 320 no. 49 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 160 no. 49).

#### 2905. Painted wall inscription of Cyricus from Antiochia

(cross) ΕΚΥΜΗΘΙ (cross) ΚΥΡΙΚΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΥΣ ΜΗΦΕΥΡΚΕΙΝΔΘ

ἐκυμήθι | Κύρικος | Ἀντιοχεύς, | μη(νί) Φευρ(αρίω) κε', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) θ'

Cyricus of Antiochia fell asleep, on February 25th, indiction 9.

Comm.: l.1: om. Koikylides. – l.2 Κυρίακος Koikylides. – l.4: the reading ΦΕΥΡ is not certain (Φευρουαρίω Koikylides), Schneider considers Φαρ(μοῦθι), but this would be the only instance of an Egyptian month in Choziba; moreover there is no reason for a man from Antiochia to be associated with an Egyptian date. – ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) θ' om. Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 73 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 320 no. 50 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 160 no. 50).

WA

#### 2906. Painted wall inscription of Paulus from Gaza

[.]ΚΟΙΜΗΘ ΟΑΔΕΛΦΟΣΗ ΜΩΝΠΑΥΛΟΣΩΓΑΖΕ ΜΗΑΓΟΥΣΤΟΥΙΑΙΝΔΑ

[ἐ]κοιμήθ(η) | ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡ|μῶν Παῦλος ὡ Γαζε̃(ος), | μη(νὸς) ἀγούστου ια', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) α'

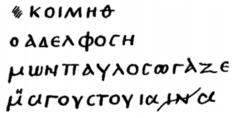


fig. 2906

Our Brother Paulus from Gaza fell asleep, on August 11th, indiction 1.

Comm.: The text of Papadopoulos-Kerameus ends with Άγούστου ια' although in his drawing the letters for ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) α' are indicated (however, without the *delta*).

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 73f. (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 202 no. 23; Schneider, Choziba 320 no. 51 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 160 no. 51); Meimaris, Sacred Names 228 no. 1112.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 202 fig. 23 (dr.).

# 2907. Painted wall inscription of the monk Georgis

(cross) ΕΚΥΜΗΘΙΟΑΔΕΛΦΟΣ ΗΜΩΝΓΕΩΡΓΙΣΟΜΟΝΑΖΟΝ [..]ΣΟΣΜΗΑΠΡΙΛΙΟΥΚΕΕΝΚΥΡΙΩ [...]ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙΑΥΤΟΥ †ΕΚΥΜΗ<del>Ο</del>Ι ΘΔΕΛΦΟΓ ΗμωνιεωνΗς ομοναζον ++ COΓμαπριλίος εν κγριω ΔΝαπαγςιαγοι +

fig. 2907

ἐκυμήθι ὁ ἀδελφὸς | ἡμῶν Γεώργις ὁ μονάζον | [..] $\Sigma$ Ο $\Sigma$ , μη(νὸς) Ἀπριλίου κε', ἐν κυρί $\omega$ , | [εἰς] ἀνάπαυσι αὐτοῦ

Our Brother Georgis, the monk, ... fell asleep in the lord, on April 25th, to his resurrection.

Comm.: l.1: ἐκοιμήθη Koikylides. – l.3: (ΒΕΣΟΣ) μη. Ἀπριλίου κ' Koikylides, [Βέ]-σος μη(νὶ) Ἀπριλίου ἐν Κυρίω Papadopoulos-Kerameus; [Ἀπρι]λίου κε' Schneider. – l.4: om. Koikylides; ἀνάπαυσι αὐθ(όν) Papadopoulos-Kerameus. This is interpreted as an acclamation, but evidently not elsewhere recorded.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 73 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 202f. no. 24; Schneider, Choziba 320 no. 52 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 160 no. 52); Meimaris, Sacred Names 231 no. 1146.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 202 fig. 24 (dr.).

WA

#### 2908. Painted wall inscription of Anth...s the priest

ANΘ[.]Ο[.] ΣΠΡΕΒ

ΑΝΘ[.]Ο[.]|ς πρε(σ)β(ύτερος)

*Anth...s the priest.* 

Comm.: "A $\nu\theta[\iota\mu]o|\varsigma(?)$ , cf. Cyril, v. Sabae 43, ed. Schwartz, p. 133, 8. Anthus?

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 320 no. 53 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 160 no. 53) (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, Sacred Names 190 no. 939.

#### 2909. Painted wall inscription of Anastasis from Ascalon

(cross) ΕΚΟΙΜΗΘΟΜΑΚΑΔ[--]ΗΜΩΝ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣΟΜΑΚΡΑΣΚΑΛΩΝ ΜΗΛΑΙΣΙΟΥΚΓΙΝΛΒ

ἐκοιμήθ(η) ὁ μακ(άριος) ἀδ[ελφὸς] ἡμῶν | Ἀναστάσις, ὁ μακ(ά)ρ(ιος) Ἀσκαλων(ίτης), | μη(νὸς) Δαισίου κγ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) β'

Our blessed Brother Anastasis, the blessed native of Ascalon, fell asleep, on Daisios 23rd, indiction 2.

Comm.: l.1: μακ. om. Koikylides, who mentioned ἀδελφός without brackets. – l.2: ἀναστάσιος Koikylides, who did not mention the following abbreviations. – l.3: The Macedonian calendar was used in Ascalon until the beginning of the 7 c. AD (e.g. CIIP III 2350). The overwhelming majority of inscriptions in Choziba use the Roman months, but it is worth noting that at least some people retained the use of their (home?) calendar (see no. 2931 [i.e. in this case it is possible that Anastasis came from a place using the Macedonian calendar]; nos. 2911, 2926, 2966); against that one may argue that most Ascalonitans in Choziba used the Roman month names.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 74 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 320 no. 54 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 160 no. 54); Meimaris, Sacred Names 228 no. 1114.

WA

#### 2910. Painted wall inscription of Cyricus

#### ΕΙΣΤΗΝΜΝΗΜΗΝΚΥΡΙΚΟΥ

είς τὴν μνήμην Κυρίκου

For the memory of Cyricus.

Comm.: μνήμαν Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 74 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 320 no. 55 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 160 no. 55).

# 2911. Painted wall inscription of Stephanus

(cross) EKOIMH $\Theta\Sigma$ TE $\Phi$ ANO $\Sigma$ 

ἐκοιμήθ(η) Στέφανος, | [μη(νὶ) Ξαν]θ(ικῷ) κ'

Stephanus fell asleep, on Xanthikos 20th.

Comm.: For the use of the Macedonian calendar, cf. no. 2909.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 320 no. 56 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 160 no. 56) (ed. pr.).

WA

#### 2912. Painted wall inscription of Elias from Cappadocia

(cross) ΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΑΤΑΚΙ ΤΕΗΛΙΑΣΚΑΠΑΔΟΞ ΜΗΝΙΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΩΚΔ ΙΝΔΙΓ

ένθάδε κατάκι|τε Ήλίας Καπάδοξ, | μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίω κδ', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιγ'

Here lies Elias from Cappadocia, (who died) on September 24th, indiction 13.

Comm.: ll.1f.: κατάκιται Koikylides. – l.2: Κάππαδοξ Koikylides. – l.3: μηνὶ om. Koikylides. l.4: ἰνδι(κτιῶνος) γ'?

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 72 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 320 no. 57 (reprinted in: id., Reticulum 160 no. 57).

WA

# 2913. Painted wall inscription of Stephanus

(cross) ΕΚΥΜΗΘΙΟΑΔΕΛ ΦΟΣΕΜΟΝΣΤΕΦΑ ΝΟΣΜΗΝΙ[--] ΕΙΝΔΖ

έκυμήθι ὁ ἀδελ|φὸς ἑμοῦν Στέφα|νος, μηνὶ [--]| ε', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ζ'

Our Brother Stephanus fell asleep in the month ... 5th,, indiction 7.

Comm.: 1.4 was not seen by Schneider.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 72 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 320 no. 58 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 160 no. 58); Meimaris, Sacred Names 228 no. 1115.

WA

# 2914. Painted wall inscription of Thomas

(cross) ΕΚΥΜΗΘΗ ΘΟΜΑΣΜΗΜΑΡΤΙΗ

έκυμήθη | Θομᾶς, μη(νὶ) Μαρτί(ω) η'

Thomas fell asleep, on March 8th.

Comm.: l.1: ἐκοιμήθη Koikylides. – l.2: μη(νὶ) om. Koikylides, Μαρτίου Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 73 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 320 no. 59 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 160 no. 48).

WA

# 2915. Painted wall inscription of Theodorus from Byblos and Elias from Ascalon

(staurogram) ΘΕΟΔΩΡ[..] ΒΙΒΛΕΙΟΣ ΗΛΙΑΣ ΑΣΚΑΛΩΝΙΤΗΣ



fig. 2915

Θεόδωρ[ος] | Βίβλειος, | Ήλίας | Άσκαλωνίτης

Theodorus from Byblos, Elias from Ascalon.

Comm.: l.1: Θεόδωρος Koikylides. – l.2: The first four letters were not seen by Schneider; Βίβλειος "ist wohl Βύβλιος" (Schneider). – ll.3f.: om. Papadopoulos-Kerameus. – l.4: om. Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 71 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 203 no. 25; Schneider, Choziba 320 no. 60 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 160 no. 60).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 203 fig. 25 (dr.).

#### 358

#### 2916. Painted wall inscription of Ioannes

(cross)  $I\Omega ANNH\Sigma$  $KO\Sigma M[--]$ 

Ίωάννης | Κοσμ[ᾶς ?]

Ioannes, Cosmas(?).

Comm.: For monks named Ioannes in Choziba see no. 3003.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 321 no. 61 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 160 no. 61) (ed. pr.).

WA

# 2917. Painted wall inscription of Ioannes from Cilicia and Cyrus from Caesarea

The large cross painted on a stand was evidently on the wall before the inscription was added on both of its sides.

(cross) I $\Omega$  ANNH $\Sigma$ KI $\Lambda$ I $\Xi$ KY PO $\Sigma$ KE $\Sigma$ APEY $\Sigma$ MHNI  $\Phi$ EBPOYAP $\int$ K  $\overline{IN}\overline{\Delta}$   $\overline{E}$ 

Ἰωάννης Κίλιξ, | Κῦρος Κεσαρεύς, | μηνὶ Φεβρουαρ(ίω) κ', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε'

Ioannes from Cilicia, Cyrus from Caesarea, (who died) on February 20th, indiction 5.



fig. 2917

Comm.: l.1: the cross at the beginning is recorded only by Papadopoulos-Kerameus. – l.2: Aὖρος Papadopoulos-Kerameus. – l.3: Φεβρουαρί $\omega$  Koikylides. Most inscriptions bear only one name; evidently these two strangers (pilgrims?) died on the same day in the same year (AD 542, for example, is a year with indiction 5, but perhaps a bit early). – l.2: Caesarea Maritima or Caesarea Cappadociae? Cf. no. 3052 for another person from a certain Caesarea. At least seven further Cappadocians are mentioned in Choziba, but the number of monks from the Palestinian and Phoenician coastal places (from Gaza to Byblos) is much larger than the number of Cappadocians. Therefore Caesarea Maritima is more likely. – For monks from Cilicia named Ioannes, see no. 3003.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 72 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 203 nos. 26-27; Schneider, Choziba 321 no. 62 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 160 no. 62).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 203 figs. 26-27 (dr.).

# 2918. Painted wall inscription of Mariun, (the) Roman(?)

ΜΑΡΙ ΟΥΝΡΩΜΑ ΝΟΣ

Μαρι ουν 'Ρωμα νός

Mariun, (the) Roman(?).

Comm.: ll.1f.: Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 73? The question is whether the inscription records one or two names: one would have expected  $P\omega\mu\alpha\tilde{i}$ 05 (cf. no. 2904), and Romanus is attested as a name in Choziba, see nos. 2898, 2961.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 321 no. 63 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 160 no. 63) (ed. pr.).

WA

# 2919. Painted wall inscription of Stephanus

(cross) ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ

Στέφανος

Stephanus.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 321 no. 64 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 160 no. 64) (ed. pr.).

WA

#### 2920. Painted wall inscription of the Deacon Sergius (?)

 $\Sigma EP[--]$  $\Delta I[--]$ 

Σέρ[γιος] | δι[άκονος] (?)

*Sergius, the deacon (?).* 

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 321 no. 65 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 160 no. 65) (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, Sacred Names 167 no. 827.

# 2921. Fragmentary painted wall inscription

(cross) TO[--]

Comm.: Most probably the beginning of a name.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 321 no. 66 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 160 no. 66) (ed. pr.).

WA

#### 2922. Painted wall inscription of Petrus (?)

(cross) ΠΕ[--]

Πέ[τρος?]

Petrus(?).

Comm.: Perhaps identical with Koikylides 1901, 77: (cross) ... Πέτρος ...

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 321 no. 67 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 160 no. 67) (ed. pr.).

WA

#### 2923. Painted wall inscription of Berlas

(christogram) EKYMH $\Theta$ IOMAKA BEP $\Lambda$ A $\Sigma$ MHIOYN $\overline{KH}$ I $\Delta$ IB

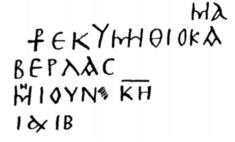


fig. 2923.1 (Papadopoulos-Kerameus)

ἐκυμήθι ὁ μακά(ριος) | Βερλας, | μη(νὶ) Ἰουν(ίω) κη', | ἰ(ν)δ(ικτιῶνος) ιβ'

The blessed Berlas fell asleep, on June 28th, indiction 12.

Comm.: "Nur eine Inschrift weist typisch mittelalterlichen Duktus auf" (Schneider 169 about this text). l.1: έκοιμήθι Koikylides. – 1.2: ΒΕΡ(Λ)ΑΣ Koikylides; the name seems to be recorded in: R. Heberdey - A. Wilhelm, Reisen in Kilikien, 1896, 140 no. 231 (Zgusta 123 § 163). SEG 55, 1872 (Pamphylia?) has a Βερλακωτας; both names are clearly indigenous to Asia Minor. -1.3: The first two letters were not seen by Koikylides. – l.4: ἰνδ Koikylides.

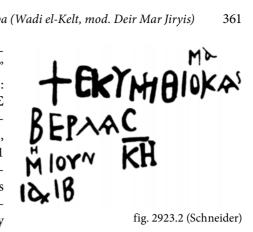


fig. 2923.2 (Schneider)

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 73 (ed. pr.). - Papadopoulos-Kerameus 203 no. 28; Schneider, Choziba 321 no. 68 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 160f. no. 68 with fig. 6).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 203 fig. 28 (dr.); Schneider, Choziba pl. 8 fig. 12 (dr.).

WA

# 2924. Painted wall inscription of Ioannes from Cilicia

 $[..]\Theta A \Delta E K I T [.]$ [.] ΩΑΝΝΗΣΚΙΛΙΞ ΜΗΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΥΚΕ

[ἐν]θάδε κῖτ[ε | Ἰ]ωάννης Κίλιξ, | μη(νὸς) Αὐγούστου κε'

Here lies Ioannes from Cilicia, (who died) on August 25th.

Comm.: The text above follows Schneider. Koikylides' text did not indicate any linebreaks nor any abbreviations or gaps: (cross)  $EN\Theta A\Delta EKITEI\Omega ANNH\Sigma KI\Lambda I\Xi$ ΜΗΝΙΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΥ[--]=ἐνθάδε κῖτε Ἰωάννης Κίλιξ, μηνὶ Αὐγούστου [--]. – Schneider who states that the inscription had not been recorded by Koikylides obviously overlooked it, since both authors recorded only one inscription mentioning one Ioannes from Cilicia who died in August. For other monks with this name from Cilicia, see no. 3003.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 73 (ed. pr.). - Schneider, Choziba 321 no. 69 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 161 no. 69).

#### 2925. Painted wall inscription of a monk whose name is lost

[.]KOIM[--]
[--]ΑΔΕΛΦ[--]
[ἐ]κοιμ[ήθη --|-- ό] ἀδελφ[ὸς ἡμῶν --]
... fell asleep our Brother ...

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 321 no. 70 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 161 no. 70) (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, Sacred Names 228 no. 1116.

WA

#### 2926. Painted wall inscription of a monk

(cross) ΔI[--] MOMHΞΑΝΘΚ INΔΕ

(cross)  $\Delta I[--] \mid \mu$ ο(ναχός),  $\mu$ η(νὶ)  $\Xi$ ανθ(ικ $\tilde{\omega}$ ) κ',  $\mid$  ἰνδ(ικτι $\tilde{\omega}$ νος) ε'

Di..., monk, (who died) on Xanthikos 20th, indiction 5.

Comm.: For the use of the Macedonian calendar, cf. no. 2909.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 321 no. 71 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 161 no. 71) (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, Sacred Names 231 no. 1147.

WA

# 2927. Painted wall inscription of ... the Arab

(cross) EKOYMI $\Theta$ [--]B[--] $\Sigma\Omega$ [--] NI $\Sigma\Omega\Delta$ [--]M  $\Omega$ APA $\Psi$ INHIANOYAPIOY[.]

ἐκουμίθ(η) | [--]B[--]ΣΩ[--]|NΙΣΩΔ[--]M | ώ Ἄραψ, | ἰν(δικτιῶνος) η', Ἰανουαρίου [.]

... fell asleep ... the Arab (?), indiction 8, January ...

Comm.: l.1: ἐκοιμίθι N.. Koikylides. – l.2: "Koik. ... liest Z.2 Βάσσα [scil. BACAA], was aber unmöglich ist und Z.5 Ἰανουάριος" Schneider. – l.3: ΝΙΣΑΔ ΜΑ... Koikylides. – l.4: ὁ Koikylides; for the designation "Arab," cf. no. 2882.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 74 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 321 no. 72 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 161 no. 72).

WA

#### 2928. Painted wall inscription of Silvanus

(cross) ΕΚΟΙΜΗΘΗ ΣΙΛΟΥΑΝΟΣ ΜΗΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΥ ΙΖ

έκοιμήθη | Σιλουανός, | μη(νὸς) Αὐγούστου | ιζ΄

Silvanus fell asleep, on August 17th.

Comm.: As in a few other texts from Choziba, only the day, and not the year of the death, is mentioned; the day is obviously the more important piece of information (for instance for memorial services).

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 321 no. 73 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 161 no. 73) (ed. pr.).

WA

#### 2929. Painted wall inscription of Ioannes the Syrian

(staurogram)  $I\Omega ANNH\Sigma$  $\Sigma \Upsilon PO\Sigma$ 

'Ιωάννης | Σῦρος

flwannhc cypoc

fig. 2929

Ioannes the Syrian.

Comm.: For other monks named Ioannes in Choziba, see no. 3003.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 72 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 204 no. 29; Schneider, Choziba 321 no. 74 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 161 no. 74).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 204 fig. 29 (dr.).

#### 2930. Painted wall inscription of Martyrius

(cross) MAPTYPIOY

Μαρτυρίου

(Grave of) Martyrius.

+WAPTYP10Y

fig. 2930.1 (Papadopoulos-Kerameus)

+ MAPTYPIOY

fig. 2930.2 (Schneider)

Comm.: A Christian name, if there ever was one (see as samples for the name recorded in Jerusalem/Palestine the Jerusalem patriarch and the monastery of Martyrius). – Schneider takes this as a classic example of letters of the 6/7 c. AD.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 72 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 204 no. 30; Schneider, Choziba 321 no. 75 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 161 no. 75 with fig. 7).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 204 fig. 30 (dr.); Schneider, Choziba, pl. 8 fig. 13 (dr.).

WA

# 2931. Painted wall inscription of Ainias the elder

(cross) ΑΙΝΙΑΣ ΟΓΕΡΩΝΟΜΑ Ι'ΟΥΜΑΣ ΞΑΝΘΙΚΟΥΘΚ (cross)

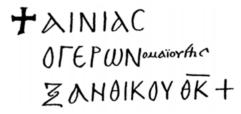


fig. 2931

Αἰνίας | ὁ γέρων, ὁ μαιουμᾶς, | Ξανθικοῦ θκ'

Ainias the elder, the Maiumas, (who died) on Xanthikos 29th.

Comm.: l.1: this could be an attested form of the famous hero's name, Aeneas, but a semitic origin is also possible, cf. IGLS 21,5, 165 (Hauran): Αιανης ὁ κα[ὶ] Αἰνίας (for the names of the type Αιανης, see Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 14).

l.2: On γέρων, see no. 2867; Μαιούμης Papadopoulos-Kerameus. The different uses of the word μαιουμᾶς are discussed by Mentzou-Meimaris (cf. Sophocles s.v.: "May-Day" or "largess"); she distinguishes a) a toponym, not only that of Gaza's port; b) a festival connected somehow with water [and perhaps with licentiousness]; c) a gift or reward; d) a personal name; e) a building with water-supply. Schneider is inclined to understand this as a geographical designation, but the ethnic attested is Μαιουμίτης. Mentzou-Meimaris 68f., who quotes this inscrip-

tion, is inclined to interpret this as a personal name; she quotes as parallels: SEG 28, 1397 (Oboda; AD 589/90): ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ παρθένος Μαϊουμᾶ κατετήθη ...; Theophanes, Chron. ad ann., p. 576f.: τούτω τῷ ἔτει ἐπεστράτευσε Μασαλμᾶς καὶ Ἡβας τὴν Τύανον διὰ τὴν μανίαν τοῦ ἀποκτανθέντος στρατοῦ σὺν τῷ Μαϊουμᾶ ὑπὸ Μαριανοῦ. Theophanes seems to indicate that Maiumas was not only used as a female, but as a male name too (and he attests the article). Unfortunately, Mentzou-Meimaris comments on this passage: "In diesem Fall liegt jedoch die Vermutung nahe, daß der Chronist das Wort, wie andere fremde Eigennamen auch, verderbt wiedergegeben hat." (Mango - Scott 526 believe that "Maymun the Mardaite, emir of Antioch" is meant).

l.3: "Mit der Datumsangabe vermag ich nichts anzufangen" (Schneider). Most probably  $\kappa\theta$ ' was simply reversed, cf. no. 3072:  $\delta\iota$ ' (and see M. Tod, ABSA 45, 1950, 129 [on the norm in Attica]: "numeral signs ... are normally arranged ... in the descending order of value. This rule is, I believe, everywhere and always observed in numbers exceeding 1,000, though in some parts of the Greek world examples of a reversed or mixed order in the representation of numbers below 1,000 are very common"; he continues quoting some examples from Attica).

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 71 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 205 no. 35; Schneider, Choziba 321 no. 76 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 161 no. 76); Meimaris, Sacred Names 239 no. 1201 (ll.1f.). – Cf. K. Mentzou-Meimaris, ByzZ 89, 1996, 58ff.; C. Mango - R. Scott, The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor, 1997.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 205 fig. 35 (dr.).

WA

# 2932. Painted wall inscription of Petrus (the) plasterer

(cross) ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΗΣ ΜΗΜΑΡΤΙ ΩΔΕΥΤΕ PA (cross)

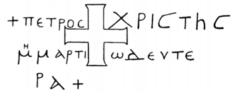


fig. 2932

Πέτρος χρίστης, | μη(νὶ) Μαρτίω δευτέ|ρα

Petrus (the) plasterer, (who died) on March 2nd.

Comm.: l.1: The second word had not been seen by Schneider, but he followed Koikylides' reading as a name (Χρίστης). On χρίστης, plasterer, see Kritikakou, who quotes PAES III A 7, 390f. no. 787: χρί(στης); Waddington 577 no. 2288. Cyril, v. Sabae 82 (ed. Schwartz, p. 187) gives a perfect illustration of the work of a plas-

terer: Μάμας δέ τις Βηθλεεμίτης χρίστης τὴν τέχνην τὸ ἔργον τοῦ τε λάκκου καὶ τοῦ σκεπτουρίου πεποίηκεν. Professions are attested in a few other texts from Choziba (see nos. 2885, 2944, 3055 and maybe 2959). – l.2: The first two letters had not been seen by Koikylides.

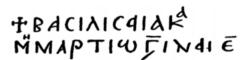
Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 72 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 206 no. 36; Schneider, Choziba 321 no. 77 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 161 no. 77). – Cf. K. Kritikakou, in: Ποιχίλα, 1990, 389; Feissel, Chroniques 259 no. 827.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 206 fig. 36 (dr.).

WA

# 2933. Painted wall inscription of the Deacon Basilis

(cross)  $BA\Sigma I\Lambda I\Sigma\Delta IAKO$   $MHMAPTI\Omega\overline{\Gamma}IN\Delta I\overline{E}$ 



Βασίλις διάκο(νος), | μη(νὶ) Μαρτίω γ', ἐνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιε'

fig. 2933

Basilis deacon, (who died) on March 3rd, indiction 15.

Comm.: l.1: BAΣΙΛΙΣΑ IA K Koikylides; διακ(όνισσ)α Papadopoulos-Kerameus, probably mistaking the abbreviation mark for an *alpha*. – l.2: μη(νὶ) om. Koikylides. Or: ἰνδι(κτιῶνος) ε'?

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 72 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 206 no. 37; Schneider, Choziba 321 no. 78 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 161 no. 78); Meimaris, Sacred Names 167 no. 828 (l.1).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 206 fig. 37 (dr.).

WA

# 2934. Painted wall inscription of the monk Eutychis

(cross) EYTYXI $\Sigma$ MONAXO $\Sigma$ MHNIMAPTI $\Omega\overline{\Gamma}$ 

+ EYTYXIEMONAXOC MHNIMAPTIWF

Εὐτύχις μοναχός, | μηνὶ Μαρτίω γ'

fig. 2934

*Eutychis, monk, (who died) on March 3rd.* 

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 72 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 206 no. 38; Schneider, Choziba 321 no. 79 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 161 no. 79); Meimaris, Sacred Names 231 no. 1148.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 206 fig. 38 (dr.).

WA

# 2935. Painted wall inscription of an Archdeacon Cypro...

(christogram) ΚΥΠΡΟ[--] ΑΡΧΙΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣΕΤΕ ΛΕΥΘΙΜΗΑΠΡΙ[..] ΙΝΔΓ (christogram)

Κυπρο[--] | ἀρχιδιάκονος ἐτε|λεύθι μη(νὶ) Ἀπρι(λίω) [..], | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γ'

Cypro... archdeacon, died on April ..., indiction 3.

Comm.: l.1:  $K \upsilon \pi \rho[\iota] o[..]$  Meimaris; Kyprogenes? – l.2: Meimaris 180: "From these two inscriptions [i.e. nos. 2935, 2991] and from the one of St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai [i.e. Meimaris 182 no. 904], it is to be noted that the first in rank among the deacons of the monasteries were also called archdeacons, in the climate of the Church of Jerusalem, though this does not exclude the term protodiakonos" (for which there seems to be not a single epigraphic example in Meimaris).

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 321 no. 80 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 161 no. 80) (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, Sacred Names 180 no. 893.

WA

# 2936. Painted wall inscription of ...dorus of Cyprus

[--]ΜΗΘΙΟΑΔΕΛΦ

[--]ΩΡΟΣΚΙΠΡΙΑΚΟΣ

 $[--]\Gamma IN\Delta H$  (cross)

[ἐκοι]μήθι ὁ ἀδελφ(ὸς) | [ἡμ(ῶν) --δ]ωρος Κιπριακός, | [μη(νὶ) --] γ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) η'

Our Brother ...dorus of Cyprus fell asleep on ... 3rd, indiction 8.

Comm.: l.2: The lacuna must have had more than four letters (see l.3, where we need at least five letters for the shortest month); even so there is not much room left for a name: Isidorus? Or do we omit  $\dot{\eta}\mu(\tilde{\omega}\nu)$ ? Schneider is uncertain about the ethnic: "wäre auch Κιπριανός möglich"; Κυπριακός was evidently rarely used, but cf.

Stephanus s.v. Κύπρος: τὸ ἐθνικὸν Κύπριος καὶ Κυπρία καὶ Κύπριον, καὶ Κυπριακός, καὶ Κυπριεύς καὶ Κυπρίτης.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 321 no. 81 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 161 no. 81) (ed. pr.). - Meimaris, Sacred Names 228 no. 1117.

WA

### 2937. Painted wall inscription of Ioannes the elder

(cross) EN $\Theta$ A $\Delta$ EKATAKITE I $\Omega$ ANNH $\Sigma$ ΓΕΡ $\Omega$ N I $\Sigma$ [--]ΤΙ $\Sigma$ 

(cross) ἐνθάδε κατάκιτε | Ἰωάννης γέρων | ΙΣ[--]ΤΙΣ

Here lies Ioannes the elder ...

Comm.: Schneider remarked that this inscription is missing in Koikylides, but it seems to be identical with Koikylides 71: (cross) ἐνθάδε κῆται Ἰωάννης γέρων. For other monks named Ioannes in Choziba, see no. 3003. – 1.2: γέρων, see no. 2867. – 1.3: an ethnic? Stephanus supplies օΤσβος, Ἰσαυρίας πόλις. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἰσβώτης. There are at least four other Isaurians in Choziba (nos. 2866, 2899, 3018, 3061), but we do not know how long the lacuna was, and cannot exclude iotacism or a prothetic *iota*.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 71 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 321 no. 82 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 161 no. 82); Meimaris, Sacred Names 239 no. 1202 (ll.1f.).

WA

# 2938. Painted wall inscription of Germanus

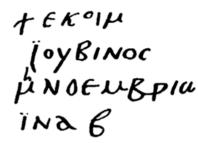
(cross) ΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΑΤΑΚΙΤΕΓΕΡΜΑΝΟΣ

ένθάδε κατάκιτε Γερμανός

Here lies Germanus.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 72 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 321 no. 83 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 161 no. 83).

#### 2939. Painted wall inscription of Iuvinus



έκοιμ(ήθη)| Ἰουβῖνος, | μη(νὶ) Νοεμβρίω, | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) β'

fig. 2939

*Iuvinus fell asleep, in the month of November, indiction 2.* 

Comm.: Koikylides did not mention abbreviations. Note the relatively rare Latin name.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 76 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 209 no. 50; Schneider, Choziba 321 no. 84 (after Koikylides; repr. in: id., Reticulum 161 no. 84).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 209 fig. 50 (dr.).

WA

# 2940. Painted wall inscription of the Deacon Alexander from Thessalonike

(cross) ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣΔΙΑΚΘΕΣΣΑΛΩ σλησος and second NIKEYΣ (cross)

fig. 2940

Άλέξανδρος διάκ(ονος) Θεσσαλω|νικεύς

Alexander, deacon, from Thessalonike.

Comm.: l.1: ΜΑΑΝΑΡΟΣΑ Koikylides; Μαίανδρος (?), Μένανδρος (?) Schneider. – ll.1f.: διακον. Θεσαλονικεύς Koikylides. Very cursive, late letters.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 74 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 206 no. 39; Schneider, Choziba 322 no. 85 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 161 no. 85); Meimaris, Sacred Names 167 no. 829.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 206 fig. 39 (dr.).

# 2941. Painted wall inscription of Ioannes

MHOKTΩ B[..]ΩΙΑ ΙΩΑΝΝ[..] [--]ΦΙΟΣ Κ

μη(νὶ) Όκτω|β[ρί]ω ια', |Ἰωάνν[ης | --]ΦΙΟΣ | Κ

On October 11th, Ioannes ...

Comm.: l.4: End of an ethnic? E.g.  $[\Pi \alpha] \phi \iota \circ \varsigma$  (for Cypriotes in Choziba, see nos. 2936, 2950).

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 322 no. 86 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 161 no. 86) (ed. pr.).

WA

#### 2942. Painted wall inscription of Epiphanis

(cross)  $E\Pi I\Phi ANI$   $\Sigma$ 

ΤεπιΦαΝΙ

Έπιφάνι|ς

fig 2942

Epiphanis.

Comm.: Ἐπιφάνιος Schneider.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 74 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 207 no. 40; Schneider, Choziba 322 no. 87 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 161 no. 87).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 207 fig. 40 (dr.).

#### 2943. Painted wall inscription of Father Thaleleus

(cross) EKYMH $\Theta$ I  $\Omega$ ABA $\Sigma$  $\Theta$ A  $\Lambda$ E $\Lambda$ E $\Omega$  $\Sigma$  MH $\Phi$ IBPOY $\int$   $\Delta$ + (cross)

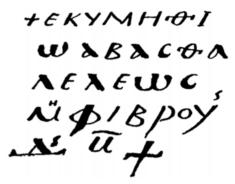


fig. 2943

έκυμήθι | ώ άβᾶς Θα|λελέως, | μη(νὶ) Φιβρου(αρίω) | δ' +

The Father Thaleleus fell asleep on February 4th, ...

Comm.: 1.2: ὁ μακάριος Koikylides; for abbas as a honorary title, see Meimaris 234ff. and no. 2953. – l.3: Θαλαλέος Koikylides; this is certainly the name of the Cilician saint Thalelaeus (Bröcker); therefore, this Thaleleus should probably be added to the number of Cilicians in Choziba (and to the list of people who adopted a new name on entering the monastery). Cf. too, Cyril, v. Euthymii 26, ed. Schwartz, p. 39: ό ἀββᾶς Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ ἡσυχαστης καὶ ὁ ἀββᾶς Θαλλέλαιος ὁ πρεσβύτερος οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐν τῆι λαύραι τοῦ μακαρίτου Σάβα ἀγωνιζόμενοι διηγήσαντό μοι λέγοντες ὅτιπερ καὶ ὁ μακάριος Σάβας καὶ ἄλλοι πλεῖστοι γέροντες ἐθαύμαζον τοῦ μεγάλου Εύθυμίου τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν δογμάτων θερμότατον ζῆλον ...; ibid. 38, ed. Schwartz, p. 56: διηγήσαντό μοι δ άββᾶς Ἰωάννης δ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ ήσυχαστής καὶ ὁ ἀββᾶς Θαλλέλαιος ὁ πρεσβύτερος λέγοντες ὅτι ποτὲ ὄντων ἡμῶν εἰς την πανέρημον διηγεῖτο ήμῖν ὁ μακαρίτης Σάβας λέγων ὅτι ὅτε ἤμην ἐν τῶι κοινοβίωι, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ μακαρίτου Θεοκτίστου κοίμησιν ἀνέβην μετὰ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Λογγίνου τοῦ ήγουμένου ήμῶν πρὸς τὸν μέγαν Εὐθύμιον ... - l.4f.: μηνὶ Φεβρουαρίω Δ; ΙΔ Koikylides; Φιβ(ρουαρίω) δ' | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιδ' Schneider. It is difficult to understand the sign before the cross and nor can one be sure that the facsimile by Papadopoulos-Kerameus is correct; Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations 106 quotes a Syrian example of ύδ(ικτιῶνος).

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 74 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 207 no. 41; Schneider, Choziba 322 no. 88 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 161 no. 88); Meimaris, Sacred Names 237 no. 1188 (ll.1-3). – Cf. H. Bröcker, Der heilige Thalelaios, 1976.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 207 fig. 41 (dr.).

# 2944. Painted wall inscription of the Deacon Paulus

ΔΙΑΚΟΝ (staurogram) ΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΤΗΚΤΩΝ

372

διάκον(ος) | Παῦλος | τήκτων

Deacon Paulus, carpenter.

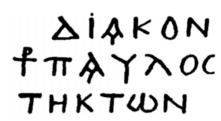


fig. 2944

Comm.: Nos. 2944-2947 were painted by the same person. On τήκτων, see Kritikakou with our inscription. This is one of the few inscriptions from Choziba which inform us of a monk's secular profession, perhaps because made use of to benefit the monastery (cf. nos. 2885, 2932, 3055 and maybe 2959).

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 74 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 208 no. 45; Schneider, Choziba 322 no. 89 (repr in: id., Reticulum 162 no. 89); Meimaris, Sacred Names 167 no. 830. – Cf. K. Kritikakou, in: Ποικίλα, 1990, 389.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 208 fig. 45 (dr.).

WA

#### 2945. Painted wall inscription of the Deacon Cyriacus from Cilicia

(staurogram) ΚΥΡΙ ΑΚΟΣΔΙΑΚΩΝ ΚΗΛΗΞ

Κυρι|ακὸς διάκων(ος) | Κήληξ

ϟΚΑΡΙΣ ϔΚΑΡΙΣ ΚΗΥΗΣ

fig. 2945

Cyriacus, deacon, from Cilicia.

Comm.: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Koikylides and Schneider do not mention the last sign in l.1, visible in Papadopoulos-Kerameus' drawing. Nos. 2944-2947 were painted by the same person; note that both nos. 2945 and 2947 relate to people from Cilicia.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 74 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 208 no. 46; Schneider, Choziba 322 no. 90 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 162 no. 90); Meimaris, Sacred Names 167 no. 831.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 208 fig. 46 (dr.).

#### 2946. Painted wall inscription of the Deacon Leontius

(cross) ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΣ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ ΜΗΜΑΡΤΙΩς 'Ι'ΝΔΕ

Λεόντιος | διάκονος, | μη(νὶ) Μαρτίως ς', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε'

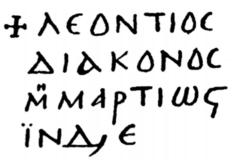


fig. 2946

Leontius deacon, (who died) on March 6th, indiction 5.

Comm.: Nos. 2944-2947 were painted by the same person; note that the people mentioned in nos. 2946 and 2947 died within two days. – l.1: Λεόντις Schneider. – l.3: μηνί Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 74 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 208 no. 47; Schneider, Choziba 322 no. 91 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 162 no. 91); Meimaris, Sacred Names 168 no. 832 (ll.1f.).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 208 fig. 47 (dr.).

WA

#### 2947. Painted wall inscription of Macaris from Cilicia

(cross) ΜΑΚΑΡΙΣΚΙΛΙΞ ΜΗΜΑΡΤΙΩΖ ΙΝΔΕ

Μακάρις Κίλιξ, | μη(νὶ) Μαρτίω ζ', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε'



fig. 2947

Macaris from Cilicia, (who died) on March 7th, indiction 5.

Comm.: Nos. 2944-2947 were painted by the same person; note that both nos. 2945 and 2947 relate to people from Cilicia, and that the people mentioned in nos. 2946 and 2947 died within two days. – l.2: The first two letters were not seen by Koikylides. – l.4:  $i\nu\delta$ . Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 74 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 207 no. 42; Schneider, Choziba 322 no. 92 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 162 no. 92).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 207 fig. 42 (dr.).

# 2948. Fragmentary wall inscription

KATAKITEA[--] Υ

[ἐνθάδε] κατάκιτε Ά/Ά[--]|Υ

Here lies A...

Comm.: Schneider does not mention a lacuna before or above KATAKITEA[--].

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 322 no. 93; (repr. in: id., Reticulum 162 no. 93) (ed. pr.).

WA

# 2949. Painted wall inscription of Ioannes

(cross) ΕΚΥΜΗΟΑΔΦ  $I\Omega$ ANNΗΣ X[..] [.] $\Sigma$ ΤΟΣΜΟ ET[..]NΟΣ  $I\Gamma$ 

έκυμή(θη) ὁ άδ(ελ) $\varphi$ (ὸς) | Ἰωάννης X[..|.]ΣΤΟΣ μο(ναχός?), | ET[..]NΟΣ | ιγ

The Brother Ioannes fell asleep ... monk, ... 13.

Comm.: For monks named Ioannes in Choziba, see no. 3003. – ll.2f.: Either an indication of origin or of a profession – l.4: ἔτ(ους) is not very likely; at the end of the line one may think of either a non-Roman month name or of [ἰνδικτιῶ]νος.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 322 no. 94 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 162 no. 94) (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, Sacred Names 231 no. 1149 (ll.1-3).

WA

# 2950. Painted wall inscription of the Deacon Georgis from Cyprus

(cross) ΕΚΟΙΜΗΘΙ ΕΝΧΩΓΕΩΡΓΙΣ ΔΙΑΚΚΥΠΡΙΟΣ ΜΗΑΠΡΒΙΝΔ[..]

ἐκοιμήθι | ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ Γεώργις | διάκ(ονος) Κύπριος, | μη(νὶ) Ἀπρ(ιλίῳ) β', ἐνδ(ικτιῶνος) [..]

Georgis, deacon, from Cyprus, fell asleep in Christ, on April 2nd, indiction ...

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 322 no. 95 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 162 no. 95) (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, Sacred Names 168 no. 833 (ll.1-3).

WA

#### 2951. Painted wall inscription of Ioannes

(cross) ΕΚΟΙ ΜΗΘΗΟΜΑΚΑΙΩ ΑΝΝΗΣΜΗΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΩΙ ΙΝΔ(ΙΑ (cross) +EKOI ΜΗΘΗΟΜΑΚΑΙω ΔΝΝΗΟΜΆΝΓΟΥΟΤΟΙ ΙΝΟΣΙΆ

έκοι|μήθη ὁ μακά(ριος) Ἰω|άννης, μη(νὶ) Αὐγούστω ι', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ια'

fig. 2951

The blessed Ioannes fell asleep, on August 10th, indiction 11.

Comm.: For monks named Ioannes in Choziba, see no. 3003. – 1.2: μακάρ(ιος) Schneider. – 1.4: ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ι' (cross) Schneider.

Bibl.: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 209 no. 49 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 323 no. 96 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 162 no. 96).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 209 fig. 49 (dr.).

WA

#### 2952. Painted wall inscription of Isidorus from Cappadocia

(cross) ΕΚΟΙΜΗΘΗΕΝΧΩ [..]ΙΔΩΡΟΣΟΚΑ ΠΑΔΟΞΜΗΟΚΤΟ ΒΚΕΙΝΔΙΑ

έκοιμήθη ἐν X(ριστ)ῷ | [Ἰσ]ίδωρος ὁ Kα|πάδοξ, μη(νὶ) Ὁκτο|β(ρίφ) κε', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ια'

*Isidorus from Cappadocia fell asleep in Christ, on October 25th, indiction 11.* 

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 323 no. 97 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 162 no. 97) (ed. pr.).

# 2953. Painted wall inscription of the priest Isidorus

(cross) ΕΚΥΜΗΘΗΟΠΗΡ ΗΜΩΝΗΣΙΔΩΡΟΣΠΡ ΜΗΔΕΚΕΜΒΡ∫ΙΘ ΙΝΔΙ (cross) TEKYMHƏHOTTIP HMWNHCIDWPOCTIP MDEKEMBPIT

fig. 2953

ἐκυμήθη ὁ π(ατ)ὴρ | ἡμῶν Ἡσίδωρος πρ(εσβύτερος), | μη(νὶ) Δεκεμβρ(ίω) ιθ', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ι'

Our Father Isidorus, priest, fell asleep on December 19th, indiction 10.

Comm.: l.1: For the abbreviation  $\pi\eta\rho=\pi\alpha\tau\dot{\eta}\rho$ , see Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations 94. "In the Choziba cemetery, there are eight inscriptions with the term 'our Father', …, five of which refer to presbyters. Taking into consideration that among the 213 inscriptions of that cemetery, there are none bearing the terms hegumen or archimandrite, it would seem that the hellenized form of the term 'abba' was used in the Choziba monastic community for the superior" (Meimaris); for the title  $\pi\alpha\tau\dot{\eta}\rho$ , see nos. 2954-2956, 2977-2979 and 2995; for the title "Abba," see nos. 2943, 2962, 2971-2974, 2997, 2999; for combining the titles  $\pi\alpha\tau\dot{\eta}\rho$  and "Presbyter," see nos. 2977-2979 and 2995. Two of the three inscriptions which do not combine the titles "Father" and "Presbyter" (nos. 2954-2956) are insufficiently preserved to exclude the possibility that the priesthood was mentioned after all. On the other hand, the title "Abba" was quite often used without the qualification  $\pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\dot{\nu}\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma\varsigma$ .

l.2: Ἰσίδωρος Koikylides;  $\pi\rho$  om. Koikylides, who otherwise completed every abbreviation. – l.3: Δεκεμβρ(ίφ) θ' Koikylides, Schneider. – l.4: non vidit Papadopoulos-Kerameus.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 75 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 208 no. 44; Schneider, Choziba 322 no. 98 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 162 no. 98); Meimaris, Sacred Names 246 no. 1236 (ll.1f.).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 208 fig. 44 (dr.).

#### 2954. Painted wall inscription of a Father with incomplete name

(cross) EKOIMH $\Theta$ H O $\Pi$ HPHM $\Omega$ N[--] TIO $\Sigma$ [--]BP[--]

έκοιμήθη | ὁ  $\pi(\alpha \tau)$ ὴρ ἡμῶν [--] $|\tau$ ιος, [μη(νὶ) --] $\beta$ ρ[--]

Our Father ...tius fell asleep, on ...

Comm.: l.2: For the title see no. 2953. – l.3:  $[--\Phi\epsilon]$ βρ[ουαρί $\omega$  --] Schneider, but September-December are possible, too.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 322 no. 99 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 162 no. 99) (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, Sacred Names 247 no. 1237.

WA

# 2955. Painted wall inscription of a Father with incomplete name

(cross) EKOIMH $\Theta$ [..]  $\Pi$ HPHM $\Omega$ N

NE[--]A $\Delta$ [--]

[--]OKT $\Omega$ BP[--]

IN $\Delta$ A

ἐκοιμήθ[η δ] |  $\pi$ (ατ)ἡρ ἡμῶν | NE[--] $A\Delta$ [--, | μη(νὶ)] Όκτωβρ[ίω --], | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) α'

Our Father Ne... fell asleep, on October ..., indiction 1.

Comm.: l.2: For the title cf. no. 2953; it is at least possible that the title  $\pi \rho (\epsilon \sigma \beta \acute{\nu} \tau \epsilon \rho o \varsigma)$  was also mentioned. – l.3: Nε[--  $\dot{\epsilon}$ λ]αδ[ικος ?] Schneider. The gap is too small even for Nέ[ων  $\dot{\epsilon}$ λ]αδ. Theoretically, all the letters of this line should belong to a personal name, but LGPN supplies only Neadas, Neiadas, Neiadas – none of which seems plausible; cf. no. 2855.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 322 no. 100 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 162 no. 100) (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, Sacred Names 247 no. 1238.

#### 378

#### 2956. Painted wall inscription of a Father with incomplete name

[--]KOIMHΘ [.]ΠΗΡΗΜΩΝ ΠΗ[--]

[(cross) έ]κοιμήθ(η) | [δ]  $\pi(\alpha \tau)$ ήρ ήμῶν |  $\Pi$ η[--]

Our Father Pe... fell asleep ...

Comm.: l.2: For the title see no. 2953; it is at least possible that the title πρ(εσβύτερος) was also mentioned.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 322 no. 101 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 162 no. 101) (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, Sacred Names 247 no. 1239.

WA

# 2957. Fragment of a painted wall inscription

(cross)  $KA\Sigma I[.]\Delta$  $K[--]T'\Sigma$ 

 $KA\Sigma I[.]\Delta | K[--]T'\Sigma$ 

Comm.: l.2: Rest of a date, e.g.  $[M\alpha\rho]\tau$ .  $\varsigma$ '?

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 324 no. 102 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 162 no. 102) (ed. pr.).

WA

#### 2958. Painted wall inscription of Maria Tharsicia

(cross) ΕΚΥΜΗΘΙ ΗΜΑΡΙΑ ΘΑΡΣΙΚΙΑ ΜΗΑΠΡΙΛΙΩΚΗ ΙΝΔſΑ

έκυμήθι | ή Μαρία | Θαρσικία, | μη(νὶ) Ἀπριλίω κη', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) α'

Maria Tharsicia fell asleep, on April 28th, indiction 1.

+ EKYMHOI
Hµdfld
Ddpmkld
pdπpiλlwkH
INDS d

fig. 2958

Comm.: l.1: For women recorded on epitaphs, see nos. 2870, 3032. – l.3: Θαρ[..]κία Papadopoulos-Kerameus. A sobriquet derived from θάρσος? Cf. IG 14, 931 (Ostia): Αὐρῆλις Θαρσίκις Μητροβίαι συνβί[ωι] γλυκυ[τάτη]. – l.4: μηνί Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 75 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 207 no. 43; Schneider, Choziba 324 no. 103 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 162 no. 103).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 207 fig. 43 (dr.).

WA

# 2959. Painted wall inscription of Theodorus

(cross) ΕΚΥΜ ΗΘΕ [--]ΩΡΟΣΜΗΜΑ ΚΙΣΑΡΙΟΥ

έκυμ|ήθε | [Θεόδ]ωρος, μη(--) Μα(--) | ΚΙΣΑΡΙΟΥ

Theodorus fell asleep, in the month of Ma...

Comm.: ἐχυμ|ἡ(θη) Θε|[όδ]ωρος μη(νὶ) Μα(ίω) ... χισαρίου Schneider. – l.4: Schneider read χισαρίου and filed it (p. 172) under place names (?). These inscriptions normally record either status in a church or a monastery, or origin; there are not many examples of a monk's trade among them (see nos. 2885, 2932, 2944 and 3055). A second personal name is improbable too (for  $K\iota(\sigma)\sigma\alpha\rho i\omega\nu$  see SEG 53, 555). The genitive constitutes a problem, since all the other examples seem to be correct in this way. – Kisamos on Crete might have provided an answer, but no other monks from Crete are attested here. Could it be the misspelled ethnic of a Caesarean? If we look for professions, there is the Latin *cisiarius*, "Fahrer oder Hersteller (Verkäufer) eines cisium, eines leichten Wagens" (Petrikovits), or the profession derived from  $\kappa\iota\sigma\eta\rho i\zeta\omega$ , to rub with pumice stone; cf. CGlossBiling II 6,15:  $\kappa[\iota]\sigma\eta\rho\iota\nu$   $\piουμε\xi$ ; further instances in the glossaria are quoted ibid. by Kramer, who reminds us of the fact that pumice was not only used in cosmetics but also in the fabrication of books (Cat. 1,1f.).

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 323 no. 104 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 162 no. 104) (ed. pr.). – Cf. H. v. Petrikovits, Beiträge zur römischen Geschichte und Archäologie II 1991, 108.

# 2960. Painted wall inscription of the hermit Theodorus

(cross) ΕΚΟΙΜΟΜΑΚ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΚΕΛΛΙΩΤ∫ ΜΗΜΑΙΩΓ ΙΝΔΑ + EKOIMOHAK + EKOIMOHAK + EKOIMOHAK ABOMPOC KENNIWTS THUIWT

fig. 2960

έκοιμ(ήθη) ὁ μακ(άριος) | Θεόδωρος | κελλιώτ(ης), | μη(νὶ) Μαίφ γ', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) α'

The blessed hermit Theodorus fell asleep, on May 3rd, indiction 1.

Comm.: l.1: ἐκοιμήθη ὁ μακάριος Koikylides; ἐκοιμ(ή)θ(η) Papadopoulos-Kerameus. – l.2: Θεοδώρου Koikylides. – l.3: κελλιώτ[η]ς Koikylides; for the term see no. 2882. – l.4: μηνὶ Μαίω κ' Koikylides; Μαίω ς' Papadopoulos-Kerameus. – l.5 was seen only by Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 75 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 209 no. 48; Schneider, Choziba 323 no. 105 (repr in: id., Reticulum 162 no. 105); Meimaris, Sacred Names 234 no. 1169 (ll.1-3).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 209 fig. 48 (dr.).

WA

# 2961. Painted wall inscription of the monk Romanus the Persian

(cross) ΕΚΥΜΙ ΘΙΟΜΑΚΑ ΡΙΟΣΜΟΝΑΧ ΗΜΩΝΡΩΜΑΝ[..] ΟΠΕΡΣΙΣΜΗΜΑΡ ΤΙΟΥΚΑΙΝΔΙ

ἐκυμί|θι ὁ μακά|ριος μοναχ(ὸς) | ἡμῶν Ῥωμαν[ός] | ὁ Πέρσις, μη(νὸς) Μαρ|τίου κα', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ι'

Our blessed monk Romanus, the Persian, fell asleep, on March 21st, indiction 10.

Comm.: Romanus the Persian!

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 323 no. 106 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 162f. no. 106); Meimaris, Sacred Names 232 no. 1150 (ll.1-5).

WA

#### 2962. Painted wall inscription of Father Ba...us

(cross) ΕΚΥΜΗΘΟ ΑΒΒΑΣΒΑ[..]ΟΣ ΔΕΚΕΜΒΡΙΟΥΚΕ ΙΝΔΑ

έκυμήθ(η) ὁ | ἀββᾶς Βα[..]ος, | Δεκεμβρίου κε', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) α'

The Father Ba...us fell asleep, on December 25th, indiction 1.

Comm.: l.2: For the title see no. 2953;  $B\alpha[\chi\chi]$ 05 Koikylides, Schneider, even though Schneider comments: "der Name B $\alpha\chi\chi$ 05 ist jedoch nicht mit Sicherheit lesbar." Bassus(?) etc. – l.4 was not seen by Schneider.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 74 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 297 no. 107 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 163 no. 107); Meimaris, Sacred Names 237 no. 1189 (ll.1f.).

WA

#### 2963. Painted wall inscription of Varus(?)

[..]ΚΥΜΗΘΟΥΑΡΟΣ ΜΗΔΕΚΕΜΒΡΙΟΥΚΑΙΝΔΙΔ

[ἐκ]κυμήθ(η) Οὔαρος(?), | μη(νὸς) Δεκεμβρίου κα', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιδ'

Varus(?) fell asleep, on December 21st, indiction 14.

Comm.: l.1: Schneider's reading of the name is not entirely secure; he considers also Aὔαρος, Ῥαουαρος and refers to PAES III A 2 no. 19; 3 no. 338; 276 for the different names; cf. Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 28, 92, 97. Varus has the advantage of being the name of a Palestinian martyr.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 323 no. 108 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 163 no. 108) (ed. pr.).

# 2964. Painted wall inscription of Martyris

(cross) EKYM $\int$ ENK $\overline{\Omega}$ MAPTYPI $\Sigma$ MONAX $\int$ MH $\Delta$ EKEMBPA IN $\Delta$ K (staurogram) A  $\Omega$  Ͱͼκνϻ<sup>;</sup> ϾΝΚѾΜΑΡΤΥΡΙ**ϲ** ΜΟΝΑΫΜΔΕΚ<del>ε</del>ΜΒ<sup>ς</sup>

ἐκυμ(ήθη) | ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ Μαρτύρις | μοναχ(ός), μη(νὶ) Δεκεμβρ(ίῳ) α', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) Κ | Α Ω



fig. 2964

The monk Martyris fell asleep in the Lord, on December 1st, indiction ... Alpha - Omega.

Comm.: l.1: ἐκοιμήθι Koikylides. – l.2: Μαρτύριος Koikylides, Schneider. – l.3: μοναχός, Δεκεμβρίου Koikylides; the last two letters of l.3 and the complete l.4 were not seen by Papadopoulos-Kerameus. Meimaris, Sacred Names 232 does not refer to this text.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 74 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 218 no. 86; Schneider, Choziba 323 no. 109 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 163 no. 109).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 218 fig. 86 (dr.).

WA

# 2965. Painted wall inscription of a deacon

[..]ΔP[..] IΣK[..]Z [.]HAK[....] INΓMINI [--]

[..]ΔP[..]|IΣK[..]Z | [δ]ηάκ[ον(ος) ..], | ἰν(δικτιῶνος) γ', μινὶ | [--]

... deacon ... indiction 3, in the month ...

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 323 no. 110 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 163 no. 110) (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, Sacred Names 168 no. 834 (ll.1f.).

#### 2966. Painted wall inscription of Zacharias Condus

(cross) ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑΣ ΚΟΝΔΟΣΜΗ ΑΠΕΛΛΕΟΥΚ +ΖΑΧΑΡΙΔΟ ΚΟΝΔΟΟΙΊ ΆΠΕλλΕΟΥΚΑ

Ζαχαρίας | Κόνδος, μη(νὸς) | Άπελλέου κ'

fig. 2966

Zacharias Condus, (who died) on Apellaios 20th.

Comm.: 1.2: Schneider explains Κόνδος as a nickname, i.e. the short one, i.e. κόνδος=κόντος. Cf. in the same vein BE 1995, 512 (commenting on H. Malay, Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum, 1994, 167): "Κόνδων que M(alay) rapproche de Κόντος, Κοντας, tirés de κοντός 'perche', 'javelot', ou de κοντός 'court'; il existe aussi un radical κονδ-: ainsi Κονδίων (Bechtel, Personennamen 611) sur κόνδος ..., dont κόνδυλος est un derivé ... mais un contact entre les anthroponymes en Κοντ- et Κονδ- ne saurait être exclué, puisque κοντός 'court' a un doublet κονδός." – μη(νὸς) om. Koikylides. – 1.3: alpha at the end recorded only by Papadopoulos-Kerameus. For the use of the Macedonian calendar, cf. no. 2909.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 74 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 217 no. 83; Schneider, Choziba 323 no. 111 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 163 no. 111).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 217 fig. 83 (dr.).

WA

# 2967. Painted wall inscription of the Deacon Antiochus

(cross) ANTIOXO $\Sigma\Delta$ IAKON

anTIOXOC DIAKON

Άντίοχος διάκον(ος)

fig. 2967

Deacon Antiochus.

Comm.: Schneider read only the two first letters of the last word.

Bibl.: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 217 no. 84 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 323 no. 112 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 163 no. 112); Meimaris, Sacred Names 168 no. 835.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 217 fig. 84 (dr.).

# 2968. Painted wall inscription of Stephanus from Gaza

ΜΗΑΠΡΙΛΙΩ[..] ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΓΑΖΕΟΣ

μη(νὶ) Ἀπριλίω [..], | Στέφανος | Γαζεος

On April ..., Stephanus from Gaza.

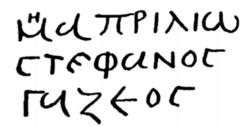


fig. 2968

Comm.: l.1: μηνί Koikylides. No lacuna was observed at the end by Papadopoulos-Kerameus.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 74 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 218 no. 85; Schneider, Choziba 323 no. 113 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 163 no. 113).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 218 fig. 85 (dr.).

WA

# 2969. Painted wall inscription of a priest

(cross) E[...]  $\Delta KITE$  [--]  $\Pi PE\Sigma B\Upsilon TEPO\Sigma$ 



ἐ[νθά]|δ(ε) κῖτε [--] | πρεσβύτερος fig. 2969.1

Here lies ... the priest ...

Comm.: The text and interpretation of this inscription has to be viewed in context with the text and interpretation of no. 2970. These two inscriptions are part of the series nos. 2970-2974, see fig. 2, the drawing of Papadopoulos-Kerameus who understood the four inscriptions as one.

The first two lines were only seen by Schneider, who evidently saw also l.3,  $[\pi\rho]$ εσβύτερος. The question is whether the  $\pi\rho$ εσβύτερος of this inscription is identical with the indented  $\pi\rho$ εσβυ(--) of Papadopoulos-Kerameus, or – to put it differently – if the only word preserved of no. 2970 is the name Malchus. Reaching a decision is made difficult by the fact that neither Koikylides nor Papadopoulos-Kerameus, who were the first to see the texts, recorded ll.1f. of this inscription. The trustworthiness of Papadopoulos-Kerameus is further undermined by his omission

of no. 2972. On the other hand, both Koikvlides and Schneider agree on πρεσβύτερος, whereas Papadopoulos-Kerameus only the abbreviated form. Since Schneider visited the cave after Papadopoulos-Kerameus, we cannot assume that part of the word was effaced (and that the upsilon of πρεσβυ(--) might have an abbreviation mark). The difference in the rendering of πρεσβύτερος is perhaps the strongest argument for the assumption that nos. 2969 and 2970 are different texts (which would imply that Papadopoulos-Kerameus failed to record not only no. 2972, but also no. 2969). A second argument is the fact that both πρεσβυ(--) and Μάλχος are indented the same way. And one

# TIPECBY MANXOC ABBA'TTAYNOC ABBA'IWAN ANTIOX' ABBA'S ABBA'S ANOYTYPIOY

fig. 2969.2 (the series by Papadopoulos-Kerameus)

may add that Schneider himself did not want to connect this text with the mere name in no. 2970 – he clearly thought them different. In this case, we would have the following lines below each other: E[...]  $|\Delta KITE|\Pi PE\Sigma B\Upsilon TEPO\Sigma|\Pi PE\Sigma B\Upsilon|MA\Lambda XO\Sigma$ , and one might argue that both Koikylides and Schneider simply omitted the  $\Pi PE\Sigma B\Upsilon$  as a kind of dittography (which assumes that the two of them made the same mistake).

If one accepts l.3 as part of this inscription, then the name of the deceased priest must have stood in l.2: all the Choziba inscriptions mentioning  $\pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta \dot{\nu} \tau \epsilon \rho \sigma \nu$  put the name before the title. At the beginning, something like  $\ddot{\epsilon}[\nu \theta \alpha \kappa \alpha | \tau] \dot{\alpha} \kappa \iota \tau \epsilon$  seems possible and would reduce to a certain degree the inequality in the length of ll.1 and 2. – l.3: Schneider read  $[\pi \rho] \epsilon \sigma \beta \dot{\nu} \tau \epsilon \rho \sigma c$  and put a question mark after the word (not in Meimaris, Sacred Names 190), but Koikylides claimed to have seen the first two letters too.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 74 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 218 no. 87; Schneider, Choziba 323 no. 114 (repr. in: id., Reticulum, 163 no. 114; 115).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 218 figs. 87-90 (dr.).

#### 386

#### 2970. Painted wall inscription of priest Malchus

ΠΡΕΣΒΥ ΜΑΛΧΟΣ

πρεσβύ(τερος) | Μάλχος

πρέζβγ Μάλχος

Priest Malchus.

fig. 2970

Comm.: See also no. 2969. – l.1:  $\alpha\beta\beta\tilde{\alpha}$  Koikylides, evidently expressing what Schneider meant when he wrote  $<\alpha\beta\beta\tilde{\alpha}>$ ;  $(\alpha\beta\beta\tilde{\alpha})$  Meimaris. This supplement is necessary if one takes l.1 as part of no. 2969.

Bibl.: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 218 no. 87 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 323 no. 115 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 163 no. 115); Meimaris, Sacred Names 238 no. 1191.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 218 fig. 87 (dr.).

WA

# 2971. Painted wall inscription of Father Paulus

ΑΒΒΑΓΠΑΥΛΟΣ

**ΔΒΒΑ' ΠΣΥΛΟ**Ο

άββᾶ Παῦλος

fig. 2971

Father Paulus.

Comm.:  $\dot{\alpha}\beta[\beta\tilde{\alpha}]$  Schneider. For the title see no. 2953.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 74 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 218 no. 88; Schneider, Choziba 323 no. 116 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 163 no. 116); Meimaris, Sacred Names 238 no. 1192.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 218 fig. 88 (dr.).

WA

# 2972. Painted wall inscription of Father Porphyrius

ΑΒΒΑΠΟΡΦΥΡ[...]

άββᾶ Πορφύρ[ιος]

Father Porphyrius.

Comm.: Interestingly, this inscription was not seen by Papadopoulos-Kerameus, nor is there any space for it in his drawing of the series, see no. 2969 fig. 2. For the title see no. 2953.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 74 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 323 no. 117 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 163 no. 117); Meimaris, Sacred Names 238 no. 1193.

WA

# 2973. Painted wall inscription of Father Ioannes of Antioch

ABBA∫IΩAN[...] ANTIOX∫

ἀββᾶ Ἰωάν[νης] | Ἀντιοχ(εύς)

ABBA'IWAN YXOITNK

Father Ioannes of Antioch.

fig. 2973

Comm.: l.1: Ἰωάννης Koikylides, Schneider. For monks named Ioannes in Choziba, see no. 3003. – l.2: ἀββᾶς ἀντίοχος Koikylides. For the title see no. 2953.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 74 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 218 no. 89; Schneider, Choziba 323 no. 118 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 163 no. 118); Meimaris, Sacred Names 238 no. 1194.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 218 fig. 89 (dr.).

WA

# 2974. Painted wall inscription of Father Ioanes of Tyre

ABBAΊΩ ANOΥΤΥΡΙΟΥ [--]MAPTI[--] ፟፟፞ጱ₿₿፟፟ልΪ፟፟፟ ፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟ዾΝΟΥΤΥΡΙΟΎ

άββᾶ Ἰω|άνου Τυρίου, | [μηνὶ] Μαρτί(ω) [--]

HUMAN STRUMENT AND PROBABILITIES

Father Ioanes of Tyre, (who died) on March ...

fig. 2974

Comm.: l.1: The preserved letters were read somewhat differently by Papadopoulos-Kerameus and Schneider; a composite version is presented here;  $\alpha\beta\beta$  Koikylides; l.3 was not seen by Papadopoulos-Kerameus, and it is surely peculiar to

have only one man in this series (nos. 2970-2974) with a date. For monks named Ioannes in Choziba, see no. 3003.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 74 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 218 no. 90; Schneider, Choziba 323 no. 119 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 163 no. 119); Meimaris, Sacred Names 238 no. 1195.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 218 fig. 90 (dr.).

WA

# 2975. Fragmentary painted wall inscription

[--]  $MHNI[--]\Omega \ \Delta$   $IN\Delta[--]$ 

[--], | μηνὶ [--]ω δ', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) [--]

... on the 4th of the month ..., indiction ...

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 324 no. 120 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 163 no. 120) (ed. pr.).

WA

# 2976. Painted wall inscription of the priest Ioannes

(cross) ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΠΡΜΗΜ ΙΓΙΝΛΕ

Ioannes, priest, (who died) on M... 13th, indiction 5.

Comm.: For monks named Ioannes in Choziba, see no. 3003.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 324 no. 121 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 163 no. 121) (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, Sacred Names 190 no. 941.

## 2977. Painted wall inscription of the Father and priest Sarochis

(cross) ΕΚΗΜΗΘΙΟΜΑΚ ΟΠΗΡΗΜΟΝΣΑ ΡΩΧΙΣΟΠΡΕΣΒΓ ΜΗΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΥ (cross) Γ΄ Ι΄ ΝΔΓΙΑ + εκ μ μ θ ο μ σ κ ο π μ ρ μ μ ο μ Γ α ρ ω χ ι ς ο π ρ ε ς β ς μ α γ Γ ο γ ς Τ γ + Γ ϊ Ν δ ι α

ἐκημήθι ὁ μακ(άριος) | ὁ π(ατ)ὴρ ἡμῆν Σα|ρωχις ὁ πρεσβ(ύτερος), | μη(νὸς) Αὐγούστου | γ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ια'

fig. 2977

The blessed Sarochis, our Father, the priest, fell asleep, on August 3rd, indiction 11.

Comm.: l.1: ἐκοιμήθι Schneider. – l.2: cf. no. 2953 for the title. – ll.2f.: Γαρῶχις Papadopoulos-Kerameus; there seems to be no parallel for Sarochis or Garochis. – l.4: the first two letters were not seen by Schneider.

Bibl.: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 205 no. 33 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 324 no. 122 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 163 no. 122); Meimaris, Sacred Names 190 no. 942 (ll.1f.), 247 no. 1240 (ll.1f.).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 205 fig. 33 (dr.).

WA

## 2978. Painted wall inscription of Father Thomas the priest

(cross) EKOIMH $\Theta$ H OMAKAPIO $\Sigma$  $\Pi$ HPHM+  $\Theta$  $\Omega$ MA $\Sigma$  $\Pi$ PE $\Sigma$ B $\int$ M[--]EEMBPIO $\Upsilon$ K (cross)

έκοιμήθη | ό μακάριος π(ατ)ἡρ ἡμ(ῶν) | Θωμᾶς πρεσβ(ύτερος), | μ[η(νὸς) --]εεμβρίου κ' + EKOIMHOH

OMAKAPIOCTHPHMS

OWACTIFE-BS

M « « » EMBPIOY K+

fig. 2978

Our blessed Father Thomas, priest, fell asleep, on ...ember 20th.

Comm.: Koikylides did not record the abbreviations. – l.2: cf. no. 2953 for the title. An additional sign after HM at the end of the line is documented only in the drawing of Papadopoulos-Kerameus who gives only  $\hat{\eta}\mu(\tilde{\omega}\nu)$  in his transcript. An abbre-

viation mark as in 1.3? – 1.4:  $\Sigma$ επτεμβρίου Koikylides; [No]εμβρίου Papadopoulos-Kerameus; [--  $\Sigma$ ]ε( $\pi$ τ)εμβρίου Schneider.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 75 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 204 no. 31; Schneider, Choziba 324 no. 123 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 163 no. 123); Meimaris, Sacred Names 190 no. 943 (ll.1-3), 247 no. 1241 (ll.1-3).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 204 fig. 31 (dr.).

WA

## 2979. Painted wall inscription of Father Ioannes, priest, from Rhosos

(cross) ΕΚΟΙΜΗΘΗ ΟΜΑΚΑΡΓ ΠΑΤΗΡΗΜΩΝ 'Ι' ΩΑΝΝΗΣΠΡΕΣΒΓ ΡΩΣΣΕΥΣ ΜΗΑΠΡΙΛΛ ΚΘΙΝΔ[--] TEKOIMHOH

OMAKAPS

ΠΑΤΗΡΗΜΟΝ

ΪϢΑΝΝΗ ΕΠΡΕ CBS

PWCCEYC

Μ΄ ΑΠΡΙλλ

ΚΟΙΝΑ «

ἐκοιμήθη | ὁ μακάρ(ιος) | πατὴρ ἡμῶν | Ἰωάννης πρεσβ(ύτερος) | Ῥωσσεύς, | μη(νὶ) Ἀπριλλ(ίω) | κθ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) [--]

fig. 2979

Our blessed Father Ioannes, priest, from Rhosos, fell asleep, on April 29th, indiction ...

Comm.: l.3: Cf. no. 2953 for the title. – ll.4f.: For other monks from Cilicia named Ioannes, see no. 3003. – l.6: ΑΠΡΙΛΙ Schneider.

Bibl.: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 205 no. 34 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 324 no. 124 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 163 no. 124); Meimaris, Sacred Names 190 no. 944, 247 no. 1242.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 205 fig. 34 (dr.).

#### 2980. Painted wall inscription of a priest

(cross) ΕΚΟΙΜΙΘΙ [..]Μ[...]ΣΠΡΕΣΒΥ [...]ΑΙΩΛ

ἐκοιμίθι |[..]Μ[...]ς πρεσβύ(τερος), | [μη(νὶ) Μ]αίω λ'

...s, priest, fell asleep, on May 30th.

Comm.: l.3: First letter perhaps a lambda.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 324 no. 125 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 163f. no. 125) (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, Sacred Names 190 no. 945.

WA

### 2981. Painted wall inscription of a priest

[.]ΚΙΜΗΘΑΝ[--] [--]ΣΙΝ ΟΠΡΕΣΒΙΝΔΙ ΜΗΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΥ Κ

 $[\dot{\epsilon}]$ κιμήθ(η)  $AN[--]--]ΣIN | \dot{\delta}$  πρεσβ(ύτερος), ἐνδ(ικτιῶνος) ι', | μη(νὸς)  $A\dot{\upsilon}$ γούστου | κ'

An... the priest, fell asleep, indiction 10, on August 20th.

Comm.: ll.1f.: There are, of course, no male names ending on  $-\sigma\iota\nu$ , but even  $-\sigma\iota\upsilon\nu$ ,  $-\sigma\iota\omega\nu$  provide no known name (according to F. Dornseiff - B. Hansen, Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen, 1957).

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 324 no. 126 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 164 no. 126); Meimaris, Sacred Names 190 no. 946 (ll.1f.).

WA

## 2982. Fragmentary painted wall inscription

(cross) EK[--] [--]

έκ[οιμήθη --|--]

... fell asleep ...

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 324 no. 127 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 164 no. 127) (ed. pr.).

WA

#### 2983. Painted wall inscription of Stephanus

```
(cross) \Sigma TE\Phi ANO\Sigma E[--]
N[..]X\Omega
MH\DeltaEKEMBP[--]
```

Στέφανος ἐ[κοιμήθη?] |  $N[..]X\Omega$ , | μη(νὶ) Δεκεμβρ(ί $\omega$ ) [--]

Stephanus fell asleep ... December ...

Comm.: l.1: An ethnic after the name is perhaps preferable. – ll.1f.:  $[\mu o] | \nu[\alpha] \chi \omega[\varsigma]$ ?

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 324 no. 128 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 164 no. 128) (ed. pr.).

WA

## 2984. Fragmentary painted wall inscription

```
(cross) EN\ThetaA\DeltaEKITE[--]

\Delta\OmegaPO\Sigma\SigmaI\Delta

[--]NOYMIOY[--]ΓIN\DeltaZ
```

ένθάδε κῖτε [--] $|\delta$ ωρος ΣΙΔ|[--]NΟΥ,  $\mu$ (ηνὶ) Ἰου[--] γ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ζ'

Here lies ...dorus ... Iu... 3rd, indiction 7.

Comm.: l.2: The beginning of an ethnic?

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 324 no. 129 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 164 no. 129) (ed. pr.).

## 2985. Painted wall inscription of the Deacon Theodorus

(cross) ΕΚΥΜΗΘΗ ΟΜΑΚΑΡΘΕΟ[..] ΡΟΣΟΔΙΑΚΟ[...] ΒΕΣΣΟΣΜΗΟΚΤΩ ΒΡΚΗΙΝΔΑ

έκυμήθη | ὁ μακάρ(ιος) Θεό[δω]|ρος ὁ διάκο[νος] | Βέσσος, μη(νὶ) Ἐντω|βρ(ίω) κη', ἐνδ(ικτιῶνος) α'

The blessed Theodorus, deacon, Bessus, fell asleep, on October 28th, indiction 1.

Comm.: l.1: ἐκοιμήθη Koikylides. – ll.2f: μακάριος Θεόδωρος διάκονος Koikylides. – ll.4f.: Abbreviations not reported by Koikylides; ἐνδ. γ' Koikylides.

1.4: Schneider believes that Theodorus belonged to the Thracian tribe of the Bessi and quotes Usener 150, who was surprised by the number of Bessi in Palestine. Usener started with Theodorus' speech on St. Theodosius (p. 45): four churches for people speaking four different languages were built ἔνδον τοῦ μοναστηρίου: one for the Greek fathers, έτέραν δὲ ἔνθα κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν γλῶσσαν γένος Βεσσῶν τῷ ὑψίστῷ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδίδωσιν. In his commentary, Usener quotes John Moschus and Cyril: Pratum spirituale 157 (PG 87/3, 3025): πρὸ τούτων τῶν δέκα ἡμέρων ηλθέν τις ξενικὸς γέρων, καὶ ἐλθών εἰς Σούβιβα τῶν Βέσων, δέδωκεν εὐλογίαν; v. Sabae 86, ed. Schwartz, p. 193: καὶ τινῶν τῶν ὀρθοδόξων πατέρων τυπτηθέντων καὶ πολέμου κατά τῶν εὐσεβῶν γεγονότος οἱ Βέσσοι τοῦ Ἰορδάνου θείωι ζήλωι φερόμενοι ἀνῆλθον ἐν τῆι ἁγίαι πόλει βοηθῆσαι τοῖς πολεμουμένοις ὀρθοδόξοις. καὶ δημοσίου πολέμου συγκροτηθέντος κατά τε τῶν Βέσσων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀρθοδόξων καὶ αὐτῶν προσφυγόντων τῶι τῆς Μεγίστης λαύρας ξενοδοχείωι ἐπῆλθον ἄφνω οἱ πολέμιοι μετὰ πλείστης μανίας βουλόμενοι τοὺς πατέρας διαχειρίσασθαι. κτλ. Cf. too, Antoninus Piac., Itin. 37 (CCSL 175, p. 148): Et introduxerunt nos in vallem inter Choreb et Sina, ad cuius pede montis est fons ille, ubi Moyses vidit signum rubi ardentis, in quo et oves adaquabat. qui fons inclusus est intra monasterium, ... in quo sunt tres abbates, scientes linguas, hoc est, latinas et graecas, syriacas et aegyptiacas et bessas, vel multi interpretes singularum linguarum. in quo sunt condita monachorum. The provenance of these Bessoi was often discussed; two opinions are quoted by Patrich 338 n.15: Bessoi were Iberians from the Caucasus or descendants of the Thracian tribe, having come to Palestine as soldiers. It might be worthwhile to quote the different opinion of Donner 282 n.171 on the pilgrims' notice: "Die Aufzählung umfaßt alle damals im Nahen Osten gesprochenen Sprachen. 'Ägyptisch' ist das Koptische, und 'Bessisch' muß wohl das Arabische sein, obgleich auch diese eigentümliche Bezeichnung bislang unerklärt ist. ... E.A. Knauf verdanke ich den Hinweis, daß 'Bessisch' vielleicht aus 'Abessinisch' entstellt sein könnte; immerhin gab es die äthiopische (=abessinische) Bibelübersetzung bereits im 5. Jh." The ethnic designation "Arab" can be found at Choziba (see nos. 2882, 2927); if we take Donner's first suggestion, we might have to look at a special tribe (hitherto unattested); without having a parallel at hand, Knauf's suggestion seems very tempting.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 75 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 324 no. 130 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 164 no. 130); Meimaris, Sacred Names 168 no. 836 (ll.1-3). – Cf. H. Usener, Der hl. Theodosios, 1890; J. Patrich, Sabas. Leader of Palestinian Monasticism, 1995; H. Donner, Pilgerfahrt ins heilige Land, 2002.

WA

## 2986. Fragmentary painted wall inscription

```
(cross) E[--]\Theta[.]
[--]\Sigma
[--]P[--]
\mathring{\epsilon}[\text{moim}\mathring{\eta}]\theta[\eta \mid --]\Sigma \mid [--]P[--]
... fell asleep ...

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 324 no. 131 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 164 no. 131) (ed. pr.).
```

WA

## 2987. Painted wall inscription of Cosmas the priest

(cross) ΑΝΕΠΑΗΟΜΑΚΑΡ ΚΟΣΜΑΣΟΠΡΕΣΒ ΜΗΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΚΗ ΙΝΔΖ (cross)

ἀνεπάη ὁ μακάρ(ιος) | Κοσμᾶς ὁ πρεσβ(ύτερος), | μη(νὶ) Ἰανουαρ(ίω) κη', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ζ'

The blessed Cosmas the priest, came to rest, on January 28th, indiction 7.

Comm.: As usual, the abbreviations are not reported by Koikylides. l.4:  $i\nu\delta$ ,  $\epsilon$ ' Koikylides. – l.2: Cosmas the priest was named after the famous Cilician saint.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 75 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 324 no. 132 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 164 no. 132); Meimaris, Sacred Names 190 no. 947 (ll.1f.).

#### 2988. Painted wall inscription of Salaon

(cross) ΣΑΛΑΩΝ ΗΝΔΗΝΟΣ ΜΗΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΙΟΥΘ ΙΝΛΟ

Σαλαῶν | ΗΝΔΗΝΟΣ, | μη(νὸς) Ἰανουαρίου θ', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)  $\varsigma$ '

Salaon ... on January 9th, indiction 6.

Comm.: l.1:  $\Sigma$ αλαμων Koikylides, and Schneider concedes that the name cannot be read with absolute certainty. – l.2: He came from India according to Patlagean. – l.3: Ἰνουβαρίου Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 75 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 324 no. 133 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 164 no. 133); E. Patlagean, Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, 1977, 337.

WA

## 2989. Painted wall inscription of Cononias the priest

(cross) EKOIMH $\Theta$ H  $K\Omega N\Omega NIA\Sigma$   $\Pi PE\Sigma B\Upsilon TEPO\Sigma$   $MHA\Gamma O\Upsilon \Sigma T$ [.]ET [.] $\Omega$ 

ἐκοιμήθη | Κωνωνίας | πρεσβύτερος, | μη(νὶ) Άγούστ $(\omega)$  | [.]ET|[.] $\Omega$ 

Cononias the priest, fell asleep, on August ...

Comm.: l.2: there is no such name in LGPN, but Cononis and Cononias are known from Cilicia. – l.5:  $\xi\tau(ou\varsigma)$ ?

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 324 no. 134 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 164 no. 134) (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, Sacred Names 190 no. 948.

## 2990. Painted wall inscription of Theodorus

(cross) E[--] [.]ΕΟΔΩΡΟΣΟΑΡΙ[..] [--]ΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΙΩ[..]ΙΝΔΒ (cross)

έ[κοιμήθη] | [Θ]εόδωρος OAPI[..|--, μη(νὶ)] Ἰανουαρίω [..], ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) β'

Theodorus ... fell asleep, on January ..., indiction 2.

Comm.: l.2:  $\delta \pi \rho \epsilon [\sigma \beta]$  seems a bit far-fetched, and without a facsimile it is impossible to decide whether one may read OAPX[--].

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 324 no. 135 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 164 no. 135) (ed. pr.).

WA

## 2991. Painted wall inscription of the Archdeacon Timotheus

(cross) ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΔΙΑΚΟΝ ΜΗΔΕΚΕΜΒΡΙΟΥΚ ΙΝΔΙΑ

Τιμόθεος | ἀρχιδιάκον(ος), | μη(νὸς) Δεκεμβρίου κ', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ια'

Timotheus, archdeacon, (who died) on December 20th, indiction 11.

Comm.: l.1: A good Christian name since Paul. – l.2: For the title, cf. no. 2935. – l.3: μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίω Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 75 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 324 no. 136 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 164 no. 136); Meimaris, Sacred Names 180 no. 894.

WA

## 2992. Painted wall inscription of the Deacon Hermogenes the Roman

(cross) ΕΚΟΙΜΗΘΗΟΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣΔΙ ΑΚΟΡΩΜ ΜΗ ΑΥΓΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ Κ $\varsigma$  έκοιμήθη ὁ μακάριος | Έρμογένης δι|άκ(ονος) ὁ Ῥωμ(αῖος), | μη(νὸς) Αὐγούσ|του | κς'

The blessed Deacon Hermogenes, the Roman, fell asleep, on August 26th.

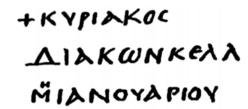
Comm.: l.1: The last word was read only by Koikylides. – l.2: Koikylides read nothing after the name. – l.3: δ Ῥωμ(αῖος) Schneider and no. 2904; perhaps rather Ῥωμ(ανός), cf. no. 2918.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 75 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 325 no. 137 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 164 no. 137); Meimaris, Sacred Names 168 no. 837 (ll.1-3).

WA

## 2993. Painted wall inscription of the Deacon Cyriacus

(cross) ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΣ ΔΙΑΚΩΝΚΕΛΛ ΜΗΙΑΝΟΥΡΙΟΥ ΚΔΙΝΔΕ



[[[M]]] ([]]]

fig. 2993

Κυριακὸς | διάκων(ος), κελλ(ιώτης), | μη(νὸς) Ἰανουαρίου | κδ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε'

Cyriacus, deacon, hermit, (who died) on January 24th, indiction 5.

Comm.: 1.2: κελλαριώτης Koikylides; κ[ε]λλ[ιώτης] Schneider; on κελλιώτης see no. 2882. – 1.3: Ἰουνίφ Koikylides; Ἰουνίου Schneider. – 1.4: non vidit Papadopoulos-Kerameus.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 75 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 219 no. 91; Schneider, Choziba 325 no. 138 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 164 no. 138); Meimaris, Sacred Names 168 no. 838 (ll.1-3); 234 no. 1170 (ll.1-3).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 219 fig. 91 (dr.).

## 2994. Painted wall inscription of the priest Elias from Mesopotamia

(cross) ΗΛΙΑΣΜΕΣΩΠΟΤ ΠΡΕΣΒΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΙΓ ΙΝΛΗ

'Ηλίας Μεσωποτ(αμίτης), | πρεσβ(ύτερος), Σεπτεμβρί(ω) ιγ', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) η'

*Elias from Mesopotamia, priest, (who died) on September 13th, indiction 8.* 

Comm.: l.1: Μεσοποταμῖνος Koikylides; Μεσωποταμίτης Meimaris; Vita Georgii 4 has a person Μεσοποταμικὸς τῷ γένει (Schneider). – l.2: πρεσβύτερος Σεπτεμβρίου Koikylides. – l.3: ἰνδ. κ' Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 75 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 325 no. 139 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 164 no. 139); Meimaris, Sacred Names 190 no. 949 (ll.1f.).

WA

# 2995. Painted wall inscription of Father Sergius the priest

(cross) EKOMH $\Theta$ H (cross) OMAKAPIO $\Sigma\Pi$ HPH[.]  $\Sigma$ EPΓΙΟ $\Sigma\Pi$ PE $\Sigma$  MHMA TOYT (cross) O $\Sigma$ APAKE+[.]

ἐκομήθη | ὁ μακάριος π(ατ)ὴρ ἡ[μ(ῶν)] | Σέργιος πρεσ(βύτερος), | μη(νὶ) Μαίου γ', | ὁ Σαρακεύ[ς]

Our blessed Father Sergius, priest, fell asleep, on May 3rd, the Saracen/man from Saraka.

TEKOMHOH+

OMAPIOCTTHPH%

CEPTIOCTTPEC

MMATOY T+

OCUPUKEM

fig. 2995

Comm.: Schneider did not see the text; Koikylides gave a full text without abbreviations. – l.1: ἐκοιμήθη Koikylides. – l.2: For the title, cf. no. 2953. – l.3: ὁ πρεσβύτερος Koikylides. – l.4: Μαίου β' Koikylides. – l.5: Σαρακε[νός] Papadopoulos-Kerameus; this would be the correct form, used by Stephanus (who has also, unfortunately, the following entry: Σάρακα, χώρα ἀραβίας μετὰ τοὺς Ναβαταίους. οἱ οἰκοῦντες Σαρακηνοί – without this last word, at least intriguing). Σαρακεύς is not in TLG, and σαρκεύς is far too rare and inappropriate to be even considered. Unfortunately, the space is not sufficient for the supplement Σαρακε[νός].

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 75 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 204 no. 32; Schneider, Choziba 325 no. 140 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 164 no. 140, given according to Koikylides); Meimaris, Sacred Names 190 no. 950 (ll.1f.), 247 no. 1243 (ll.1f.).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 204 fig. 32 (dr.).

WA

## 2996. Painted wall inscription of Timotheus

(cross) ΕΚΟΙΜΗΘΗΟΣΕΡΩΝΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΣΚΖ ΜΗΝΙΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΙΩΙΝΔΘ

έκοιμήθη ὁ ΣΕΡΩΝ Τιμόθεος, κζ' | μηνὶ Ἰανουαρίω, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) θ'

Timotheus ... fell asleep, on January 27th, indiction 9.

Comm.: Non vidit Schneider. l.1: ὁ Σερων Koikylides; γέρων? But this is usually added after the name.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 75 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 325 no. 141 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 164 no. 141, given according to Koikylides).

WA

#### 2997. Painted wall inscription of Father Ioannes of Damascus

(cross) ΕΚΟΙΜΗΘΗ[--]ΣΑΒΒΑΣΙΩΑΝΝΗΣΟ ΔΑΜΑΣΚΗΝΟΣ

έκοιμήθη [--]Σ άββᾶς Ἰωάννης δ | Δαμασκηνός

Father Ioannes of Damascus ... fell asleep.

Comm.: Non vidit Schneider. – l.1: Σάββας, Ἰωάννης Koikylides; assuming that the lacuna is large enough, [ὁ μακάριο]ς would be possible (cf. Meimaris, Sacred Names 238 no. 1197 [Oboda]: ἀνεπάη ὁ μακάριος Καπίτω [ἀ]ββᾶς). For the title see no. 2953; for monks named Ioannes in Choziba, see no. 3003.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 75 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 325 no. 142 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 164 no. 142, given according to Koikylides).

## 2998. Painted wall inscription of Ioannes from Cilicia

(cross) I $\Omega$ ANNH $\Sigma$ KI  $\Lambda$ I $\Xi$ MHMAPTI[..] IN $\Lambda$ E

'Ιωάννης Κί|λιξ, μη(νὶ) Μαρτί(ω) [..], | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε'

*Ioannes from Cilicia*, (who died) on March ..., indiction 5.

Comm.: For other monks from Cilicia named Ioannes, see no. 3003.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 325 no. 143 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 164f. no. 143) (ed. pr.).

WA

# 2999. Painted wall inscription of Father Paulus

[..]YMH $\Theta$ [...]BA $\Sigma$ ΠΑΥΛΟ $\Sigma$ N[--] (cross) [--] $\Gamma$  (cross) MAPTIOKZINΛA

[ἐκ]υμήθ(η) [ὁ ἀβ]βᾶς Παῦλος | Ν[--]Γ | Μαρτίω κζ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) α'

Father Paulus fell asleep ... on March 27th, indiction 1.

Comm.: l.1: [ἐκ]υμήθη Meimaris. For the title see no. 2953. – l.2: om. Koikylides. – l.3: Μαρτίου Koikylides. – This text is almost certainly the same as no. 3071 – even though Koikylides records them both. If the texts are identical, this version is surely preferable.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 77 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 325 no. 144 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 165 no. 144); Meimaris, Sacred Names 237 no. 1190 (l.1).

WA

## 3000. Painted wall inscription of Irenaeus

(cross)  $\overline{KE}$ ΕΛΕΗΣΟΝ ΟΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΕΡΕΙΝΗΟΣ

κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον. | ὁ μακάριος | Ἐρεινῆος

Lord, have mercy. The blessed Irenaeus.

+ KE EXEHCON

OMAKAPIOC

EPEINHOC

fig. 3000

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 75 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 219 no. 92; Schneider, Choziba 325 no. 145 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 165 no. 145).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 219 fig. 92 (dr.).

WA

## 3001. Painted wall inscription of Marcelus from Mesopotamia

 (cross) ΟΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣΜΑΡΚΕΛΟΣ

 ΜΕΣΟΠΟΤΑΜΔΙΑΚ

 [--]

 [--]

 (min) (1) (min)

 fig. 3001

ό μακάριος Μάρκελος | Μεσοποταμ(ίτης) διάκ(ονος) | [--|--]

The blessed Marcelus from Mesopotamia, deacon ...

Comm.: The text was only partly read by Papadopoulos-Kerameus. l.2: Μεσοποταμῖνος, διάκονος Koikylides. Cf. no. 2994 for another person from Mesopotamia.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 75 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 219 no. 93; Schneider, Choziba 325 no. 146 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 165 no. 146); Meimaris, Sacred Names 168 no. 839 (ll.1f.).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 219 fig. 93 (dr.).

WA

# 3002. Painted wall inscription of Ioannes

(cross)  $I\Omega ANNH\Sigma A\Delta I[--]$ 

Ίωάννης ΑΔΙ[--]

Ioannes ...

Comm.: None of the other inscriptions mentioning an Ioannes can be identified with this one. For monks named Ioannes in Choziba, see no. 3003. – Koikylides indicated that the inscription continued after the *iota*; one might think about  $\mathring{a}\delta\epsilon[\lambda\varphi\delta\varsigma]$ , but this is usually accompanied by the definite article  $\mathring{o}$   $\mathring{a}\delta\epsilon\lambda\varphi\delta\varsigma$ . An

indication of origin would be another possibility, sometimes expressed without an article, e.g. from Adiabene. Or perhaps: διά[κονος]?

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 75 (ed. pr.).

WA

## 3003. Painted wall inscription of the Deacon Ioannes from Cilicia

(cross) ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΔΙΑΚΩΝΚΙΛΙΞ ΜΗΔΕΚΕΜΒΡΙΩΗ ΙΝΔΙΕ

'Ιωάννης | διάκων(ος) Κίλιξ, | μη(νὶ) Δεκεμβρίω η', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιε'

Ioannes from Cilicia, deacon, (who died) on December 8th, indiction 15.

Comm.: l.1: For other monks from Cilicia named Ioannes, see nos. 2917, 2924, 2979, 2998, 3024, 3043. Feissel 12 comments on the number of monks named Ioannes in Choziba (he counts 32 instances, i.e. roughly 16% of the Choziba monks); he goes on to compare this number with the percentage of Ioannes in Korykos (84 in about 600 epitaphs): this name certainly strongly suggests an onomastic uniformity in Late Antiquity. He also notes that the proportion of monks named Ioannes from Cilicia is especially high: "Of the twelve Cilicians (leaving aside some Isaurians), one finds no fewer than seven 'Ioannes'. The proportion is huge, and the most plausible explanation is that of a name ... being taken on entry into the convent." – l.2: non vidit Schneider; διακον. Κοίκγlides; (διάκων Κίλιξ) Meimaris. – l.3: Δεκεμβρίου Koikylides. – l.4: ἐνδ. κ' Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 75 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 325 no. 147 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 165 no. 147); Meimaris, Sacred Names 168 no. 840. – Cf. D. Feissel, in: J. Davies - J. Wilkes eds., Epigraphy and the Historical Sciences, 2012, 1ff.

WA

## 3004. Painted wall inscription of Georgis

```
[--]
[...]ΡΓΙ[--]
ΙΟΥΝΙΩΚΘΙΝ
ΔΩ
```

[-- | Γεώ]ργι[ς, μη(νὶ)] | Ἰουνίω κθ', ἰν|δ(ικτιῶνος) ς'

... Georgis, (who died) on June 29th, indiction 6.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 325 no. 148 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 165 no. 148) (ed. pr.).

WA

## 3005. Painted wall inscription of Paulus

(cross) ΜΗΙΟΥΛΙΟΥΚΕΗΒ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ

μη(νὸς) Ἰουλίου κε', ή(νδικτιῶνος) β', | Παῦλος

On July 25th, indiction 2, Paulus.

Comm.: l.1: μηνὶ Ἰουλίω Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 75 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 325 no. 149 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 165 no. 149).

WA

## 3006. Painted wall inscription of Azarias

(cross) MHIOY $\Lambda$ IO $\Sigma$ Z AZAPIA $\Sigma$ 

μη(νὶ) Ἰουλί ω ζ', Ι Άζαρίας

On July 7th, Azarias.

Comm.: Schneider saw only the cross and the first five letters of l.1. For the name, see Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 13.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 75 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 325 no. 150 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 165 no. 150).

### 3007. Painted wall inscription of Eleutheris the Eunuch and Zosimus the deacon

(cross) ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΣ Ε[..]ΟΥΧ ΖΩΣΙΜΟΣΔΙΑΚ [.]ΚΟΙΜΗΘ ΜΗΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΚΒΙΝΔΓ (cross)

Έλευθέρις | ε[ὖν]οῦχ(ος), | Ζώσιμος διάκ(ονος) | [ἐ]κοιμήθ(ησαν), | μη(νὶ) Αὐγούστ(ῳ) κβ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γ'

Eleutheris the Eunuch, (and) Zosimus the deacon fell asleep, on August 22nd, indiction 3.

Comm.: 1.2: εὐνούχου Koikylides. Cf. no. 2887. – 1.3: Ζωσίμου Koikylides. – 1.4: ἐκοιμήθησαν Koikylides. – 1.5: Αὐγούστου Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 77 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 325 no. 151 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 165 no. 151); Meimaris, Sacred Names 168 no. 841.

WA

## 3008. Painted wall inscription of a deacon

(cross) EKOIM $\Lambda$ EONIAN  $\Delta$ IAKMHMAPTI $\Omega$ [..] (cross) IN $\Delta$ Z

έκοιμ(ήθη) Λεονιαν(ὸς) | διάκ(ονος), μη(νὶ) Μαρτί $\omega$  [..], | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ζ'

Leonianus the deacon fell asleep, on March ..., indiction 7.

Comm.: l.1: LGPN IV provides one example for Λεωνιανός.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 325 no. 152 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 165 no. 152) (ed. pr.).

## 3009. Fragmentary painted wall inscription

(cross) EKOIMH OMAKAPKI[--] [--]N MHIAN[--]

ἐκοιμή(θη) | ὁ μακάρ(ιος) Κι[--|--]N, | μη(νὶ) Ἰαν(ουαρίω) [--]

The blessed Ci... fell asleep, on January ...

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 325 no. 153 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 165 no. 153) (ed. pr.).

WA

## 3010. Fragmentary painted wall inscription

 $[.]NK\Omega$ 

[--]

[έ]ν κ(υρί)ω | [--]

... in the Lord ...

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 325 no. 154 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 165 no. 154) (ed. pr.).

WA

#### 3011. Painted wall inscription of Macedonius

[(cross) .]ΚΟΙΜΗΘ ΟΜΑΚΑ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΟΣ ΜΗΜΑΙΩΙ

[έ]κοιμήθ(η) | ὁ μακά(ριος) | Μακεδόνιος, | μη(νὶ) Μαίω ι'

The blessed Macedonius fell asleep, on May 10th.

## KOIMH<del>O</del>I OHAKAJ MAKEDONIOC MMAIU I

fig. 3011

406

Comm.: Schneider saw only the right-hand part of the text, whereas Koikylides and Papadopoulos-Kerameus saw the entire inscription. – l.2: μακαρ. Koikylides. – l.4: ἀπριλίου ι' Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 77 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 216 no. 80; Schneider, Choziba 325 no. 155 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 165 no. 155).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 216 fig. 80 (dr.).

WA

## 3012. Fragmentary painted wall inscription

 $\begin{array}{l} \text{(cross)} \; [.] KO[.] MH \\ [--] IO\Sigma \\ [--] A \end{array}$ 

 $[\mathring{\epsilon}]$ κο $[\imath]$ μή(θη) |  $[\mathring{\delta}$  μακάρ]ιος | [--]A

The blessed ... fell asleep ...

Comm.: [--]105 could be explained as the end of a name too.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 326 no. 156 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 165 no. 156) (ed. pr.).

WA

#### 3013. Painted wall inscription of Ioannes the deacon

(cross) ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΔΙΑΚΕΛΑ ΔΙΚΟΣΕΚΟΙ ΜΗΘΙ

'Ιωάννης | διάκ(ονος) ΕΛΑ|ΔΙΚΟΣ ἐκοι|μήθι

Ioannes the deacon, ..., fell asleep.

Comm.: For monks named Ioannes in Choziba, see no. 3003. – ll.2f.: For  $EAA - \Delta IKO\Sigma$  cf. no. 2855.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 326 no. 157 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 165 no. 157) (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, Sacred Names 168 no. 842.

#### 3014. Painted wall inscription of Ioannes Zetzes

(cross) ΕΚΟΙΜΗΘΙΟΜΑΚ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣΟΖΗΤ ΖΗΣΜΗΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΟΥΑ ΙΝΛΙΓ

έκοιμήθι ὁ μακ(άριος) | Ἰωάννης ὁ Ζήτ|ζης, μη(νὸς) Σεπτεμβρίου α', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιγ'

The blessed Ioannes Zetzes fell asleep, on September 1st, indiction 13.

Comm.: For monks named Ioannes in Choziba, see no. 3003. – 1.3: The letters after tau were not read by Schneider (and Koikylides often tends to fill in an abbreviation). – 1.4:  $\iota$  Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 77 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 326 no. 158 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 165 no. 158).

WA

## 3015. Painted wall inscription of the monk Theodorus from Alexandria(?)

(cross) ΕΝΘΑΔΕΑΝΕΠΑΥ ΣΑΤΟΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΚΕΛΛΙΩΤΗΣΑΛΕ ZA[..]Σ[--] [--]I IN $\overline{\Lambda}$ 

ένθάδε ἀνεπαύ|σατο Θεόδωρος | κελλιώτης, ἀλλε| ξ'α[νδρεύ]ς(?) [--, | μη(νὶ) --] ι', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ια' + ENOD ΔE ΔΝΕΠΑΥ CATO ΦΕ Ο ΔωρΟC ΚΕΛΛΙΟΤΗ CAAE ΖΑΦΕ CΦΦ Μ 9 4 9 19 INA IA

fig. 3015

Here Theodorus, monk, from Alexandria(?) has come to rest, ... 10th, indiction 11.

Comm.: ll.3f.: κελλιώτης, μ[ονά]|ζο[ν] Schneider, but μ[ονά]|ζο[ν] should be included in κελλιώτης, and Papadopoulos-Kerameus read differently. On κελλιώτης see no. 2882. If Άλε| ξα[νδρεύ]ς is correctly supplied, the Egyptian capital is the most likely candidate.

Bibl.: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 217 no. 81 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 326 no. 159 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 165 no. 159); Meimaris, Sacred Names 235 no. 1171.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 217 fig. 81 (dr.).

### 3016. Painted wall inscription of Christophorus

(cross) ΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΙΤΕΟΜΑΚ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΦΟΡΟΣΕΝΜΗ ΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΩΩΙΝΔΘ

# + εΝΦΔΔΕΚΙΤΈΟΜΑΚ ΧΡΙCΤΟΦΟΡΟCΕΝμΗ CERTEMBPI Z INDX®

fig. 3016

ένθάδε κῖτε ὁ μακ(άριος) | Χριστοφόρος, ἐν μη(νὶ) | Σεπτεμβρίως ς', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) θ'

Here lies the blessed Christophorus, (who died) on September 6th, indiction 9.

Comm.: 1.3: Σεπτεμβρί( $\omega$ ) ζ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) [.] Papadopoulos-Kerameus.

Bibl.: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 217 no. 82 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 326 no. 160 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 165 no. 160).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 217 fig. 82 (dr.).

WA

## 3017. Fragmentary painted wall inscription

(cross) EKOIMH $\Theta$ H OMAK B[--]MI $\Sigma$ MI[--] MH[--]

έκοιμήθη | ὁ μακ(άριος) | Β[--]ΜΙΣΜΙ[--], | μη(νὶ) [--]

The blessed ... fell asleep, in the month ...

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 326 no. 161 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 165 no. 161) (ed. pr.).

WA

#### 3018. Painted wall inscription of Theodorus from Isauria

(cross) ΕΚΟΙΜΗΘΗΟΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ [--]ΘΕΩ  $\Delta\Omega PO\Sigma H\Sigma A\Upsilon PO\Sigma$  ΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΙΩΔ

έκοιμήθη ὁ μακάριος | [--] Θεώ|δωρος "Ήσαυρος, | Ἰανουαρίω δ'

The blessed ... Theodorus from Isauria fell asleep, on January 4th.

Comm.: l.1: The two last words were only seen by Koikylides; perhaps one should read ἐκοιμήθη | [ὁ μακ.] Θεώδωρος? Otherwise l.2 has to start with a title, e.g. [ἀββᾶς] (but Koikylides did not mention any lacuna). – l.4 was only seen by Koikylides, who suggested that something might be missing after the numeral.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 75 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 326 no. 162 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 165 no. 162).

WA

## 3019. Painted wall inscription of Brother Ioanis

```
(cross) EKOIM[.]\Theta\OmegaA\DeltaE\Lambda \PhiO\SigmaHMONI[..]NI\Sigma [--]
```

έκοιμ[ή] $\theta$ (η) ώ άδελ $|\phi$ ος ήμον  $I[\omega$ ά|vις |[--]

Our Brother Ioanis fell asleep ...

Comm.: For monks named Ioannes in Choziba, see no. 3003.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 326 no. 163 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 165f. no. 163) (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, Sacred Names 228 no. 1118.

WA

# 3020. Painted wall inscription of Cyprianus

```
ΚΥΠΡΙ
[..]ΟΣ[--]
```

Κυπρι [[αν]ος [--]

Cyprianus

Comm.: Κυπρι[ακ]ός?

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 75 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 326 no. 164 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 166 no. 164).

## 3021. Painted wall inscription with fragmentary name

[--]ΗΘΗΟΜΑΚΑ [--]ΑΛΙΣΜΗΟΚΤΩΒΡΙΩ[..] ΙΝΛΙΛ

[ἐκοιμ]ήθη ὁ μακά(ριος) | [--]ΑΛΙΣ, μη(νὶ) Ὀκτωβρίω [..], | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιδ'

The blessed ...ali(u)s fell asleep, on October ..., indiction 14.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 326 no. 165 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 166 no. 165) (ed. pr.).

WA

## 3022. Painted wall inscription of Theodorus and Leontius the priest

ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ [--]  $\Lambda$ [..]ΝΤΙ[..]ΠΡΒ ΜΗΟΚΤΩΒΡΑ ΙΝΛΙ

Θεόδωρος [--]|  $\Lambda$ [εό]ντι[ος] πρ(εσ)β(ύτερος), | μη(νὶ) Όκτωβρ(ίω) α', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ι'

Theodorus ... Leontius the priest, on October 1st, indiction 10.

Comm.: l.1 was seen only by Koikylides; most likely l.1 and ll.2-3 belong to two different inscriptions. – l.2: Λεόντιος Koikylides; Vita Georgii 11 has an Abbot Leontius. – l.3: μηνὶ Ὀκτωβρίου Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 75 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 326 no. 166 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 166 no. 166); Meimaris, Sacred Names 191 no. 951.

WA

#### 3023. Painted wall inscription of Ioannes

IΩ[--] [--]BA[--] AIANΩN MHNIAYΓΟΥΣΤΩ

Ίω[άννης | --]ΒΑ[--] | Αἰάνων, μηνὶ Αὐγούστω

*Ioannes, ..., Aianon, in the month of August.* 

Comm.: For monks named Ioannes in Choziba, see no. 3003. – ll.1f.: Ἰωάννης Σάββας Koikylides. – l.2: [Σά]βα[ς --] Schneider. – l.3: For the names of this type cf. Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 14. – l.4 was seen only by Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 75 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 326 no. 167 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 166 no. 167).

WA

## 3024. Painted wall inscription of Castor and Ioannes

(cross) ΚΑΣΤΩΡ ΠΟΛΥΧΡΟΝΙΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣΚΗ ΛΙΞ ΜΗΕΙΟΥ ΛΙΟΥΚ

Κάστωρ | Πολυχρονίου | Ἰωάννης Κή|λιξ, | μη(νὸς) Εἰου|λίου κ'

Castor, son of Polychronius; Ioannes of Cilicia, (who died) on July 20th.

Comm.: ll.1f. were only seen by Koikylides. – l.2: One of the few examples of a father's name in these texts. – It remains unclear whether ll.5f. refer to both of them. For other monks from Cilicia named Ioannes, see no. 3003.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 75 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 326 no. 168 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 166 no. 168).

WA

## 3025. Painted wall inscription of the Deacon Elias

(cross) ΗΛΙΑΔΙΑΚ ΙΟΥΝΙΟΥΚΒ

'Ηλία διακ(όνου), | Ίουνίου κβ'

(Place) of Elias, deacon, (who died) on June 22nd.

Comm.: l.1: Ἡλιάδης Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 77 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 326 no. 169 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 166 no. 169); Meimaris, Sacred Names 168 no. 843 (l.1).

## 3026. Painted wall inscription of the monk Casius(?)

(staurogram) EKYMH $\Theta$ OA  $\Delta$ E $\Lambda$  $\Phi$ O $\Sigma$ KA $\Sigma$ IO $\Upsilon$ MOMHIANO $\Upsilon$ APE 'I' $\Lambda$ \Delta $\overline{E}$  (cross)

412

έκυμήθ(η) ὁ ἀ|δελφὸς Κασιου | μο(ναχός), μη(νὶ) Ἰανουαρ(ίω) ε', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε'  $f \in KYMHOOD$   $\Delta \xi \lambda \phi o C K \lambda \in IOVM$   $MMIDNOYAP \xi$  INX E +

fig. 3026

Brother Casius(?), the monk, fell asleep, on January 5th, indiction 5.

Comm.: l.1: ἐκοιμήθη Koikylides. – l.2: K[..] Ιουλί[ου] Koikylides, Καειουμᾶς Papadopoulos-Kerameus (cf. Maiumas); Κασιου Schneider; a genitive is not really in place, nor an ethnic as a derivative of a place name (e.g. Κασιον); Κάσιος would fit best, cf. Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 63. – l.3: Ἰανουαρίου Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 77 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 215 no. 74; Schneider, Choziba 326 no. 170 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 166 no. 170); Meimaris, Sacred Names 232 no. 1151.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 215 fig. 74 (dr.).

WA

#### 3027. Painted wall inscription of Bassus

(cross) ΕΚΟΙΜΗΘ ΒΑΣΣΟΣΜΗ ΦΕΒΡΑΙΝΔΕ HEKOIMHON BACCOCHU DEBPAPTE

έκοιμήθ(η) | Βάσσος, μη(νὶ) | Φεβρ(ουαρίω) α', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε'

fig. 3027

Bassus fell asleep, on February 1st, indiction 5.

Comm.: l.3: Φεβρουαρίου ιε' Koikylides, Φεβραρ(ί $\omega$ ) ιε' Papadopoulos-Kerameus; neither he nor Koikylides saw the indiction.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 77 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 215 no. 75; Schneider, Choziba 326 no. 171 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 166 no. 171).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 215 fig. 75 (dr.).

## 3028. Painted wall inscription of Iordanes from Cilicia

(cross) ΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΙ ΤΕΟΜΑΚΑ ΙΟΡΔΑΝΗΣΚΙΛΙΞ ΜΗΙΟΥΛΙΩΒΙΝΔ ΊΓ

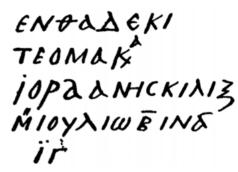


fig. 3028

ένθάδε κῖ|τε ὁ μακά(ριος) | Ἰορδάνης Κίλιξ, | μη(νὶ) Ἰουλίω β', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) | ιγ'

Here lies the blessed Iordanes from Cilicia, (who died) on July 2nd, indiction 13.

Comm.: l.2: MAKAP Koikylides; MAPK Schneider. – l.3: Ἰορδάνις Koikylides. – l.4: Ἰουλίω ε' Koikylides, κ' Schneider.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 77 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 216 no. 79; Schneider, Choziba 326 no. 172 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 166 no. 172).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 216 fig. 79 (dr.).

WA

#### 3029. Painted wall inscription of Petrus

(cross) EN $\Theta$ A $\Delta$ EKI TE[..]TPO $\Sigma$ [--]BPIO $\Upsilon$ H

ένθάδε κῖ|τε [Πέ|τρος, | [μη(νὸς) --]βρίου η'

Here lies Petrus, (who died) on ...ber 8th.

Comm.: Koikylides mentioned no gaps in the text. l.3:  $\Sigma$ επτεμβρίου Koikylides; *eta* was seen only by Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 76 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 326 no. 173 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 166 no. 173).

## 3030. Painted wall inscription of Sozomenus

(cross)  $\Sigma\Omega$ ZOMENO $\Sigma$ 

CWZOMENOC

Σωζόμενος

fig. 3030

Sozomenus.

Comm.: The inscription is placed directly above no. 3031.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 77 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 216 no. 76; Schneider, Choziba 327 no. 174 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 166 no. 174).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 216 fig. 76 (dr.).

WA

## 3031. Painted wall inscription of Cyriacus of Cilicia

ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΣΚΙΛΙΞ

KYPIDKOCKINIS

Κυριακός Κίλιξ

fig. 3031

Cyriacus of Cilicia.

Comm.: The inscription is located directly below no. 3030. Schneider maintained that this inscription had not been mentioned by Koikylides but the latter has one inscription that may be the same as this one, see the following no. 3032.

Bibl.: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 216 no. 77 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 327 no. 175 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 166 no. 175).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 216 fig. 77 (dr.).

WA

## 3032. Fragmentary painted wall inscription of a woman

(cross) KΥΡΙΑ ΚΟΡ(NΗΛΙΑ)

κυρία ΚΟΡ(ΝΗΛΙΑ)

Lady ...

Comm.: The inscription is said to have been  $\pi\rho\delta\varsigma$  δυσμάς τοῦ σπηλαίου ἐπὶ τῆς ὀροφῆς αὐτοῦ (Koikylides 74), and is the second-to-last text recorded by Koikylides. – It would be the only inscription in Choziba to mention a κυρία, and we certainly expect a name to be mentioned after the address. Unfortunately, it is not entirely clear what Koikylides meant by the brackets: did he wish to indicate lost text and propose a supplement, or did he indicate an abbreviation, or – most likely, to judge by his normal practice – are the brackets meaningless? That a "lady" was buried among the monks could easily be explained if she died on a pilgrimage (as is usually assumed to have happened with the other women buried here, nos. 2870, 2894, 2958, 3057). However, this text is probably the same inscription as no. 3031, since it follows in Koikylides' order after no. 3030 as does no. 3031 in the orders of Papadopoulos-Kerameus and Schneider.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 78 (ed. pr.).

WA

#### 3033. Painted wall inscription of Eusebis

(cross) ΕΝΘΚΑΤ[--] ΤΑΙΟΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣΕΥΣΕΒΙΣ ΜΗΝΙΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΥΚΒ

ἔνθ(α) κατ[άκει]|ται ὁ μακάριος Εὐσέβις, | μηνὶ Νοεμβρίου κβ'

Here lies the blessed Eusebis, (who died) on November 22nd.

Comm.: l.2: ὁ μακάριος and l.3 were only seen by Koikylides; it is more than probable that he wrote some abbreviations out, especially the date.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 76 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 327 no. 176 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 166 no. 176).

WA

## 3034. Painted wall inscription of Eusebis

(cross) ΕΝΘ∫ΚΑΤ[.] Κ[.]ΙΤΑΙΕΥΣΕΒΙΣ + EN + KATE

KEIT AI EYCEBIC

ἔνθ(α) κατ[ά]|κ[ε]ιται Εὐσέβις

fig. 3034

Here lies Eusebis.

Comm.: Nos. 3033 and 3060 are roughly similar, but not identical texts; these two were both seen by Koikylides, and Papadopoulos-Kerameus insisted on the fact that Koikylides did not notice the present inscription. However, the fact that no. 3033 in Schneider's order follows immediately after no. 3031, as does the present inscription in the order of Papadopoulos-Kerameus, could indicate that both are the same after all.

Bibl.: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 216 no. 78 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 216 fig. 78 (dr.).

WA

## 3035. Fragmentary painted wall inscription

```
(cross) AB[..]ΕΠΦΑ[--] [--]ΔΙΣΙΜ[--] [--]ΚΘΙ[--]
```

416

AB[..]ΕΠΦΑ[--|--]ΔΙΣΙ,  $\mu[\eta(\nu i)$  --|--]  $\kappa \theta$ ',  $i[\nu \delta(ικτιῶνος)$  --]

... 29th, indiction ...

Comm.: The inscription is said to have been πρὸς δυσμὰς τοῦ σπηλαίου ἐπὶ τῆς ὀροφῆς αὐτοῦ (Koikylides 74), and is the last text recorded by Koikylides. – l.1: åβ[βᾶς]? Epiphanius?

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 78 (ed. pr.).

WA

#### 3036. Painted wall inscription of Basilis of Cappadocia

(cross) ΕΝΘΑΚΙΤΕ ΒΑΣ ΊΛΙΣΚΑΠΑΞ ΜΗΔΕΚΕΜΒΡΙΩΘ

ἔνθα κῖτε | Βασίλις Καπά(δο)ξ, | μη(νὸς) Δεκεμβρίω θ' HENDAKITE
BACÏAICKAKAÑŁ

LA EKEMBPIWĒ

fig. 3036

Here lies Basilis of Cappadocia, (who died) on December 9th.

Comm.: l.2: Βασιλισκα ΠΑΞ Koikylides; Βασίλις Κα{κα}πά(δο)ξ Papadopoulos-Kerameus; Βασίλις Καπ(πάδο)ξ Schneider. – l.3: Δεκεμβρίου Koikylides, Schneider; ιθ' Koikylides; E Papadopoulos-Kerameus.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 77 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 214 no. 69; Schneider, Choziba 327 no. 177 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 166 no. 177).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 216 fig. 69 (dr.).

WA

## 3037. Painted wall inscription of the hermit Ioannes

(cross) EN $\overline{X}\Omega$ EK $\int I \Omega A$ NNH $\Sigma$ [.]ΕΛΛΙΩΤΗ $\Sigma$ ΜΗΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΙΟΥΘ INΛΕ

ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ | ἐκ(οιμήθη) Ἰωά|ννης | [κ]ελλιώτης, | μη(νὸς) Ἰανουαρίου θ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε'

Ioannes, hermit, fell asleep in Christ, on January 9th, indiction 5.

ten XW

EKTWA

NNHC

EYIWTHC

MICHOVAPION O

fig. 3037

Comm.: For monks named Ioannes in Choziba, see no. 3003. – l.2: ἐκοιμήθ(η) Koikylides. – l.4: ΕΥΙΩΤΗΣ (=Εὐβοιώτης) Papadopoulos-Kerameus; οη κελλιώτης see no. 2882. – l.5: μηνί Koikylides. – l.6: Seen only by Schneider.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 77 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 214 no. 70; Schneider, Choziba 327 no. 178 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 166 no. 178); Meimaris, Sacred Names 235 no. 1172.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 214 fig. 70 (dr.).

WA

## 3038. Painted wall inscription of Thomas

(cross) EKYMI $\Theta$ IOMAKA  $\Theta$ QMA $\Sigma$ MINHNOEM BPI $\Omega$ KZ

έκυμίθι ὁ μακά(ριος) | Θωμᾶς, μινὴ Νοεμ|βρίω κζ' +EKYMI&HOMAKA

OWMACKINH###

BPIWKZ

fig. 3038

The blessed Thomas fell asleep, on November 27th.

Comm.: l.1: ἐκοιμήθι Koikylides, ἐκυμίθη Papadopoulos-Kerameus; μακαρ[--] Koikylides, MAKA[--] Schneider. – l.2: μηνί Koikylides; the last four letters were not seen by Papadopoulos-Kerameus. – l.3: ΚΑ Koikylides, ΚΔ Papadopoulos-Kerameus.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 76 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 212 no. 61; Schneider, Choziba 327 no. 179 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 166 no. 179).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 216 fig. 61 (dr.).

WA

## 3039. Painted wall inscription of Stephanus of Iberia

(cross) ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΙΤΕΣΤΕ ΦΑΝΟΣΙΒΕΡΓ ΜΗΜΑΡΤΓΚΩ IΝΔΕ teneade kitecte danocibeps ばひaptikc INA E

ἐνθάδε | κῖτε Στέ|φανος "Ιβερ(ος), | μη(νὶ) Μαρτ(ίω) κς', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε'

fig. 3039

Here lies Stephanus of Iberia, (who died) on March 26th, indiction 5.

Comm.: l.3: IBPΣ Koikylides. Certainly Iberia in the Caucasus. – l.4 was not seen by Schneider. Koikylides, who did not record the abbreviations, wrote μηνὶ Μαίου  $\kappa\varsigma$ '. – l.5: was not seen by Schneider; IN $\Delta$ B Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 77 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 213 no. 67; Schneider, Choziba 327 no. 180 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 166 no. 180).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 213 fig. 67 (dr.).

## 3040. Painted wall inscription of Cyprianus from Ascalon

(cross) ΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΙΤΕ ΚΥΠΡΙΑΝΟΣΑΣΚ∫ ΜΗΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΩΙΝΔΘ tenouækite kyπριανοςαςς «μαίου Β

fig. 3040

ένθάδε κῖτε | Κυπριανὸς Ἀσκ(αλωνίτης), | μη(νὸς) Μαίου | κς', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) θ'

Here lies Cyprianus from Ascalon, (who died) on May 26th, indiction 9.

Comm.: 1.2: Abbreviation not noted by Koikylides. – 1.3: Μαίου β' Koikylides, Papadopoulos-Kerameus. – 1.4 om. Koikylides and Papadopoulos-Kerameus.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 77 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 213 no. 68; Schneider, Choziba 327 no. 181 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 166 no. 181).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 213 fig. 68 (dr.).

WA

## 3041. Painted wall inscription of Elias from Berytus

(cross) ΕΚΟΙΜΗ ΘΗΟΜΑ ΚΑΗΛΙΑΣ ΒΗΡΥΤΙΟ[.]ΙΟΥΛΙΩΉ EKOIMH

HOMA

HAIAC

BHPYTIOMOYAIWH

έκοιμή|θη ὁ μα|κά(ριος) Ἡλίας | Βηρύτιο[ς], Ἰουλίω η'

fig. 3041

The blessed Elias from Berytus fell asleep, on July 8th.

Comm.: ll.2f.: MAKAP Koikylides; μα|κ(άριος) Schneider. – l.4: BHP[--] Koikylides; the name of the month was seen by Koikylides (Ἰουλίου) and Papadopoulos-Kerameus.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 77 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 212 no. 62; Schneider, Choziba 327 no. 182 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 166 no. 182).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 212 fig. 62 (dr.).

## 3042. Painted wall inscription of Leontis

(cross) EKYMH $\Theta$ f OMAPIO $\Sigma$   $\Lambda$ EONTI $\Sigma$ MHIOY $\Lambda$ IOY  $\overline{K}\Theta$ I $\Delta$ [..] (cross) (cross) (cross)

έκυμήθ(ι) | ὁ μα(κά)ριος | Λεόντις, | μη(νὸς) Ἰουλίου | κθ', ἰ(ν)δ(ικτιῶνος) [..]

The blessed Leontis fell asleep, on July 29th, indiction ...

HEKYMHOGOMAPIOC AEOHTIC HIOYAIOY KO TAS

+++

Comm.: ll.1-3 and 5: om. Koikylides. – l.1: ἐκυμήθι Schneider. – l.4: Koikylides read only κηπουρός, the month was added by Schneider: μη(νὶ) [..]Υ[--];

fig. 3042

this reading might belong somehow to the word Papadopoulos-Kerameus noticed in no. 3043,  $\varkappa\eta\pi$ ουράρ( $\iota\varsigma$ ). – l.5: om. Schneider. – On the importance of gardeners for a monastery, Patlagean 323.

Bibl.: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 214 no. 71 (ed. pr.). – Koikylides 1901, 77; Schneider, Choziba 327 no. 183 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 166f. no. 183). – Cf. E. Patlagean, Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, 1977.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 214 fig. 71 (dr.).

WA

# 3043. Painted wall inscription of Ioannes of Cilicia

(cross) EKOIMHΘſΟΜΑ Τ΄ ΩΑΝΝΗΣΚΙΛΙΞ ΜΗΔΕΚΕΜΒΡΙΟΥΙΝΔΓ Τ΄ (cross) (cross) (cross)

έκοιμήθ(η) ὁ μα(κάριος) | Ἰωάννης Κίλιξ, μη(νὸς) Δεκεμβρίου, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) | ι'

The blessed Ioannes of Cilicia fell asleep, in December, indiction 10.

KHMOVPOP + EKOINHOSOND JWUNNHCKINIZ MAEKEMBPIEINDS T

fig. 3043

Comm.: Koikylides did not mention any abbreviation. – l.1: Koikylides records the word κηπουρός above the inscription; Papadopoulos-Kerameus read κηπουράρ(ις); cf. no. 3042. – l.3: Δεκεμβρίω Koikylides; Δεκεμβρί[.] Papadopoulos-Kerameus. – l.4: Papadopoulos-Kerameus records no crosses. For other monks from Cilicia named Ioannes, see no. 3003.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 77 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 215 no. 72; Schneider, Choziba 327 no. 184 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 167 no. 184).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 215 fig. 72 (dr.).

WA

## 3044. Painted wall inscription of Brother Nilus

(cross) ΕΚΥΜΗΘΗΟΑΔΕΛΦ ΝΙΛΟΣΟΜΑΚΑΡ ΜΗ Ι'ΟΥΛΙΩΑΙΝΔ

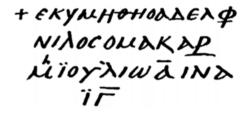


fig. 3044

ἐκυμήθη ὁ ἀδελφ(ὸς) | Νῖλος ὁ μακάρ(ιος), | μη(νὶ) Ἰουλίω α', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) | ιγ'

Brother Nilus, the blessed, fell asleep, on July 1st, indiction 13.

Comm.: l.2: μακ(άριος) Schneider. – l.3: ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ' Schneider, who did not see l.4.

Bibl.: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 215 no. 73 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 327 no. 185 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 167 no. 185); Meimaris, Sacred Names 228 no. 1119 (ll.1f.).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 215 fig. 73 (dr.).

WA

## 3045. Painted wall inscription of Solomon

(cross) ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝ

+ COYOMMH

Σολομών

Solomon.

fig. 3045

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 77 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 212 no. 63; Schneider, Choziba 327 no. 186 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 167 no. 186).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 212 fig. 63 (dr.).

WA

## 3046. Painted wall inscription of Paulus

(cross) ΕΝΘΑΚΙΤΕ ΟΜΑΚΑΡΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΒΟΥΡΑΤ∫ΜΗΔΕΚΕΜΒ∫Κ Ί`ΝΔΙΑ

422

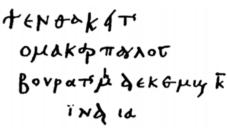


fig. 3046

ἔνθα κῖτε | ὁ μακάρ(ιος) Παῦλος | ΒΟΥΡΑΤ, μη(νὶ) Δεκεμβ(ρίω) κ', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ια'

Here lies the blessed Paulus ..., (who died) on December 20th, indiction 11.

Comm.: Very late writing. – l.1: ἐνθάδε κῖται Koikylides; κεῖ(ται) Papadopoulos-Kerameus. – l.2: μακ(άριος) Koikylides, Schneider. – l.3: Βουρατε μηνί Koikylides; ΒΟΥΜΑΤΕΜΟ[..] Schneider; reading according to Papadopoulos-Kerameus; Βουράτ(ιος)? Βουραῖος is the ethnic of an Italian(!) town, Stephanus s.v., quite improbable. Βουρίχιος, Βουρικιανός are semitic names, cf. IK 27 T 12; Masson 2002, 220; βουριχᾶς is "leader of donkeys," Masson 1982, 172f. – Δεκεμβρίφ Koikylides; Schneider did not see the month.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 77 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 212 no. 64; Schneider, Choziba 327 no. 187 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 167 no. 187). – Cf. O. Masson, in: Serta Indogermanica, 1982, 172ff.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 212 fig. 64 (dr.).

## 3047. Painted wall inscription of Theophilus

(cross) ΕΚΥΜΗΘΓΟΜΑΚ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΜΗΣΕΠΤΕΜ ΒΡΓ'Ι'ΝΔΙΘ βέξινχ<u>ο</u> ήςεπτεμ θεοφίχος Ηεκγμηθιομακ

ἐκυμήθ(η) ὁ μακ(άριος) | Θεόφιλος, | μη(νὶ) Σεπτεμ|βρ(ίω) γ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) θ'

fig. 3047

The blessed Theophilus fell asleep, on September 3rd, indiction 9.

Comm.: l.1: ἐκοιμήθη Koikylides. – l.2: MAKAP Koikylides. – l.4 init. ΒΡΙΩ, fin. B Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 77 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 213 no. 65; Schneider, Choziba 327 no. 188 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 167 no. 188).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 213 fig. 65 (dr.).

WA

## 3048. Painted wall inscription of Isidorus

(cross) EN $\Theta$ A $\Delta$ fKA TAKITEOA $\Delta$ E $\Lambda$  $\Phi$ fI $\Sigma$ I $\Delta$ OPO $\Sigma$ MH (cross)  $\Delta$ EK HIN A +εΝΘΔΔΕΚΑ ΤΑΚΙΤΕΟΑΔΕλ<sub>+</sub>C Φ'ΙCΙΔΟΡΟC Й+ΔΕΚ Η ΙΝ<sub>4</sub>

fig. 3048

ένθάδ(ε) κα|τάκιτε ὁ ἀδελ|φ(ὸς) Ἰσίδορος, | μη(νὶ) Δεκ(εμβρίω) | η', ἰν(δικτιῶνος) | α'

Here lies Brother Isidorus, (who died) on December 8th, indiction 1.

Comm.: The text here is adopted from Papadopoulos-Kerameus, which differs in minor details from the others.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 76 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 213 no. 66; Schneider, Choziba 327 no. 189 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 167 no. 189); Meimaris, Sacred Names 228 no. 1120 (ll.1-3).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 213 fig. 66 (dr.).

#### 424

## 3049. Painted wall inscription of Basiliscus

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΚΟΣ ΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΑΤΑ ΚΙΤΕΜΗΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΩ ΕΝΔΕΚΑΤΗ

Βασιλίσκος | ἐνθάδε κατά|κιτε, μη(νὶ) Σεπτεμβρίω | ἑνδεκάτη BACINICKOC

ENJALEKATA

KITE MCETTELBPIW

ENSEKATH

fig. 3049

Basiliscus lies here, (who died) on September 11th.

Comm.: 1.3: Σεπτεμβρ(ίω) Schneider.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 76 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 212 no. 60; Schneider, Choziba 327 no. 190 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 167 no. 190).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 212 fig. 60 (dr.).

WA

## 3050. Painted wall inscription of Theodorus the Cappadocian

(cross) ΕΝΘΑ ΔΕΚΙΤΕΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΚΑΠΠΑΔΟΚΟΣΜΗ ΜΑΡΤ∫ΚΔΙΝΔΖ +6HOA \$\rightarrow{\rightarro

ἐνθά|δε κῖτε Θεόδωρος | Καππάδοκος, μη(νὶ) | Μαρτ(ίω) κδ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ζ'

fig. 3050

Here lies Theodorus the Cappadocian, (who died) on March 24th, indiction 7.

Comm.: l.3: See no. 2884 on Cappadocia. – ll.3f.: Koikylides resolved the abbreviations. – l.4: Papadopoulos-Kerameus did not see the last four letters.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 76 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 211 no. 58; Schneider, Choziba 327 no. 191 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 167 no. 191).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 211 fig. 58 (dr.).

# 3051. Painted wall inscription of Brother Daniel

(cross) ΕΚΥΜΗΘΙΑ ΔΕΛΦΟΣΗΜΩΝ ΔΑΝΙΗΛΜΗ Ί ΟΥ ΝΙΩ Ί Δ +ΚνΜΗΟΔ ΔελφοςΗΜ«Ν ΔλΝΙΗλΗΊΟΥ ΝΙΟΥΊΔ

ἐκυμήθι ἀ|δελφὸς ἡμῶν | Δανιήλ, μη(νὶ) Ἰου|νίω ιδ'

fig. 3051

Our Brother Daniel fell asleep, on June 14th.

Comm.: l.1: ΚΥΜΗΟΑ Papadopoulos-Kerameus, [ἐ]κυμήθι Koikylides. – l.2: ἡμ[ω]ν Papadopoulos-Kerameus. – ll.3f.: The abbreviation was not mentioned by Koikylides; Ἰουνίου Papadopoulos-Kerameus, perhaps μη(νὸς) Ἰουνίου.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 76 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 211 no. 57; Schneider, Choziba 328 no. 192 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 167 no. 192); Meimaris, Sacred Names 228 no. 1121 (ll.1-3).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 211 fig. 57 (dr.).

WA

# 3052. Painted wall inscription of Brother Petrus of Caesarea

(cross) ΕΚΟΙΜΗΘΗΟΑΔΕΛΦ ΗΜΩΝΟΜΑΚΑΡΠΕΤΡ ΟΣΟΚΕΣΑΡΕΥΣΕΝ ΜΗΝΙΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΩ ΚΒΙΝΔΗΚΕ ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΟΝΑΥΤΟΝ + EKOILHONDENEND HUMHONDKAPHETE MHNINOEUBPIW KEINDT KE DNAHDYCONDYTON

fig. 3052

έκοιμήθη ὁ ἀδελφ(ὸς) | ήμῶν ὁ μακάρ(ιος) Πέτρ|ος ὁ Κεσαρεύς, ἐν | μηνὶ Νοεμβρίω | κβ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) η'. Κ(ὑρι)ε, | ἀνάπαυσον αὐτόν

Our brother, the blessed Petrus of Caesarea fell asleep, on November 22nd, indiction 8. Lord, grant rest to him.

Comm.: Most of the abbreviations were not mentioned by Koikylides. – l.3: non vidit Papadopoulos-Kerameus. For Caesarea (Maritima or Cappadociae) cf. no. 2917. – l.5: init. KE Papadopoulos-Kerameus;  $i\nu\delta$ .  $\gamma'$  Papadopoulos-Kerameus. – ll.5f.: A liturgical invocation, otherwise not used in the very terse inscriptions in this cave (only no. 3000 may be comparable).

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 76 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 211 no. 59; Schneider, Choziba 328 no. 193 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 167 no. 193); Meimaris, Sacred Names 228 no. 1122 (ll.1-3).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 211 fig. 59 (dr.).

WA

# 3053. Painted wall inscription of Theodorus

(cross) ΕΝΘΑΔΓΚΑΤΑ ΚΙΤΓΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΜΗΜΑΡΤΙΩΙς ΙΝΔ[[..] +ENΦΦΔέΚΑΤΑ ΚΙΤ'ΦΕΟΣωρος ΪμΑΡΤΙω÷ς ΙΝΌγΜ

ἐνθάδ(ε) κατά|κιτ(ε) Θεόδωρος, | μη(νὶ) Μαρτίω ις', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) [..]

fig. 3053

Here lies Theodorus, (who died) on March 16th, indiction ...

Comm.: l.1: ἐνθάδε Schneider. – ll.1f.: κατά|κιτε Schneider.

Bibl.: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 210 no. 54 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 328 no. 194 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 167 no. 194).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 210 fig. 54 (dr.).

WA

# 3054. Painted wall inscription of Genarius(?)

 $\Gamma$ E[--]IOYMHEI[--]  $\Lambda$ XKA $\Lambda$ QNI $\Omega$ ANIY 'I'XAN $\Omega$ N'I' $\Gamma$  TE \$\$ \$\$10Y MHEI DCKDNWN WANIY TXDNWN TT

Γε[ναρ?]ίου, μη(νὶ) Εἰ[ου.ίω], | Άσκαλων(--) ἸωανΙΥ | ΙΧΑΝΩΝΙΓ

fig. 3054

Of Genarius(?), in the month of Iu..., Ascalon ...

Comm.: l.1: ΓΕ[..]MHΕΙ[--] Koikylides, ΓΕ[..]ONMHΕΙ[--] Schneider; he also read at the end: μη(νὶ) Εἰ[ουλίω]. Other names are possible, of course, e.g. Γε[λασ]ίου. – l.2: ασκαλων ω ανια Koikylides; ἀσκαλωνίων ἀναχ(ωρητής?) Schneider. – l.3: First letter not seen by Schneider; ἰνδ(--) at the beginning? ιγ' at the end?

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 76 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 210 no. 55; Schneider, Choziba 328 no. 195 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 167 no. 195).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 210 fig. 55 (dr.).

WA

# 3055. Painted wall inscription of Costantinus

(cross) ΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΑΤΑΚΙΤΕ ΟΜΑΚΚΟΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΟΦΩΤΙΣΤΗΣΜΗΙΟΥΛΙΟΥΙ ΙΝΔΊ Β (cross)

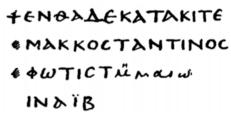


fig. 3055

ένθάδε κατάκιτε | ὁ μακ(άριος) Κοσταντῖνος, | ὁ φωτιστής, μη(νὸς) Ἰουλίου ι', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιβ'

Here lies the blessed Costantinus, the illuminator, (who died) on July 10th, indiction 12.

Comm.: 1.2: First letter not seen by Papadopoulos-Kerameus; δ μακάριος Κωνσταντῖνος Koikylides. – 1.3: [δ] φωτιστ(ης) μη(νὶ) Μαίφ Papadopoulos-Kerameus; ΟΦΩΤΙΣΤΟΣ Koikylides, Schneider; only the form φωτιστής can be found in Lampe. The word is almost exclusively used in a spiritual sense, emphasising Christian illumination which may lead to baptism, hence φωτιστήριον=baptistery; for a slightly different meaning, TLG quotes J. Heeg, Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum 8,2, 1911, 172-6, where a prayer to Helios is given: κυρὶ "Ηλιε, ὁ φωτιστης καὶ ὁ ποιῶν τὴν ἡμέραν, ὁ βασιλεὺς πάντων τῶν ἀστέρων. All this is not helpful for the present inscription; a φωτιστής in a monastery might have been simply the person responsible for the lighting of the churches, the candles and the lamps. For other professions mentioned in the Choziba texts, see nos. 2885, 2932, 2944 and maybe 2959.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 76 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 211 no. 56; Schneider, Choziba 328 no. 196 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 167 no. 196).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 211 fig. 56 (dr.).

# 3056. Painted wall inscription of Bas...

(cross) ΕΚΥΜΗΘΗ ΟΜΑΚΑΒΑΣ[--] ΜΗΔΕΚΕ[.] [...]ΟΥῙ

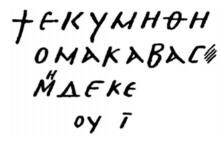


fig. 3056

έκυμήθη | ὁ μακά(ριος) Βασ[--], | μη(νὸς) Δεκε[μ|βρί]ου ι'

The blessed Bas... fell asleep, on December 10th.

Comm.: Bάσ[σος](?) Papadopoulos-Kerameus. There is no room for  $\delta$  μακ(άριος)  $\mathring{\alpha}\beta(\beta)\widetilde{\alpha}\varsigma$  + personal name.

Bibl.: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 210 no. 53 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 210 fig. 53 (dr.).

WA

#### 3057. Painted wall inscription of the Deaconess Anastasia

(cross) ΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΙΤΕ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΑΔΙΑΚ∫ ΜΗΦΕΒΡΟΥΑΡ ΚΖ'Ι'ΝΔ∫'ΊΑ (cross)

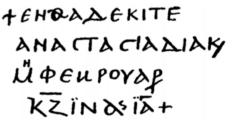


fig. 3057

ένθάδε κῖτε | Ἀναστασία διάκ(ονος), | μη(νὶ) Φεβρουαρ(ίω) | κζ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ια'

Here lies Anastasia the deaconess, (who died) on February 27th, indiction 11.

Comm.: Koikylides did not report the abbreviations; l.2: Meimaris 175ff. on deaconesses and their epigraphical attestations. Nevertheless, one might want to argue that Anastasia and the few other female deceased (nos. 2870, 2894, 2958, 3057) "sind auf der Durchreise im Kloster verstorben" (Schneider 158). l.4: κι' Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 76 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 210 no. 51; Schneider, Choziba 328 no. 197 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 167 no. 197); Meimaris, Sacred Names 177f. no. 886 (ll.1f.).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 210 fig. 51 (dr.).

WA

# 3058. Painted wall inscription of a hermit

(cross) ΕΝΘΑΚ++ ΤΑΙΣΤ[--] ΟΚΕΛΛ∫ΜΗ ΜΑΙΩΘΙ ˙Ι˙ΝΔ∫ΙΕ



fig. 3058

ἔνθα κεῖ|ται ΣΤ[--] | ὁ κελλ(ιώτης), μη(νὶ) | Μαίω θι', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιε'

Here lies St..., the hermit, (who died) on May 19th, indiction 15.

Comm.: ll.1f.: ἔνθα κα[τάκει]|ται Schneider. – l.2: Στ[έφανος] Papadopoulos-Kerameus. – l.3: Οη κελλιώτης see no. 2882. – l.4: Μαίφ θ' Schneider; for the order of the number, cf. no. 2931. – l.5: ἰνδ. [--] Papadopoulos-Kerameus; IE Schneider.

Bibl.: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 210 no. 52 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 328 no. 198 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 167 no. 198); Meimaris, Sacred Names 235 no. 1173.

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 210 fig. 52 (dr.).

WA

#### 3059. Painted wall inscription with fragmentary name

(cross) ΕΚΥΜΗΘ OMAKAPNE[--] ΜΗΔΕΚΕΜΒΡΑ

ἐκυμήθ(η) | ὁ μακάρ(ιος) Νε[--], | μη(νὶ) Δεκεμβρ(ίω) α'

The blessed Ne... fell asleep, on December 1st.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 328 no. 199 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 167 no. 199) (ed. pr.).

WA

# 3060. Painted wall inscription of Eusebis

ΜΗΕΝΘΑΚΙΤ[.] [.]ΜΚΑΡΕΥΣΕΒΙΣ ΜΗΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ ΚΒ

ΜΗ ἔνθα κῖτ[ε | δ] μ<α>κάρ(ιος) Εὐσέβις, | μη(νὸς) Νοεμβρίου | κβ'

Here lies the blessed Eusebis, (who died) on November 22nd.

Comm.: l.1: ἐνθάδε κατάκιτε ὁ μακάριος Koikylides. "Die erste Zeile ist unsicher" Schneider; he was the first one to read the first two letters. – l.2: Εὐσέβιος Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 76 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 328 no. 200 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 167 no. 200).

WA

# 3061. Painted wall inscription of Paulus of Isauria

(cross) ΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΙΣΑΥΡΟΣ ΜΗΦΕΒΡΟΥΑΡΙΟΥΓ

Παῦλος | "Ισαυρος, | μη(νὸς) Φεβρουαρίου γ'

Paulus of Isauria, (who died) on February 3rd.

Comm.: l.2: "Ησαυρος Koikylides. – l.3: MHNI Koikylides; the two last letters were not seen by Schneider; Koikylides wrote ΦΕΒΡΟΥΑΡΙΟΣΓ.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 76 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 328 no. 201 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 167 no. 201).

# 3062. Painted wall inscription of Brother Andreas

ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΑΤΑΚΙΤΕΟ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΕΛΑΔΙΚ ΜΗΙΟΥΝΙΟΥ ΙΖΙΝΔΖ

ένθάδε | κατάκιτε ό | ἀδελφὸς | Ἀνδρέας | ΕΛΑΔΙΚ, | μη(νὸς) Ἰουνίου | ιζ΄, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ζ΄

Here lies the Brother Andreas ..., (who died) on June 17th, indiction 7.

Comm.: l.5:  $\dot{\epsilon}$ λαδικ( $\dot{\epsilon}$ ς) Schneider, who prints it with a minuscule, but interprets it as an ethnic; cf. no. 2855.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 328 no. 202 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 168 no. 202) (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, Sacred Names 228 no. 1123 (ll.1-5).

WA

# 3063. Painted wall inscription of the monk Paulus

(cross) ΕΚΟΙΜΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΜΟΜΗΙΟΥΝΙΟΥΚΗ ΙΝΔΕ (cross)

έκοιμ(ήθη) Παῦλος | μο(ναχός), μη(νὸς) Ἰουνίου κη', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε'

Paulus the monk fell asleep, on June 28th, indiction 5.

Comm.: l.1: ἐκοιμήθη ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος Koikylides. – l.2: μο(ναχός), μη(νὸς) om. Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 77 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 328 no. 203 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 168 no. 203); Meimaris, Sacred Names 232 no. 1152 (ll.1f.).

WA

# 3064. Painted wall inscription of Ioannes of Heliopolis

(cross) ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΗΛΙΟΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ

Ίωάννης | Ἡλιοπολίτης

Ioannes of Heliopolis.

Comm.: From Syrian Heliopolis, i.e. Baalbek. For monks named Ioannes in Choziba, see no. 3003.

Bibl.: Schneider, Choziba 328 no. 204 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 168 no. 204) (ed. pr.).

WA

# 3065. Painted wall inscription of Stephanus from Pyrgioi(?)

(cross) ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΠΥΡΓΙΩΤ∫

Στέφανος | Πυργιώτ(ης)

+cT€¢ANoc

fig. 3065

Stephanus from Pyrgioi(?).

Comm.: The ethnic seems to be known only from Suda Π 3199: Πυργιώτης· ἀπὸ τόπου. We do not know which place is meant.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 76 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 219 no. 94; Schneider, Choziba 328 no. 205 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 168 no. 205).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 219 fig. 94 (dr.).

WA

# 3066. Painted wall inscription of Victor from Egypt

(staurogram) ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΕΓΥΠΤΙΟΣ

Βίκτωρ | Έγύπτιος

Victor from Egypt.

f BIKTWP E F V FITIOC

> fig. 3066.1 (Papadopoulos-Kerameus)

Comm.: Schneider quotes this text as an example of typical script of the 6-7 c. AD. – l.2: Αἰγύπτιος Koikylides.

FBIKTU ETYRTIOC

fig. 3066.2 (Schneider)

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 76 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 219 no. 95; Schneider, Choziba 328 no. 206 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 168 no. 206 with fig. 8).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 219 fig. 95 (dr.); Schneider, Choziba pl. 8 fig. 14 (dr.).

WA

# 3067. Painted wall inscription of Zacharias from Ascalon

(cross) ZAXAPIA $\Sigma$ A $\Sigma$ KA $\Lambda\Omega$ NIT

Ζαχαρίας | Άσκαλωνίτ(ης)

Zacharias from Ascalon.

Comm.: 1.2:  $A\Sigma KA\Lambda\Omega NITH\Sigma$  Koikylides.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 76 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 328 no. 207 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 168 no. 207).

WA

# 3068. Painted wall inscription of Elias

(cross) ΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΙΤΕΑΜΑΚΑΡΗΛΙΑΣ

ένθάδε κῖτε ἁ μακάρ(ιος) Ἡλίας

Here lies the blessed Elias.

Comm.: Non vidit Schneider. Gignac I 288: "cf. ά (for δ) SB 7564,5 (AD 601)."

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 328 no. 208 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 168 no. 208, given according to Koikylides).

WA

# 3069. Painted wall inscription of Brother Paulus

434

#### (cross) ΕΚΟΙΜΗΘΗΟΑΔΕΛΦΟΣΗΜΩΝΠΑΥΛΟΣΜΗΝΙΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΟΥΙΑ

έκοιμήθη ὁ ἀδελφὸς ήμῶν Παῦλος, μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίου ια'

Our Brother Paulus fell asleep, on September 11th.

Comm.: Non vidit Schneider; it is very probable that Koikylides filled in the abbreviations, and that the inscription was not in one line.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 77 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 328 no. 209 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 168 no. 209, given according to Koikylides); Meimaris, Sacred Names 228 no. 1124.

WA

# 3070. Painted wall inscription of Zenon

#### (cross) ΕΚΟΙΜΗΘΗΟΜΑΚΑΡΖΗΝΩΝΟΚΕΛΛΑΡΙΤΗΣΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΟΥΒΙΝΔΙΕ

έκοιμήθη ὁ μακάρ(ιος) Ζήνων ὁ κελλαρίτης, Σεπτεμβρίου β', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιε'

The blessed cellarman Zenon fell asleep, on September 2nd, indiction 15.

Comm.: Non vidit Schneider. Since Koikylides habitually disregarded abbreviations, it is possible that he printed κελλαρίτης=cellarman only inadvertently (see also in no. 2882). Should we read κελλιώτης? κελλαρίτης is accepted by Patlagean 323.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 77 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 328 no. 210 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 168 no. 210, given according to Koikylides). – Cf. E. Patlagean, Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, 1977.

WA

#### 3071. Painted wall inscription of Paulus

#### (cross) ΕΚΟΙΜΗΘΗΟΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣΠΑΥΛΟΣΜΑΡΤΙΟΥΚΖΙΝΔΑ

ἐκοιμήθη ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος, Μαρτίου κζ', ἐνδ(ικτιῶνος) α'

The blessed Paulus fell asleep, on March 27th, indiction 1.

Comm.: Non vidit Schneider. It is possible that Koikylides did not note any abbreviations – and that this text is identical with no. 2999.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 77 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 329 no. 211 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 168 no. 211, given according to Koikylides).

WA

#### 3072. Painted wall inscription of Brother Iustinus

#### ΕΚΟΙΜΗΘΗΟΑΔΕΛΦΟΣΗΜΩΝΙΟΥΣΤΙΝΟΣΜΗΝΙΟΚΤΩΒΡΙΟΥΔΙΙΝΔΙ

έκοιμήθη ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν Ἰουστῖνος, μηνὶ Ὀκτωβρίου δι', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ι'

Our Brother Iustinus fell asleep, on October 14th, indiction 10.

Comm.: Non vidit Schneider. It is very probable that Koikylides filled in the abbreviations, especially with regard to the date, and that the inscription was not in one line. See no. 2931 for the numerals  $\delta t$ .

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 77 (ed. pr.). – Schneider, Choziba 329 no. 212 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 168 no. 212, given according to Koikylides); Meimaris, Sacred Names 228 no. 1125.

WA

# 3073. Painted wall inscription of Anastasis

(cross) ΕΚΟΙΜΗ Α[.]ΑΣΤ[.]ΣΙΣ ΕΛΛΑΔ ΜΗ ΤΑΝΟΥ ΑΡΙΝΔΓ Ζ (cross)

ἐκοιμή(θη) | Ἀ[ν]αστ[ά]σις | ΕΛΛΑΔ, | μη(νὸς) Ἰανου|αρ(ίου), ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) | ζ'

Anastasis ... fell asleep, in January, indiction 7.

Comm.: Koikylides wrote a continuous text without indicating abbreviated words or lacu-

fig. 3073

nae. The inscription was not seen by Schneider, who suggested that it might be identical to a wrongly read no. 3062. – l.3: cf. no. 2855. – ll.4f.: μηνὶ Ἰουλίου α' Koikylides; the numeral for the day is missing in Papadopoulos-Kerameus' text.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 76 (ed. pr.). – Papadopoulos-Kerameus 198 no. 5; Schneider, Choziba 329 no. 213 (repr. in: id., Reticulum 168 no. 213, given according to Koikylides).

Photo: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 198 fig. 5 (dr.).

WA

# 3074. Painted crosses with inscription

On the walls and the roof of the cave were many crosses of different size, some with inscriptions on them. ("Σταυροὶ χρωματιστοὶ διάφοροι τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἐπὶ τῆς ὀροφῆς καὶ τῶν τοίχων δηλοῦσιν ὡς δύναταί τις εὐλόγως νὰ εἰκάση τὸν βαθμὸν ἢ τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ τελευτήσαντος. Ένιοι τούτων ἔχουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῶν γεγραμμένην τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν ἔκφρασιν ' $\Phi\Omega\Sigma$   $Z\OmegaH\Sigma$ " [Koikylides 67].)

Findspot: See description.

above and below the arms of the cross: IS XS NI KA inside the arms of the cross:  $\Phi\Omega\Sigma$  Z  $\Omega H$ 

Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς νικᾳ Φῶς ζωή

*Jesus Christ, be victorious. Light – Life.* 

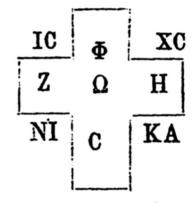


fig. 3074

Comm.: Koikylides mentions several crosses, but gives only one example – possibly a composite construction. – For  $\phi\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$  -  $\zeta\omega\dot{\eta}$ , see no. 2703; on  $\phi\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$  ζώης, as read by Koikylides, cf. 2854a, comm.

Bibl.: Koikylides 1901, 67 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Koikylides 1901, 67 (dr.).

WA

# LII. Hulda

# 3075.-3076. Building with mosaic inscriptions

The building, which contained two inscriptions, was excavated in 1953. It measured 12.2x7 m and consisted of two rooms arranged on a north-south axis, with the entrance at the south. The northern room had six niches, two in each one of the outer walls, and was paved with white mosaic tiles. The niches contained fragments of large jars. The southern room, as well with a white mosaic carpet, had a sunken pool with plastered sides and stairs, and a lead pipe leading to a square basin. Two colored panels displaying the inscriptions below, were incorporated into the southern end of the floor, near the entrance; they would have been among the first to be seen by anyone entering the building.

The configuration of the rooms, the water installation in the southern room and even the content of the inscriptions all cast doubt on the assumption that this building was intended to serve as a synagogue. Some have argued inconclusively for identifying the structure and its inscriptions as Samaritan (Hüttenmeister - Reeg; Tal).

The paleography of the two inscriptions points approximately to the 5 c. CE.

Bibl.: M. Avi-Yonah, Bulletin of the Rabinowitz Fund 3, 1960, 57-60; Saller, Catalogue 42 no. 44; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 177 no. 1, 602; Chiat, Handbook 210f.; A. Kloner, in: A. Maeir - P. de Miroschedji eds., "I Will Speak the Riddles of Ancient Times." Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday 2, 2006, 853-64; O. Tal, SBF 59, 2009, 319-42 at 326f.

# 3075. Greek blessing, ca. 5 c. CE

Three-line Greek inscription formed by a single line of black tesserae, within a square black frame also formed by a single line of tesserae, with other polychrome ritual objects including: seven-branched menorah on three-legged base, shofar, incense shovel, etrog and lulav.

Meas.: frame: h 52, w 91 cm; l. 23 cm; letters 6 cm.

Findspot: Western panel in southern end of mosaic floor of southern room. Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1953-582.

ΕΥΛΟ ΓΙΑΤΩ ΛΑΩ



Εὐλο|γία τῷ | λαῷ

# A blessing on the people!

Comm.: The Greek blessing  $\varepsilon \tilde{\nu} \lambda \circ \gamma i \alpha + dative$  is found in synagogues in Iudaea/ Palaestina and the Diaspora, for example Tell Qasile and Ashdod (CIIP III 2167, cf. commentary ad loc.; CIIP III 2295), Beth She'an and Tiberias (Roth-Gerson, Greek Inscriptions, nos. 7, 16, 17, 18); Thessaloniki (Samaritan: Noy, IJO I, Mac17); the Chersonese (Noy, IJO I, BS3); Thrace (Noy, IJO I, Thr1); Aegina (Noy, IJO I, Ach59); Byblos (Phoenicia) and Apamaea (Noy - Bloedhorn, IJO III 28, 53); and in Andriake, SEG 60, 1541. A general blessing expressed as  $\varepsilon \tilde{\nu} \lambda \circ \gamma i \alpha$  appears in Jewish funerary contexts as well, e.g. Noy, IJO I, Pan1, and in an unpublished inscription from Cave 26 at Beth She'arim. Assuming that the two inscriptions from the present building are meant to be read together, the donors named in no. 3076 are offering the blessing for "the people," which probably refers to the local population who use the building, but may also refer to all Israel.

Bibl.: M. Avi-Yonah, Bulletin of the Rabinowitz Fund 3, 1960, 57-60 at 57f. (ed. pr.). – IEJ 3, 1953, 133f.; S. Yeivin, A Decade of Archaeology in Israel 1948-1958, 1960, 42; RB 68, 1961, 464-71 at 468; B. Lifshitz, ZDPV 79, 1963, 90-7; HA 6, 1963, 5 (Hebr.); BE 1963, 288; SEG 20, 472; Lifshitz, Donateurs 72f. no. 81a; Saller, Catalogue 42 no. 44; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 177 no. 1, 602; M. Avi-Yonah, EAEHL 4, 1978, 1129-38 at 1136; J. Wilkinson, Journal of Jewish Art 5, 1978, 18 fig. 4; M. Chiat, Handbook 210f.; Ovadiah, MPI 73 no. 104 pl. 89; Roth-Gerson, Greek Inscriptions 54f. no. 12 (Hebr.); Hachlili, Jewish Art, pl. 60; Exhibition Catalogue, in: M. Nagy - C. Meyers - E. Meyers - Z. Weiss eds., Sepphoris in Galilee, 1996, 154-238 at 178 no. 26; G. Stemberger, in: A. Kofsky - G. Stroumsa eds., Sharing the Sacred, 1998, 131-46 at 139; S. Parker, JNEA 62, 1999, 134-81 at 160; A. Kloner, in: A. Maeir - P. de Miroschedji eds., "I Will Speak the Riddles of Ancient Times" 2, 2006, 853-64 at 855f.; O. Tal, SBF 59, 2009, 319-42 at 326f.; Łajtar, Greek Inscriptions 260; Hachlili, Ancient Synagogues 314ff., fig. VI.27.

Photo: Courtesy of Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

JJP

# 3076. Dedication for the founders Eustochius, Hesychius and Euagrius, 5 c. CE

Six-line Greek inscription set in medallion within square frame. The border of the medallion consists of an outer line of gray tesserae surrounding a wreath composed of black, red and white tesserae; the inscription is in black tesserae except for the names, which are in red; the background is white.

Meas.: ø (medallion) 116 cm; letters 8-10 cm.

Findspot: Eastern panel in southern end of mosaic floor of southern room. Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1953-583.

ΕΥΤΥΧΩΣ ΕΥΣΤΟΧΙΩ ΚΑΙΗΣΥΧΙΩ ΚΑΙΕΟΥΑΓΡΙΩ ΤΟΙΣΚΤΙΣ ΤΕΣ

Εὐτυχῶς | Εὐστοχίφ | καὶ Ἡσυχίφ | καὶ Εοὐαγρίφ | τοῖς κτίσ|τες

Good luck to Eustochius and Hesychius and Euagrius, the founders.

Comm.: The wish of good luck εὐτυχῶς in a dedication, if very rare in Jewish contexts, is com-



fig. 307

mon within and outside Palestine, especially in non-religious buildings; thus the presence of this word makes it even less likely that the present structure was a synagogue. For non-Jewish examples from Iudaea/Palaestina, see CIIP I 792 from Jerusalem and the many from Caesarea and the northern coast, mostly 5-6 c: CIIP II 1169, 1263, 1333, 1337, 1346, 1378, 2148, 2155 (on a gem). Note especially that no. 1346 is from a bathhouse and reads εὐτυχῶς Εὐτοκίω καὶ Εὐ|φιμ[ί]α τοῖς φιλοκτίσταις, and similarly the text of no. 2148, Εὐτυχῶς | τῷ κτή | στη, from an apparently public building in Sycamina; also SEG 54, 1659=59, 1710, a 3 c. honorary inscription from Hippos and SEG 49, 2082, a building dedication from Scythopolis. In local Jewish contexts, there is the curious inscription from Beth She'arim, Cave 20: εὐτυχῶς | τῆ ὑμῶν | ἀναστάσι, Schwabe - Lifshitz, Beth Sheʿarim II no. 194. The only possible instance of the word used in a Jewish building inscription outside of Palestine is from a synagogue in Side (Pamphylia), Ameling, IJO II 219. But in non-Jewish texts there is a multitude of instances, e.g. Robert, Hellenica XI-XII 548 for a series of such acclamations from the 3 c. at Cyrene; C. Roueché, JRS 74, 1984, 181-99.

The interchange of αι for ε, as in κτίστες here, is quite common, see Gignac I 192f. The name Εὐστόχιος is unique in the Jewish onomasticon, although it does appear infrequently in other contexts, see LGPN, s.v., Pape, WGE 426 and Hagedorn, Wörterlisten 47; it may be related to the more common name Εὐτύχιος, with variants (e.g., Εὐτύχης, Εὐτυχιανός), which does occur in Jewish texts, see Ilan, Lexicon II 212 and III 276ff.

Bibl.: M. Avi-Yonah, Bulletin of the Rabinowitz Fund 3, 1960, 57-60 at 58 (ed. pr.). – IEJ 3, 1953, 133f.; S. Yeivin, A Decade of Archaeology in Israel 1948-1958, 1960, 42; RB 68, 1961, 464-71 at

# 440 LII. Ḥulda

468; B. Lifshitz, ZDPV 79, 1963, 90-7; BE 1963, 288; SEG 20, 472; Lifshitz, Donateurs 72f. no. 81b; Saller, Catalogue 42 no. 44; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 177f. no. 2, 602; M. Avi-Yonah, EAEHL 4, 1978, 1129-38 at 1136; B. Brooten, Women Leaders in the Ancient Synagogue, 1982, 160; Ovadiah, MPI 73 no. 104; Chiat, Handbook 210f.; Roth-Gerson, Greek Inscriptions 56f. no. 13 (Hebr.); Baumann, Spätantike Stifter 330; A. Kloner, in: A. Maeir - P. de Miroschedji eds., "I Will Speak the Riddles of Ancient Times" 2, 2006, 853-64 at 855f.; O. Tal, SBF 59, 2009, 319-42 at 326f.; SEG 59, 1704; Sorek 97ff.; Łajtar, Greek Inscriptions 260.

Photo: Courtesy of Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

# LIII. Emmaus (Nicopolis, mod. 'Imwas)

#### Introduction

Emmaus (Nicopolis, 'Imwas) is the well-known ancient city lying at the edge of the coastal plain near the mouth of the Ayalon Valley north of modern Latrun. The strategic importance of the site is illustrated by the sources cited below, by the ancient remains and by the remains still visible of the British police fort, the target of fierce fighting in 1948 and 1967.

#### **Literary Sources**

The literary sources are cited systematically in the major publication by Vincent and Abel.<sup>1</sup> It should be said immediately that we do not agree with their identification of the Emmaus in Lk 24,13 which is better sought at Moza, for which see CIIP I.

The origin of the name "Emmaus" is not quite certain and various theories have been proposed. It is possible that there is some connection with the Hebrew word for "hot," but there is no indication that there is any connection with the alleged presence of hot baths or hot springs. These are indeed attested in the past and still exist today, at two places with vaguely similar names: the hot baths near Tiberias, called  $\lambda \mu \mu \alpha \theta o \tilde{u} c$  by Josephus, and those near Gadara ( $\mu \alpha \theta a c$ ).

Emmaus is not found in any source before the Hellenistic period and is not mentioned at all in the Bible.<sup>4</sup> Before the Hellenistic period neighboring Gezer was the dominant city of the region. Emmaus is first mentioned as the site of the victory in 166 BC of Judas Maccabaeus against Gorgias, who had placed his camp there.<sup>5</sup> The description of the battle clearly indicates the strategic importance of the site, but provides no information about Emmaus in this period.

<sup>1</sup> Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 403-30; discussion in chapters V and following. See also the entry in TIR, s.v. Emmaus I, Nicopolis 119f.

<sup>2</sup> Discussed at length by Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 277-85; also: B. Bar Kochva, Judas Maccabaeus, 1989, 242f.

<sup>3</sup> However, there may have been volcanic activity in the area in the past: M. Avnimelech, BIES 3, 1933, 59-63 (Hebr.). Avnimelech found traces of hot springs at Beit Jiz, now Zelafon, about 4 km southwest of Emmaus ('Imwas).

<sup>4</sup> A. Lemaire, RB 82, 1975, 15-23, has suggested that 'mmst' found on stamped jar handles from the Iron Age II period must be identified with Emmaus, but this is only a speculation.

<sup>5 1</sup> Macc 3,38ff., 4, with comments by Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 287ff.; B. Bar Kochva, Judas Maccabaeus, 1989, 243ff., with comments on the site of the camp.

The next reference to the place relates to the year 160 BC, when the Seleucid general Bacchides built several forts to check the operations of Jonathan, the brother of Judas.<sup>6</sup> "And he returned to Jerusalem and strongly fortified [a number of] towns in Judaea: the forts at Jericho, Emmaus, Beit Horon, Beth El, Thamnatha of Pharathon, and Tephon, with high walls, gates, and bars. And he placed in these garrisons to intimidate Israel. And he fortified the towns of Beth Zur, Gazara and the Acra [i.e. the citadel of Jerusalem] placing there forces and stores of victuals." The passage distinguishes between two kinds of forts: the first, in so far as they can be identified, were sited in strategic spots controlling the main roads to Jerusalem, but they were not important as settlements. The second group were significant towns in their own right. Thus we see that, in the first half of the 2 c. BC, Gezer was still the more significant place, while Emmaus is listed because of the site it occupied.

The decline of Gezer and increasing importance of Emmaus can be traced to some extent in the sources. When Gabinius divided the country into five districts in 57 BC, Gezer was apparently still one of the capitals. However, by 43 BC Emmaus and Lydda were named among the four important towns reduced to slavery by Cassius. Restitution was made afterwards by Antony. Emmaus and Lydda now became capitals of toparchies, superseding the older centres of Hadid and Gezer. Gezer.

Subsequently there are a number of incidental references to Emmaus in the work of Josephus. All of these reflect the siting of the town at a nodal point in the road-system. In 38 BC the Roman commander Machaeras, lieutenant of Ventidius, went up to Jerusalem with two legions and a thousand horses, and then withdrew to the city ( $\pi\delta\lambda\iota\varsigma$ ) of Emmaus. During the troubles following Herod's death in 4 BC there was a rebel attack near Emmaus on a company of Romans who were bringing grain and arms to the army in Jerusalem. The town was held responsible and Varus, governor of Syria, ordered it to be burnt after its inhabitants had fled. From there he advanced to Jerusalem. These events clearly illustrate the position of Emmaus as a prominent station on the road to Jerusalem in times of unrest, and as a base for armies moving to and from Jerusalem. It recurs as such in the First Revolt: in 68 Vespasian marched from Caesarea to Emmaus from where he subdued Idumaea and Samaria. "Occupying the passes leading to Jerusalem he built a fortified camp at Emmaus, and left *Legio V Macedonica* posted there …" Other

<sup>6 1</sup> Macc 9,50-3.

<sup>7</sup> Jos. AJ 14,91; BJ 1,170, with comments by Schürer II,1, 268 n.5; Möller - Schmitt 15f.

<sup>8</sup> Jos. AJ 14,275; BJ 1,222.

<sup>9</sup> Jos. AJ 14,304-5 and the documents cited ibid., 306-22.

<sup>10</sup> Jos. BJ 3,54-5; Plin. nat. 5,14/70 and cf. Schürer II, 2, 190-6.

<sup>11</sup> Jos. AJ 14,436.

<sup>12</sup> Jos. AJ 17,278ff.; BJ 2,71.

<sup>13</sup> Jos. AJ 14,289; BJ 2,71.

<sup>14</sup> Jos. BJ 4,443ff.

garrisons were stationed at Adida (Hadid) and Jericho. In 70 Titus, on his march to Jerusalem, ordered the fifth legion and tenth legion to join him from Emmaus and Jericho respectively.  $^{15}$  There is also good evidence at Emmaus of a long-term army presence after AD  $70.^{16}$ 

Turning to the question of the re-foundation of Emmaus as Nicopolis, the evidence is as follows:

- (i) Coins of Elagabalus have on the reverse side: M AY ANTQNIN NIKOΠΟΛΕΩΣ and NEIKOPOLIΣ EB.  $^{17}$
- (ii) Eus. Chron., ed. Schoene 2, 178f., according to the Armenian text, records: "In Palestine the old Emmaus is restored and named Nicopolis thanks to the intercession and the request addressed to the Emperor by Julius Africanus, the chronographer."<sup>18</sup>
- (iii) Soz. V 21,5 (PG LXVII 1280f.) writes: "There is a city in Palestine now called Nicopolis. The Gospels still know it as a village and call it Emmaus. After the capture of Jerusalem and their victory over the Jews the Romans named it Nicopolis because of this event."

It will be clear that both the numismatic and the literary evidence for a third-century (re-)foundation is sound. The coins of Elagabalus dated to "Year Two" of the city were unquestionably issued by Emmaus/Nicopolis and Eusebius, writing a century later, had concrete information on the role played by Julius Africanus on this occasion.

As regards the alleged foundation in the seventies, Sozomenus appears to have been interested mainly in linking Nicopolis with Emmaus of the Gospels and providing an explanation of the change in the name of the place. Otherwise he had no solid information. As observed by Abel, none of the authors who wrote before the third century refer to Emmaus as Nicopolis: Josephus mentions Emmaus regularly and never mentions that it was renamed Nicopolis, nor do Pliny, nat. 5,14/70 or Ptolemy, 5,16,7 use that name. The Peutinger Table, which uses only pre-Severan names in Palestine, has "Amavante." Yet all these early sources refer to the city of Neapolis, founded in AD 72/3, by this name, not by its earlier name

<sup>15</sup> Jos. BJ 5,42; 67; cf. M. Fischer, ZDPV 103, 1987, 131f.

<sup>16</sup> Isaac, Limits 428f.; W. Eck, ZPE 193, 2015, 261-8.

<sup>17</sup> For a compilation of the coinage see the table in W. Eck - D. Kossmann, ZPE 198, 2016, 223-38 at 224ff.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. ed. Helm 214: [after the reference *Eliogabalum templum Romae aedificatum*] *In Palaestina Nicopolis quae prius Emmaus vocabatur urbs condita est, legationis industriam [F industria] pro ea suscipiente Julio Africano scriptore temporum.* Similarly: Chronicon Paschale, ed. Dindorf I, 499; Michel le Syrien (1166-1199), Book VI ch. VII [112], transl. J.-B. Chabot, Paris 1899 I 187: "[on Eliogabalus] de son temps fut bâtie Nicopolis de Palestine, qui est Emmaus, le chroniqueur Julius Africanus présidait à sa construction."

<sup>19</sup> Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 322f.

Sikem (Shekhem).<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, all the later sources from Eusebius and the Bordeaux pilgrim onwards use the name Nicopolis, none that of Emmaus.<sup>21</sup>

If Emmaus had been founded as a city by Vespasian it would not be clear what Elagabalus did for it, for the mere addition of the current imperial name to the nomenclature of the city would hardly have been a reason for the adoption of a new era. However, coins of Diva Faustina I and Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus with the name "Nicopolis" formerly ascribed to Emmaus have now been shown to belong to Bostra and Nicopolis ad Lycum in Armenia Minor.<sup>22</sup> These were the only pieces of information, which seemed conclusive evidence for a Flavian foundation. It may therefore be concluded that Emmaus, like Antipatris, received city status only under Elagabalus.<sup>23</sup>

Emmaus is mentioned in Talmudic literature. Some of the relevant sources will be discussed here.

Lamentations Rabbah I 52: "Vespasianus Caesar placed guards at eighteen miles from Pomais [=Emmaus?]<sup>24</sup> and they would ask pilgrims and say 'To whom do you belong?' and they would say: 'To Vespasian, to Trajan, to Hadrian'." It is tempting to think there is a connection between these guards and the military units apparently stationed at Emmaus for some time after the suppression of the First Revolt. The distance from Jerusalem to Emmaus is exactly 18 miles, so it is possible that the source originally meant to state that Vespasian placed a garrison at Emmaus, 18 miles from Jerusalem.

This source reminds us of another passage, related to the Bar Kochba revolt. Lamentations Rabbah I 45: "Hadrian – may his bones be crushed – stationed three guard posts, one at Hamatha [Emmaus],<sup>25</sup> one at Kefar Laqitia, and one at Beit El of Judah, and he said: 'anyone who tries to escape here will be caught here, and anyone who tries to escape there will be caught there'." Both passages appear to be

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Schürer II,1, 520 n.36.

<sup>21</sup> Eus., loc.cit.; also: *On.*, ed. Klostermann 90 etc. Itinerarium Burdigalense 600,2, ed. Cuntz, CCSL 175, p. 20.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Eck - Kossmann (n.17), 223 n.1. Discussion of the case of Nicopolis ad Lycum in more detail in the unpublished Ph.D. thesis by Alla Kushnir-Stein, Tel Aviv 1991. The city of Nicopolis ad Lycum in Armenia Minor (Koinon Armenias) used a Flavian era because the region was annexed by Vespasian in 72, at the same time as Commagene: Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland. Sammlung v. Aulock, 1957 nos. 145-7. Previously it was assumed that this town belonged to Pontos and therefore used an era beginning in 64: F. Imhoof-Blumer, Kleinasiatische Münzen, 1901, 3f. and no. 5. Other cities of Pontos have indeed an era beginning in 64, cf. R. Sear, Greek Imperial Coins and their Values, 1982, 145, 168: Cerasus, Neocaesarea.

<sup>23</sup> For the identification of the exact year, cf. Eck - Kossmann (n.17), 232ff.

<sup>24</sup> Pomais: Cf. ed. Buber 80. S. Klein, Sefer ha-Yishuv, 1939, 5 (Hebr.), interprets this as a reference to Emmaus, Buber as referring to "Pamias," i.e. "Paneas."

<sup>25</sup> The Buber edition, p. 82, based on the Rome MS has: "one at Hamath Gader, and one at Bethlehem, and one at Kefar Leqitia." Hamath Gader makes no sense in the present context, for it is far from the area of the revolt.

lively descriptions of the policy which Josephus describes as "occupying the passes to Jerusalem." In all these sources Emmaus is prominent.

"Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai was going up to Emmaus in Judah and he saw a girl picking barleycorn out of the excrement of a horse. Said Rabban Yohanan to his disciples: What girl is this? Said they to him: A Jewish girl. Said he further: And whose is the horse? They answered: It belongs to a nomad [Arab] horseman. Then said Rabban Yohanan to his disciples: All my life have I been reading this verse, and not until now have I realized its full meaning: 'If thou dost not know, O fairest among women (go thy way forth by the footsteps of the flock, and feed thy kids beside the shepherds' tents. *Cant* 1,8). You were unwilling to be subject to God, behold now you are subject to lowly nomads; you were unwilling to pay the biblically ordained head-tax of 'one beqa per head' (Ex 38:26), so now you have to pay fifteen shekels under a government of your enemies. You were unwilling to repair the roads and the streets leading up to the Temple, so now you have to repair the 'burgasin' and the 'burganin' leading to the royal cities. And thus it says: 'Because you did not serve Heaven ... therefore you will serve your enemy'."<sup>26</sup>

In the Oxford MS Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai is described as going up to "Maus in Judaea," which refers, apparently, to Emmaus. (This is preferable to "Ma'on in Judaea" which is found in other versions.) The entire saying in the Mekhilta is attributed to Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai, spiritual leader of the Jews at Yavneh after the destruction of the Temple in 70. The beginning of the passage and the quotation from the Song of Songs give the impression of an authentic description of the state of affairs after the failure of the First Revolt. However, the continuation: "You were unwilling to pay ..." is an addition by the editor of the Mekhilta, which refers to the reality of a later period, apparently the third-century period of crisis in the empire. The "burgi" mentioned in the source are conceived of as an integral part of the road system which linked the cities of the province. Again, it is tempting to link the presence of an Arab horseman at Emmaus with the testimony regarding the cohort *VI Ulpia Petraeorum* there (see below).

Ecclesiastes Rabbah VII 11: "Once Rabbi Yohanan suffered from ravenous hunger and he went to Imunis [to 'Imwis i.e. Emmaus] and sat east of a fig tree and recovered." 29

<sup>26</sup> Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael, BaHodesh, I, ed. Horovitz-Rabin 203f. Translation of this passage taken from G. Alon, The Jews in their Land in the Talmudic Age I, 1980, 68f. (transl. G. Levi). For an edition and translation of the whole text see J. Lauterbach, Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael, 1933. For discussion of this source see Isaac, Limits 293f.

<sup>27</sup> Evidence of this may be found in the fact that this part is missing in all parallel sources, see: Tos. Ketubot v 10; Sifre Deuteronomy cccv, ed. Finkelstein 325, where another addition is found; J.T. Ketubot V 30 b-c; B.T. Ketubot 67a; Lamentations Rabbah I 48; Pesikta Rabbati XXIX-XXX, ed. Friedmann 140 a, etc. Cf. E. Urbach, Behinot Beviqoret haSifrut 4, 1953, 70 (Hebr.). In some of the parallels reference is made not to a case regarding Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai on his way to Emmaus, but to a testimony of R. Eleazar bar Zadok regarding a case in Acre.

<sup>28</sup> For discussion of "burgi", see Isaac, Limits 178-86.

<sup>29</sup> Klein (n.24), accepts the opinion of S. Krauss, Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum 2, 1899, 58, that Emmaus is meant. The parallel in Yalqut Shimʻoni, Ecclesiastes, 975, has "Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai."

A number of parallel sources tell of R. Eleazar ben 'Arakh, a disciple of Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai before the First Revolt, who "went to Maos (Emmaus), a beautiful place with good water." The point at issue is that, following the destruction of Jerusalem, R. Eleazar ben 'Arakh decided to move to Emmaus instead of joining Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai in Yavneh, because Emmaus was a more attractive place.

M. Keritot III 7 relates: R. 'Aqiva said, "I asked Rabban Gamaliel and R. Yehoshua about the cattle market of Emmaus where they went to buy an animal for the feast in honour of the son of Rabban Gamaliel ..."

J.T. 'Avodah Zarah v 44d tell us that: "Rabbi Aha went to (Em)maus and ate pastry [prepared by Samaritans] ..." R. Aha was one of the leading Palestinian Amora'im of the fourth generation (320-350), although he was also active in the previous generation. He was based at Lod. The present source relates that he ate food prepared by Samaritans who poured boiling water on it.

From these sources we can learn that Emmaus had a good water supply; that there was a substantial market; that there was a Samaritan community, attested also by several inscriptions (below, nos. 3079-3082), and that at least one sage came from the town.

Various sages are mentioned in connection with the town. As already noted, a complete collection of further relevant sources may be found in the work of Vincent and Abel and there is therefore no need to list them all here.

The account of the journey of Paula in the Holy Land (AD 385-6) is the first which seems to indicate that there was a church in the settlement:<sup>31</sup> "[From Joppa] she reached Nicopolis (formerly called Emmaus), where the Lord made himself known to Cleophas in the breaking of the bread, thus consecrating his house as a church."

The salubrious spring at Emmaus is also mentioned by numerous Christian authors, who attributed healing powers to it because Jesus had washed his feet in it.<sup>32</sup> For the same reason Julian reportedly tried to block it.<sup>33</sup> In the 6 c. Sabas founded a monastery at Nicopolis. In the reign of Anastasius an earthquake is said to have struck the city.<sup>34</sup> The last Byzantine author who refers to the town is John

<sup>30</sup> Avot de-Rabbi Nathan, Version B: XIX, ed. Schechter 59, Version A: XIV, ed. Schechter, ibid. Version A in part of the manuscripts, has a term which derives from δημοσία, the public bath, instead of "Emmaus." Cf. Ecclesiastes Rabbah VII 7; B.T. Shabbat 147b.

<sup>31</sup> Hier. epist. 108: Repetitoque itinere, Nicopolim, quae prius Emmaus vocabatur, apud quam in fractione panis cognitus Dominus, Cleophae domum in Ecclesiam dedicavit.

<sup>32</sup> Soz. 5,21 (PG LXVII 1280).

<sup>33</sup> E.g. Theophanes, Chron. ad ann. 5854 (PG CVIII 160); Cedrenus, ad ann. 1057 (PG CXXI 581).

<sup>34</sup> Michel le Syrien, Book VI, ch. VII [112], trans. J.-B. Chabot, Paris 1899, I, 154: [Year 8 of Anastasius] "la ville de Nicopolis fut totalement renversée, et ensevelit tout ses habitants, à l'exception de l'évêque et de deux de ses syncelles." Cf. ibid. n.6: Chron. Edess., no. LXXVI; Ps. Den., *ad ann.* 810.

Moschus, who tells of the activities of a bandit named Cyriacus with a mixed gang of Christians, Jews and Samaritans in the region of Emmaus.<sup>35</sup>

# **Archaeological Remains**

The controversy regarding the site of Luke's Emmaus stimulated much interest in the site from the eighteen seventies onward. Robinson observed some antiquities on the site: "It is now a poor hamlet consisting of a few mean houses. There are two fountains or wells of living water; one just by the village and the other a little down the shallow valley west..." He noticed also fragments of two marble columns, was told of sarcophagi, and saw the church. Guérin, Judée 1, 293-308, describes the site and discusses its identification. Between 1875-82 Captain J. Guillemot carried out investigations and excavations on the spot. The officers of the Survey of Western Palestine visited Emmaus in the same period and produced a plan of the church (Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea 63-82, with contributions by Clermont-Ganneau). Further work was carried out by, among others, Schick, Meistermann and Schiffers. A major project was undertaken by the Dominican fathers L. Vincent and F.-M. Abel in the years 1924-5 and 1927, which resulted in the publication of a substantial report in 1932.

All these investigations were concentrated in the spot called Kh. el-Keniseh, near the southern limits of ancient Emmaus. The wider area of the ancient city was not explored. In recent years some partial work has been done, but the area of the Roman and Byzantine town has not yet been surveyed properly. Y. Hirschfeld explored and cleared the aqueducts, which carried water from 'Ein el-Aqed to the town and studied a number of ancient wine presses and tombs.<sup>39</sup> M. Gichon conducted excavations at Kh. Sheikh Ubeid, a bath house not far from the churches, and at Kh. Aqed. He dates the bath house to the 3 c.<sup>40</sup> Parts of the aqueducts from 'Ein el-Aqed to the town were dated by Y. Hirschfeld to the same period. As already

<sup>35</sup> Pratum spirituale, ch. 95 (PG LXXXVII 3, 3032).

<sup>36</sup> E. Robinson, Biblical Researches in Palestine 3, 1856, 146. He discusses the identity of Emmaus and accepts that this was the Emmaus of Luke.

<sup>37</sup> A photograph of the village in this period: F. and E. Thévoz, La Palestine Illustrée, 1888, I 4 no. 32.

<sup>38</sup> See also Clermont-Ganneau, ARP I 483-93.

<sup>39</sup> Y. Hirschfeld, IEJ 28, 1978, 86-92; 33, 1983, 207-18; id., Ariel 55/6, 1988, 9-30 (Hebr.).; id., in: D. Amit - Y. Hirschfeld - J. Patrich eds., The Aqueducts of Ancient Palestine, 1989, 197-204 (Hebr.).

<sup>40</sup> M. Gichon, IEJ 29, 1979, 101-10. Note the later Muslim tradition associated with this building which was recorded by Clermont-Ganneau, ARP I 491ff. In this connection it may be mentioned that the bath house was reused in the post-Byzantine (Mameluke?) period: M. Gichon - R. Linden, IEJ 34, 1984, 156-69. For the excavations at Emmaus: NEAEHL 2, 1993, 385-9; 5, 2008, 2091.

observed, in spite of all these activities a thorough survey of the remains of the ancient town and its vicinity is still required. Four main structures are to be distinguished: (1) a Roman villa west of the Crusader church; (2) a Christian church, partly under the Crusader church and partly re-used by the latter; (3) a chapel with a baptistery parallel to the east end of the church, to the north of it; (4) the Crusader church. Minor features to be noted are rock cuttings with material from the 2-1 c. BC, and elements belonging to the end of the period of the Second Temple (1 c. AD) such as ossuaries. The excavators also assign various restorations and blocked doorways to the Islamic period.

# (1) The Roman Villa

Remains of a building of the Roman period were found under the western part of the church and north of it. $^{42}$  It measures 18x17 m and is subdivided into rooms and courtyards. Along the stylobate of a portico in the northern part of the building a mosaic pavement was found. $^{43}$ 

# (2) and (3) The First Church<sup>44</sup> and the chapel<sup>45</sup>

Vincent and Abel date the first church to the 3 c. in spite of the difficulty caused by the mosaic which, as they themselves admitted, could belong to the earlier villa. Although there is some evidence for the existence of a church at Emmaus by the late  $4 \, \mathrm{c.}$ ,  $\mathrm{Crowfoot^{46}}$  and  $\mathrm{Avi\text{-}Yonah^{47}}$  persuasively assigned the church to the 5-6 c. The church measures 46.4x24.4 m and is divided into a central nave and two aisles ending on the east in three apses. There is no narthex. Two layers of mosaic pavement have been preserved in the western part. Already mentioned above is the chapel north of the church with a baptistery in the apse behind it. Vincent and Abel date this to the 6 c. and believe it was a secondary church.

<sup>41</sup> Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 251, 253 figs. 107f.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. 173 fig. 79 and pl. 2.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid. 85 fig. 43, pls. 3, 7-12; discussion on pp. 90-5.

<sup>44</sup> Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 183-227.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid. 238-49.

<sup>46</sup> J. Crowfoot, Early Churches in Palestine, 1941, 71 and 125. H. Vincent, RB 55, 1948, 348-75, attempted to refute Crowfoot's claim that the type of a church with three apses occurs in Palestine only after the end of the 4 c. His arguments, however, were not based on archaeological and stratigraphic analysis of his excavations.

<sup>47</sup> EAEHL 2, 1976, 363f.

#### Conclusions

The following periods are attested at the site of Kh. el-Keniseh in ancient Emmaus-Nicopolis: Herodian-Early Roman (small finds only), Roman (villa urbana?), Byzantine (church with baptistery, oil press), Early Islamic (tombs), Crusader (church). No evidence has been produced of any later occupation. The same periods could be distinguished in surveys and excavations elsewhere in the area of the town and its vicinity. The water installations, tombs and wine presses investigated by Hirschfeld at the edge of the town belonged to the Roman and Byzantine periods. In the bath house at Sheikh Ubeid, excavated by Gichon, the same phases were attested, but this was also used in the Early Islamic and Mameluke periods. Epigraphic evidence reflects a military presence in the Roman period, confirming information provided by Josephus but extending beyond his times, probably up to the first decades of the 3 c.<sup>48</sup> It also substantiates the literary allusions to a mixed population which included Jews and Samaritans. It is possible that the Byzantine church complex belonged to the monastery founded by Sabas in the 6 c.

Following the Islamic conquest the town saw a rapid decline which may have been connected with the plague mentioned in Muslim sources. Settlement was renewed only by the Crusaders.

ΒI

# Inscriptions

#### A. Res sacrae

# 3077. Fragment of a building inscription for a temple, 3 c. AD

"Gros bloc épais, équarri" (Clermont-Ganneau), broken on the left and right-hand sides and probably also at the bottom. "Basis quadrata magna" (CIL) is wrong. Meas.: h 30, w 30 cm.

Pres. loc.: Louvre Museum, Paris, inv. no. AO 1212.

[.]ROSALVTED[--] [..]LICISPPTEM[--] [..]ŖELIPAVLIS[--] [--]



fig. 3077

[P]ro salute d(omini) [n(ostri) Imp(eratoris) -- pii | fe]licis p(atris) p(atriae) tem[plum milites coh(ortis) *or* coh(ors) VI Petrae(orum) *or* III/IIII Bracaraugust(anorum) sub cura? -- | Au]reli Pauli s[--|-- restituerunt/fecerunt]

For the salvation of our lord Imperator ... pious, fortunate, father of his country soldiers(?) of the cohors or the cohors VI Petraeorum(?) or III/IIII Bracaraugustanorum(?) built/reconstructed the temple, ... Aurelius Paulus ... took care ...

Comm.: The fragment refers to the *salus* of an emperor who bears the epitheta *pius felix* in his titulature, which became common only from the time of Caracalla onwards. It attests the building or rebuilding of a sanctuary in Emmaus. The use of Latin suggests a military context. In the 2 c. AD and probably also in the 3 c., the *cohors VI Petraeorum* seems to have been stationed at Emmaus (see comm. to no. 3092). The *cohors III* or *IIII Bracaraugustanorum* is attested there as well (see no. 3098). It seems likely that the *templum* was built or restored by one of these military units. Aurelius Paulus, who was in some way or another responsible for

the building, should then be a member of one of the units. The S following the name must belong to his rank. There are several options: *signifer*, *singularis*, *stator*, *subpraefectus*. For a detailed reconstruction of the text, see Eck.

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, AMSL 11, 1885, 157-251 at 166 no. 9 (ed. pr.). – Ephemeris Epigraphica 5, 1445; CIL 3, 6646; Dussaud, Louvre 81 no. 109; Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 427 no. 5; Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II 156 no. 4; W. Eck, ZPE 193, 2015, 261-71 at 263ff.

Photo: C. Larrieu, courtesy of Louvre Museum.

WE

# 3078. Greek fragment perhaps mentioning the god Elagabal and an emperor

Limestone block broken on all sides (according to Vincent - Abel not at the top), the back is rough and the surface very worn out.

Meas.: h 47, w 49, d 25.5 cm; letters 5.5-6 cm.

Findspot: Emmaus/Nicopolis: "provient des ruines de l'église de Latroun" (Clermont-Ganneau).

Pres. loc.: Garden of the Trappist Monastery in Latrun. Autopsy: 30 May 2014.

[--]ΕΛΑΓΑ[--] [--]+ATOP[--] [--]Υ +AIΣ[--] [--]ΠΟΗ+[--]

Comm.: Vincent - Abel thought that the fragment honored the Emperor Elagabalus, and therefore restored his name in l.1: Έλαγα[βάλου], in l.2 and 3 [-- αὖτο]-κράτορ[ος --]υ Καίσα[ρος --]. They were wrong: nowhere in Latin or Greek inscriptions do we find the name "Elagabalus" used for this emperor. However, one may



fig. 3078

read (tentatively) in l.1 the name of the god Elagabalus and restore [αὐτοχ]ράτορ[ος?] in l.2, thus making it possible to see in it part of a dedication to the god Elagabalus for the salvation of an unknown emperor. The verb  $[\dot{\epsilon}]\pi \acute{o}\eta \sigma[\epsilon \nu]$  or  $[\dot{\epsilon}]\pi \acute{o}\eta \sigma[\alpha \nu]$  in l.4 (Vincent - Abel read ΠΟΙΗΣ) fits this interpretation. There is also no reason to associate the fragment with the Emperor Elagabalus who bestowed the right of a *polis* on Emmaus with renaming the city as Nicopolis. For a more detailed comment see Eck - Koßmann.

Bibl.: Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 429 no. 10 (ed. pr.). – C. Clermont-Ganneau, AMSL 11, 1885, 212 (only mentioned, without text); SEG 8, 152; K.-H. Fleckenstein, in: Emmaus in Judäa 279-96 at 282ff. no. 6 (ph.); W. Eck - D. Koßmann, ZPE 198, 2016, 223-38 at 234ff. no. 2 figs. 1f.

Photo: Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 256 fig. 109.

# 3079. Capital with Greek and Samaritan inscription, 1-2 c. CE

Capital in Ionic style, on one side is incised a Greek inscription in an arced line within a semicircle, on the other side a two-line inscription in Samaritan (palaeo-Hebrew) letters inside a tabula ansata, with a line separating the two lines of text. Pres. loc.: Carmelite Monastery, Bethlehem

- (a) ΕΙΣΘΕΟΣ
- ברוךשמ (b) ולעולם
- (a) Εἶς θεός
- (b) ברוך שמ|ו לעולם

Translit.: (b) brwk šm|w l'wlm



fig. 3079.1 (a)

- (a) One God.
- (b) May his name be blessed forever.

Comm.: The acclamation "One God" or "God is one," combined with the Hebrew benediction (echoing Ps 72,17, 19 and 89,53), probably reflects Samaritan liturgy based on Deut 6,4, see discussion in Hüttenmeister - Reeg.

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, CRAI 1881, 186f.; J. Havet, RCr 12, 1881, 140; A. Neubauer, Athenaeum 2825, 1881, 814 (edd. prr.). – A. Socin, ZDPV 5, 1882, 228-33 at 230; C. Clermont-Ganneau, AMSL 9, 1882, 277-321 at 292f.; id.,

PEQ 14, 1882, 16-38 at 24-32; J. Durand, BM



fig. 3079.2 (b)



fig. 3079.3 (a and b)

48, 1882, 381ff.; E. Guillemot, Missions catholiques 40, 1882, 103-6 at 103ff.; Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea 63ff., 68-79; C. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 16, 1884, 187-95 at 189f.; C. Schick, ZDPV 7, 1884, 15f.; J. Euting, Tagebuch der Reise nach Syrien, 1884, 28 (idb.ub.uni-tuebingen. de/diglit/Md676-23, viewed: 8.5.2017); C. Clermont-Ganneau, AMSL 11, 1885, 157-251 at 211 no. 50; Euting 679 no. 46; Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 1, 1888, 169-71, 292f.; C. Conder, PEQ 26, 1894, 201ff., no. 17; J. Germer-Durand, RB 3, 1894, 248-57 at 254; E. Pilcher, PSBA 19, 1897, 167f.; M. Lidzbarski, Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik, 1898, 117, 440 pl. 21,7; C. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 31, 1899, 118-27 at 127 n.2; RES 1, 1900/5, 325f. no. 417; L. Vincent, RB 12, 1903, 271-9, 590; J. Montgomery, The Samaritans, 1907, 275f.; J. Oehler, MGWJ 53, 1909, 292-302 at 296 no. 38; H. Leclercq, DACL 3, 1913, 439-95 at 439; Klein, JPCI 66ff. no. 1; Peterson 287; S. Klein, ZDPV 51, 1928, 135ff. at 135 no. 1; T. Schneider, ZNTW 29, 1930, 155-8 at 155; S. Klein,

MGWJ 75, 1931, 369-74; E. Sukenik, PEQ 63, 1931, 22-5 at 22 n.2; id., The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha, 1932, 23; Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 235ff., 265, 430; SEG 8, 165; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 6 no. 8 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 1186; Goodenough, Jewish Symbols I 224f., III fig. 589; Mader, Mambre 142ff.; J. Purvis, The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Origin of the Samaritan Sect, 1968, 22f.; S. Birnbaum, The Hebrew Scripts, 1971, 104ff. no. 64; Kippenberg, Garizim und Synagoge 152f.; Saller, Catalogue 19 no. 9; J. Naveh, IEJ 23, 1973, 82-91 at 84; M. Avi-Yonah, EAEHL 2, 1976, 362ff.; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 603-6, 608f. no. 1; R. Anderson, Studies in Samaritan Manuscripts and Artifacts, 1978, 59-62; Chiat, Handbook 218; Naveh, On Sherd and Papyrus 16-19, 177f. (Hebr.); M. Avi-Yonah, NEAEHL 2, 1993, 385ff.; J. Zangenberg, ΣΑΜΑΡΕΙΑ. Antike Quellen zur Geschichte und Kultur der Samaritaner in deutscher Übersetzung, 1994, 322; L. Di Segni, SCI 13, 1994, 94-115 at 102 no. 25; E. Stern - I. Sharon, ESI 14, 1995, 43-73 (=HA 101/102, 54-62 [Hebr.]); Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II 159; J. Naveh, IEJ 48, 1998, 91-100 at 93, 95; Bagatti, Samaria 180; K.-H. Fleckenstein, in: Emmaus in Judäa 279-96 at 286-9 no. 11; H. Shanks, BAR 34, 2008, 40-51 no. 3; J. Naveh, in: id. ed., Studies in West-Semitic Epigraphy, 2009, 337-44 at 341ff.; I. Roll - O. Tal, SCI 28, 2009, 139-47; O. Tal, ZPE 194, 2015, 169-75 at 174.

Photo: Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs pl. 25,1-2; Euting 679 pl. 10 no. 46 (dr.).

IIP

# 3080. Samaritan building inscription, 5 c. CE

Stone building block inscribed with four lines of Samaritan script.

Meas.: h 67, w 155, d 31 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Monastery of the Betharram Fathers, Bethlehem (Fleckenstein).

יהוה גיבור במלחמה יהוה שמו יהוה נחיתו בא ברוך יהוה אין כאל ישרון

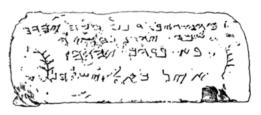


fig. 3080

Translit.: yhwh gybwr bmlḥmh yhwh | šmw yhwh nḥytw | b' brwk yhwh | 'yn k'l yšrwn

YHWH is a hero in war, YHWH is his name, YHWH his guide, come in, thou blessed of YHWH, there is none like unto the God of Jeshurun.

Comm.: l.1 quotes Ex 15,3, which has "man" 'yš instead of "hero": cf. Ps 24,8: the Lord mighty in battle. l.3 quotes Gen 24,31, Laban's blessing of Abraham; and l.4 quotes Deut 33,26. All these verses are known from other Samaritan mezzuzot, but this inscription is unique in its citation of Laban's blessing in l.3, which transforms the formula from a general blessing to a specific one, welcoming a visitor.

Montgomery assumed that it has a political and historical connection. Ben-Zevi suggested that the fourth line (Deut 33,26) is written here against the trinity faith of the Byzantine authorities, and the historical connection is the rebellion of Baba Rabba, the Samaritan hero, in the second half of the 4 c. But as stated, the whole inscription is formulaic, even the fourth line is only a blessing, and there is no palpable clue of nationalist intent.

Bibl.: M.-J. Lagrange, RB 2, 1893, 114ff. (ed. pr.). – J. Montgomery, The Samaritans, 1907, 275; Peterson 287; Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 430 no. 1; CIJ 2, 1187; Y. Ben-Zevi, BIES 25, 1961, 245ff. (Hebr.); id., IEJ 11, 1961, 139-42 at 140f.; J. Strugnell, RB 74, 1967, 555-80 at 556, 558f.; Y. Ben-Zevi, The Book of the Samaritans, rev. ed., 1970, 199; Kippenberg, Garizim und Synagoge 152f.; Saller, Catalogue 19 no. 9; Ringel, Césarée 140f.; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 603-9 no. 2; R. Anderson, Studies in Samaritan Manuscripts and Artifacts, 1978, 59-62; id., Biblical Archaeologist 43, 1980, 217-21 at 219f.; Chiat, Handbook 218; Naveh, On Sherd and Papyrus 177f. (Hebr.); id., IEJ 48, 1998, 91-100 at 96; K.-H. Fleckenstein, in: Emmaus in Judäa 279-96 at 285f. no. 9.

Photo: M.-J. Lagrange, RB 2, 1893, 114f. (dr.).

HM

# 3081. Samaritan inscription on a marble block

Fragment of marble block with left side missing; three lines of Samaritan script. The stone was probably a lintel.

Meas.: h 12.2, w 31, d 5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Chamberlain Warren Samaritan Collection of the Libraries of Michigan State University, East Lansing, inv. no. CW 2472.

יהוה גיבור בה[--] מי כמוכ באי[--] נדרי בקדש נורא[--]



fig. 3081

יהוה גיבור בה[מלחמה יהוה שמו] | מי כמוכ באי[לים יהוה מי כמוך] | נדרי בקדש נורא[תהלות עושה פלא]

Translit.: YHWH gybwr bh[mlḥmh YHWH šmw] | my kmwk b'y[lym YHWH my kmwk] | ndry bqdš nwr'[thlwt 'wśh pl']

The Lord is a hero of the(?) war, the Lord is his name. Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods? Who is like thee, glorious in holiness, awful in praises, doing wonders?

Comm.: The text is written without dots separating words, which could date the inscription to a relatively early period. The text reflects the Samaritan version of the Pentateuch, Ex 15,3 and 11: "The Lord is hero of war" instead of "man of war" in the Masoretic version, cf. no. 3080; in l.3, ndry (=n'dry, see Ex 15,6) instead of n'dr; and plene spelling of gybwr, with yod.

The last legible letter in l.1 is *he*, and presumably the next missing word is *mlḥmh*, "war"; thus the *he* is probably a *mater lectionis* representing the vowel *a* sound (compare Eccl 10,3), i.e. *bet* with the definite article, and not a variation of either the Masoretic or Samaritan text. The writer of this inscription seems to have wanted not only to recall the Exodus from Egypt, but also to offer encouragement regarding a current war or battle in his time, or an eschatological hope.

Bibl.: J. Strugnell, RB 74, 1967, 555-80 at 556ff. no. 1 (ed. pr.). – Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 604, 608f. no. 4; Z. Safrai, Cathedra 4, 1977, 84-112 (Hebr.); R. Anderson, Studies in Samaritan Manuscripts and Artifacts, 1978, 59-62; id., Biblical Archaeologist 43, 1980, 217-21 at 219f.; Chiat, Handbook 218; R. Anderson, Biblical Archaeologist 47, 1984, 41ff. at 43; Naveh, On Sherd and Papyrus 177f. (Hebr.); T. Giles, JBL 114, 1995, 111-6; J. Naveh, IEJ 48, 1998, 91-100 at 96; R. Anderson - T. Giles, The Samaritan Pentateuch, 2012, 138f.

Photo: R. Anderson, Studies in Samaritan Manuscripts and Artifacts, 1978 fig. 8.

HM

# 3082. Samaritan lintel inscription with protective formula, 5-6 c. CE

Lintel fragment, probably from a private house (Hüttenmeister - Reeg). Meas.: h 14, w 78 cm.

חסח יהוה על פתח [..] ולא יתן המשית לבא



fig. 3082.1

[ופ]סח יהוה על פתח | ולא יתן המשית לבא

Translit.: [wp]sḥ YHWH 'l ptḥ | wl' ytn hmšyt lb'

And the Lord will pass over (the) door, and will not suffer the destroyer to come (into your houses to smite you).

Comm.: The text is Ex 12,23, with two changes: "door" is missing

fig. 3082.2

the definite article he; and het is omitted in  $hm ext{syt}$ , which should be  $hm ext{shyt}$ . This inscription is a protective formula, and this kind of text was routinely put on doors.

Although not said unequivocally, the verse from the story of the Exodus is commonly interpreted as the origin of the mezzuzah law in Deut 6,9 and 11,20.

Bibl.: M. de Vogüé, RB 5, 1896, 433f. (ed. pr.). – J. Montgomery, The Samaritans, 1907, 276; Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 430 no. 2; CIJ 2, 1188; J. Strugnell, RB 74, 1967, 555-80 at 556, 558f.; Kippenberg, Garizim und Synagoge 152f.; Saller, Catalogue 19; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 604-8 no. 3; R. Anderson, Studies in Samaritan Manuscripts and Artifacts, 1978, 59-62; Chiat, Handbook 218; Naveh, On Sherd and Papyrus 177f. (Hebr.); id., IEJ 48, 1998, 91-100 at 96; K.-H. Fleckenstein, in: Emmaus in Judäa 279-96 at 286 no. 10.

Photo: M. de Vogüé, RB 5, 1896, 433; CIJ 2 p. 299 (dr.).

HM

# 3083.-3090. Greek mosaic inscriptions from the church complex

# 3083. Greek mosaic inscription mentioning a Bishop Ioannes, 5/6 c. AD

Mosaic floor, medallion.

Meas.: ø 1.16 m.

Findspot: "Au milieu d'un local qui paraît avoir été une annexe de la basilique" (Blomme).

(palm) (cross) (palm) (cross)  $E\Pi ITO[.]$   $\Theta EO\Phi[--]$   $KA\Gamma I\Omega[--]$   $[.]\Omega ANN[..]$   $E\Pi I[--]$ 

έπὶ το[ῦ] | θεοφ[ιλ(εστάτου)] | κ(αὶ) ἁγιω[τ(άτου) | Ἰ]ωάνν[ου] | ἐπι[σκ(όπου)]

Under the most God-loving and pious Bishop Ioannes.

Comm.: 5 or 6 c. AD. The name Ioannes is also mentioned in no. 3085, which may date from the same time.



fig. 3083

Bibl.: Y. Blomme, RB 87, 1980, 406f. (ed. pr.). – SEG 30, 1686; AE 1981, 849; Ben Pechat, L'architecture baptismale, vol. 2, 90f.; Meimaris, Sacred Names 207 no. 1036; K.-H. Fleckenstein, in: Emmaus in Judäa 291f. no. 16; Madden, Corpus 63 no. 79. – Cf. BE 1982, 463; P. Figueras, in: Archéologie Chrétienne 1782.

Photo: Y. Blomme, RB 87, 1980 pl. 6 b.

# 3084. Building inscription in mosaic pavement mentioning a bishop, 6 c. AD

Mosaic pavement, the inscription is inside a tabula ansata according to the drawings in Clermont-Ganneau 1884, Vincent 1903; the drawing by Germer-Durand is different: it shows only a large rectangle, showing each line of the inscription in its own rectangle. The mosaic is mostly restored and consequently it is not always clear whether or not what can be seen is all that was left, but by Piccirillo assures us that the mosaic had already been in a very bad state before; therefore we have to simply rely on the drawings. Meas.: w 34 (l.1), 46 (l.2), 50 cm (l.3).

Findspot: "Close by one of the apses of the ruined church," Clermont-Ganneau 1884, 190, later identified as the church of the baptistery.

Pres. loc.: Emmaus Museum. Autopsy: 18 October 2013 (WE/DK).

(cross) E $\Pi$ I $\Pi$ +[--] KO $\Pi$ OYE+[--]  $\Phi$  $\Omega$ ΣΕΟΣΕ+[--]

ἐπὶ Π+[-- ἐπισ]|κόπου Ε+[-- τῆς ψη]|φώσεος Ε+[--]

*Under the ... bishop ... of the mosaic ...* 



fig. 3084.1



fig. 3084.2 (Clermont-Ganneau)

Comm.: The church and the mosaic belong to the 6 c. AD – l.1: TI[--] Clermont-Ganneau 1883, Vincent 1903; TII[--] Clermont-Ganneau 1899



fig. 3084.3 (Germer-Durand)

(according to the drawings; impossible to judge by the present state of the mosaic); T[--] Germer-Durand;  $E\Pi I...TO$  Fleckenstein 289. Since the vertical hasta of the letter is almost negligible, reading pi is to be preferred over reading tau – as pointed out by Vincent - Abel 154. Clermont-Ganneau suggested either something like  $\epsilon \pi i \pi i$  [--] or the beginning of a name,  $\epsilon \pi i \pi i \pi i \pi i$  [--] or the beginning of a name,  $\epsilon \pi i \pi i \pi i \pi i \pi i$  [--] Clermont-Ganneau 1899. – l.3 fin:  $E\Gamma[--]$  Clermont-Ganneau 1883;  $\Pi[--]$  Germer-Durand; Vincent - Abel

note that the last letter was gamma or pi, but certainly not tau, thereby excluding Clermont-Ganneau's ἔτ[ους]; their drawing shows a minuscule part of a letter to the right-hand side of gamma in 1.2, which leads them to write: ἐπὶ Πρ[αίλου τοῦ δσιωτά(του) ἐπισ]κόπου ἐγέ[νετο τὸ πᾶν ἔργον ψη]φώσεως [--] (without an article before [ψη] φώσεως). Whereas something like [τὸ πᾶν ἔργον τῆς ψη]φώσεος έγ[ένετο] is very likely, the position of the bishop's name is surely puzzling: one expects something like ἐπὶ τ[οῦ ἁγιοτάτου καὶ ὁσιοτάτου (vel sim.) ἐπισ]|κόπου Εί[--] (Eirenaius, Isidorus etc.), a supplement which fits well with Germer-Durand's reading in 1.1. However, Meimaris, Sacred Names 203ff. has some examples of the bishop's name being put before any qualifying adjective.



fig. 3084.4 (Vincent)

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, RCr 17, 1883, 193 (ed. pr.). – Id., PEQ 16, 1884, 190; J. Germer-Durand, RB 3, 1894, 254; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP 484f.; L. Vincent, RB 12, 1903, 588f.; R. Horning, ZDPV 32, 1909, 134; Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 153ff., 429 no. 9; M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 3, 1934, 53f. no. 346,5 (repr. in: id., Art in Ancient Palestine, 1981, 355 no. 346,5); SEG 8, 155; Ovadiah, Corpus 65 no. 54; Ben Pechat, L'architecture baptismale II 90f., III pl. 67; Meimaris, Sacred Names 207 no. 1034; Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II 158 n.271; K.-H. Fleckenstein, in: Emmaus in Judäa 289 no. 12; M. Piccirillo, ibid. 271 no. 2; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 18f.; Madden, Corpus 62f. no. 78. – Cf. M. Schiffers, Amwas, das Emmaus des hl. Lukas, 1890, 231; B. Bagatti, Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria 1979, 151; M. Avi-Yonah, NEAEHL 2, 1993, 386; Bagatti, Samaria 182.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP 484 (dr.); J. Germer-Durand, RB 3, 1894, 254 (dr.); Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 429 pl. 18 (dr.).

WA

# 3085. Mosaic with Greek building inscription of Ioannes

A three-line inscription in a tabula ansata divided by rows of tesserae. Meas.: h 0.45, w 1.12 m (without ansae).

Findspot: Between basilica and baptistery.

[--] [--]ΩΑΝΝΟΥΚ[--]+++ Ϙ ΕΚΟΔΙΚΕΓΕΝ∫ΚΕΨΗΦΩ

[--|-- 'Ι]ωάννου κ(αὶ) [--]+++Ο|ΕΚΟΔΙΚ(ων) ἐγέν(ετο) κ(αὶ) ἑ ψήφω(σις)



fig. 3085

Translit.: ... of/under Ioannes and ... was made the mosaic, too.

Comm.: l.2: At the end *omicron* and *upsilon* in ligature, e.g. [--] ιπου? – l.3: There is, at this point, no solution for the clearly readable EKOΔIK(--). Gignac I 311 writes about the "development of a vowel between two consonants (anaptyxis). This occurs more frequently than elsewhere in Greek." εκςοι (sic!) ἐγένετο κ(αὶ) ψήφω(σις) Avi-Yonah; ἐγένετο κ(αὶ) ψήφω(σις) in Fischer - Isaac - Roll, already suggested by Vincent - Abel; ἐγέν(ετο) κ(αὶ) ἐψηφώ(θη) SEG. For an ἔκδικος as the sponsor of a building, see C. Welles, in: C. Kraeling, Gerasa, 1938, no. 275: σπουδῆ καὶ προνοία Φλ. Γαυδεντίου τοῦ ἐλλογ. σχο(λαστικοῦ) καὶ ἐκδίκου ἡ στοά.

Bibl.: Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 166f. (ed. pr.). – M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 3, 1934, 54 no. 346,8 (repr. in: id., Art in Ancient Palestine, 1981, 355, no. 346,8); SEG 8, 156; Ovadiah, Corpus 65 no. J 2; M. Avi-Yonah, EAEHL 2, 1976, 362ff.; id., NEAEHL 2, 1993, 386; Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II 158 n.2; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 18f.; Madden, Corpus 63 no. 79.

Photo: Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 167 fig. 77 (dr.).

WA

# 3086. Greek mosaic inscription mentioning the donors Pelagius and Thomas, 5 c. AD (?)

Circular medallion, four lines divided by rows of single black tesserae. Meas.: ø 47 cm; letters ca. 9 cm; space between lines 10 cm.

Findspot: A Christian church founded on the remains of a Roman villa; the date assigned to the change by the first editors is far too early (see comm.). Pres. loc.: Emmaus Museum. Autopsy: 18 October 2013 (WE/DK).

[.]ΕΛΙΠΩΝ [..]ΗΛΦΩΝ [..]ΛΑΓΙΟΥΚ∫ ΘΩΜΑ

[κ]ὲ λιπῶν | [ἀδ]ηλφῶν | [Πε]λαγίου κ(ὲ) | Θωμᾶ

And (a donation) of the other brothers, of Pelagius and Thomas.

Comm.: The villa is said to have been transformed into a church during the 3 c. AD. However, it seems almost impossible to date the text here to the 3 c. (to name only one problem: the abbreviation mark is certainly later than that). If there was an early church (and Fischer - Isaac - Roll remarked that the finds from the 2/3 c. relate to the Roman villa, not to the church), we have to assume that the text and the mosaic belong to a later renovation: Piccirillo opts for a date in the 5 c. AD. (Note the small difference in 1.2 between a present-day photograph and the drawing from 1932 by Vincent -Abel). - ll.1f.: The text of this medallion continues the text of at least one other, lost medallion (cf. Vincent - Abel pl. 7). The mention of "brothers" makes this a Christian text. As a rule the οἱ λοιποί when acting as donors remain unspecified, unless the name of the specific group is included, e.g. καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν διακόνων, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Χριστιανών, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς χαρτουλαρίοις. Therefore Vincent - Abel 200 thought: "il serait bien risqué de prendre ces deux noms pour une apposition spécifiant 'les autres frères'." They believed that the earlier medallions named the bishop as well as other dignitaries, whereas this - the last one - concluded the listing with "and the remaining brothers." "Pelagios et Thomas



fig. 3086.1



fig. 3086.2

deviennent très normalement les mosaistes, et leur nom au génitif se justifie par une formule telle que  $\Sigma \alpha \lambda \alpha \mu \alpha \nu$ ίου ψήφωσις." They quote especially SEG 7, 993 (el-Hit, Hauran): ἐπὶ Μαξίμου θεοσεβεστάτου πρεσβυτέρου καὶ Κυριακοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου διακόνου καὶ λοιπῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐψηφώθη τὸ ἔργον τῆς ἁγιοτάτης ἐκλησίας ἰνδικτιῶνος δεκάτης. (cross) προσφορὰ Ἡλία Ἀραβιανοῦ, προσφορὰ Κοβεσίου στρατιώτου. (cross) ἔργον Λιβανίου καὶ Προκοπίου. This interpretation of ll.3f. has been widely accepted, but has its own problem: there seems to be no parallel for the simple use of a genitive without any further qualification like ἔργον, ψήφωσις, κέντησις vel sim. (Of course, Bagatti's solution, 1959, – [μ]ελιττῶν [ἀδ]ελφῶν [Πε]λαγίου κ(αὶ) Θωμᾶ, "dei dolcissimi fratelli Pelagio e Tommaso" – is impossible too.) Fleckenstein adopted the idea (pp. 290f.) that the two brothers had given a donation to the church. Piccirillo translated "of the remaining brothers of Pelagius and Thomas." –

l.3: The drawing by Vincent - Abel reveals two tesserae containing the right hasta of *lambda*; those tesserae have not survived till today.

Bibl.: Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 199ff., pl. 7 (colored dr.) (ed. pr.). – M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 3, 1934, 53f. no. 346,2 (repr. in: id., Art in Ancient Palestine, 1981, 355 no. 346,2); H. Leclercq, DACL 12, 1935, 1261ff.; SEG 8, 154; B. Bagatti, RAC 35, 1959, 71f., 74ff.; Ovadiah, Corpus 64 no. 53 J; M. Avi-Yonah, EAEHL 2, 1976, 363; B. Bagatti, Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria 1979, 151; Meimaris, Sacred Names 229 no. 1127; M. Avi-Yonah, NEAEHL 2, 1993, 386; Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II 158; Bagatti, Samaria 183; K.-H. Fleckenstein, in: Emmaus in Judäa 290f. no. 15; M. Piccirillo, ibid. 269ff. no. 1; Hachlili, AMP 247; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 18; Madden, Corpus 62 no. 77.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 189 fig. 87 (dr.).

WA

## 3087. Greek mosaic floor commemorating a donation to a church (?)

Part of a mosaic floor; restoration in 1995.

Meas.: w ca. 2.8 m.

Findspot: 5-6 m to the west of the basilica, but the different angle rules out an association with the basilica. (The old basilica was abandoned after the Samaritan uprising of 529 and this mosaic floor [and no. 3088] must have belonged to another building used by the community, while a new church was added to the former baptistery.)

Pres. loc.: Emmaus Museum. Autopsy: 18 October 2013 (WE/DK).



fig. 3087

## $[--]\Omega\Sigma A$ $AMA\Sigma\Omega\Phi PONIAMHTPKAIMIKH\Sigma\Sigma\Upsilon MBI\Omega$ (palm)

[--] ΩΣΑ ἄμα Σωφρονία μητρ(ὶ) καὶ Μίκης συμβίω

... together with (my) mother Sophronia and (my) wife Mik(k)e.

Comm.: The reproduction of the text by Fleckenstein and Piccirillo is marred by small mistakes. Vincent thought this mosaic marked a grave and therefore restored [ἐνθάδε κεῖται Τρυφ]ῶσα (the name was supplied e.g. by Wilhelm apud SEG; perhaps

one can find the hint of a round letter before the *omega*). "L'hypothèse d'un nom féminin se terminant en ...ωσα nécessiterait une valeur masculine pour Mikès 'son époux'" (Vincent 405). Vincent refers to SB 1, 2521, for examples of Μικίς, Μίκος, but concludes: "Μίκης, dont je n'ai su trouver aucune attestation, a bien chance d'être une graphie défectueuse pour Μίκκης, gén. de Μίκκη ... n. pr. fém. bien connu." But this inscription was not necessarily a funerary marker: no grave has been found below the mosaic, although there are some graves in the vicinity. Perhaps we have here a reference to a donation:  $[ \dot{\epsilon} \psi \dot{\eta} \varphi ] \omega \sigma \alpha$  ("I, so-and-so, paid for the mosaic together with my mother Sophronia and my wife Mik(k)e"); cf. e.g. SEG 35, 1551 (Magen). The name Μίκκη is quite usual in Asia Minor, but cf. at least for Rhosos IGLS 3, 724: καὶ τῶν γλυκυτάτων αὐτοῦ γονέων Κυριακοῦ καὶ Κυρίας Μί[κ]κης.

Bibl.: L. Vincent, RB 45, 1936, 403ff., fig. 2 (ed. pr.). – SEG 8, 166; Ben Pechat, L'architecture baptismale II 90f.; K.-H. Fleckenstein, in: Emmaus in Judäa 289f. no. 13; M. Piccirillo, ibid. 271f. no. 3 (ph.).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WA

## 3088. Fragmentary Greek mosaic inscription possibly mentioning a donor

Meas.: w 67 cm; letters 12-13 cm.

Findspot: Two meters to the west of no. 3087.

Pres. loc.: Restored 1995 in situ (Fleckenstein). Autopsy: 18 October 2013 (WE/DK).

### ΚΕΕΛΕΗΣΟΝ+Υ+

κ(ύρι)ε, έλέησον +Υ+

Lord, have mercy on ...

Comm.: The first letter and the traces of the last three letters are lost today. "Le commencement d'un nom propre comme  $E\mathring{\upsilon}\sigma[\tau \acute{\alpha}\theta\iota\upsilon]$ " Vincent;  $E\mathring{\upsilon}\sigma(\tau \acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\varsigma)$  Fleckenstein. Vincent and Fleckenstein take this to



fig. 3088.1

be another funerary inscription: "Suivant un usage assez répandu dans l'Afrique du Nord en particulier, ces panneaux de mosaïque à inscription remplaçaient les dalles funéraires plus commune ailleurs." For the date cf. no. 3087. One may hazard the guess that a donor is commemorated here, cf. Baumann, Stifter 311: "Es sind

... bestimmte geprägte Formeln, durch die eine Stiftung eine religiöse Qualität erhielt, denn man erhoffte sich in gewisser Weise eine positive Einwirkung auf die Gottheit. Zu diesen Wendungen gehören μνήσθι (εἰς ἀγαθόν), ἐλεήσον ... und βοηθήσον



fig. 3088.2

..." He quotes, for instance, C. Welles, in: C. Kraeling, Gerasa, 1938, no. 311: Κύριε  $\delta$   $\theta(\epsilon\delta)$ ς τοῦ ἀγίου Κοσμᾶ κ(αὶ) Δαμιανοῦ ἐλέησον τὸν τριβοῦνον Δαγισθεον καὶ πρόσδεξε τὴν αὐτοῦ προσφοράν; SEG 40, 1447 (Diocaesarea): Κ(ύρι)ε  $\delta$  Θ(εδ)ς τοῦ ἀγίου Σεργίου, ἐλέησον τοῦ δούλου σου Δημήτρι(ο)ν δ(ιάκονον) (καὶ) Γεόργι(ο)ν υίὸν καὶ παντὸς τοῦ οἴκου αὐτῶ(ν) (that Demetrios was the main founder of the church is attested by 40, 1444).

Bibl.: L. Vincent, RB 45, 1936, 406f. (ed. pr.). – SEG 8, 167; Ben Pechat, L'architecture baptismale II 90f.; K.-H. Fleckenstein, in: Emmaus in Judäa 290 no. 14.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; L. Vincent, RB 45, 1936, 407 fig. 3 (dr.).

WA

## 3089. Undecipherable Greek mosaic inscription, 6 c. AD

Mosaic in a narthex (opus vermiculatum); above the inscription two birds drinking from a bowl of water; below the inscription another bowl of water.

Findspot: The south church was a 5 c. basilica, which was later built over by the crusaders. In its narthex was a 6 c. mosaic (dated by Piccirillo) with inscription.

[--]ΣΒΕ[--] [--]Ι+ΟΣΤ[--] [--]ΤΙΤΟ[--] [--]ΛΕ[--]

Comm.: "Reading *Kyrie Eleison* ... and the genitive (possessive) form of the name Titus," Shanks. – l.1: The last letter could also be a *theta*,  $[\pi \rho \epsilon] \sigma \beta$ .  $\Theta[--]$ . – l.2: No letter, but a horizontal line before the *omicron*?  $\partial \sigma \tau [\acute{\epsilon} \alpha]$  does not match the context, therefore perhaps a form of



fig. 3089

όστιάριος? CTh 16,2,24, the Basilica 3,3,5 (=CJ I 3,6) count the ostiarii among the clerics, as well as Nov. Iust. 3 pr. (cf. TLL s.v. I B 2). Cf. for the involvement of an ὀστιάριος in the building or the restoration of a church the quite late inscription MAMA 7, 190 (Hadrianopolis Phryg.): ἀνεκενέσθι ὁ ναὸς ἱ ὑπεραγία θ(εο)τ(ό)κος τοῦ κύρου Θεωδόρου ... διὰ συνδρομῖς Ἰω(άννου) ὀστιαρίου κὲ ἐπισκεπτίτου ... − 1.3: Shanks' interpretation is rather improbable, since the name Titus (even though present in the New Testament) was not very common in Iudaea/Palaestina (SEG 37, 1531 [Scythopolis, early 3 c. AD] seems to be the latest epigraphical attestation); therefore perhaps [ἐ]πὶ το[ῦ]? − 1.4: [θεοφι]λε[στ--]?

Bibl.: M. Louhivuori, in: Emmaus in Judäa 265 (ed. pr.). – H. Shanks, BAR 34, 2008, 7; K. Fleckenstein - L. Fleckenstein, Emmaus-Nicopolis, 2010, 151.

Photo: K. Fleckenstein - L. Fleckenstein, Emmaus-Nicopolis, 2010, 159.

WA

## 3090. Fragmentary Greek mosaic inscription

Three unrelated fragments of a mosaic inscription; the letters are of different height and width. At least one fragment shows a line on which the letter stood, serving either as divisor or as a frame for the whole text. The excavators speak of "die erste historische Kulturschicht …, versetzt mit grauem Schutt, mit lose hingeworfenen behauenen Steinen, Mosaik- und Freskofragmenten mit weißem Kalk. Anzeichen, die auf eine gewaltsame Zerstörung hindeuten."

Findspot: Locus 2112, "westlich der Westmauer des Narthex der Südbasilika, südöstlich von Loc 2112 zum Kyrieeleison-Mosaik hin" (Fleckenstein).

- (a) [--]H[--] (b) [--]P[--]
- (c) [--]+[--]



fig. 3090

Comm.: (c) The letter is perhaps a beta.

Bibl.: K. Fleckenstein - L. Fleckenstein, Emmaus-Nicopolis, 2010, 113 (ed. pr.).

Photo: K. Fleckenstein - L. Fleckenstein, Emmaus-Nicopolis, 2010, 118.

## 3091. Greek invocation of the Holy Trinity on marble plaque

Three fragments of a plaque of white marble.

Meas.: h 20, w 60 cm; letters 4.5 cm.

Findspot: On a plateau overlooking 'Amwas from the west, during the search for building material.

Pres. loc.: Museum of St. Anne, Jerusalem.

(cross) ENO[..]MATIΠΑΤΡΟΣ (cross) K[ΥΙΟ[..]ΑΓΙΟΥΠΝΕΥ MΑΤ[--]ΛΗΗΠΟΛΙΣΧΡΙΣ [(cross) ..]AN $\Omega$ N (cross)



fig. 3091

έν ό[νό]ματι πατρὸς | κ(αὶ) υἱο[ῦ κ(αὶ)] ἁγίου πνεύ|ματ[ος. κα]λὴ ἡ πόλις Χρισ|[τι]ανῶν

In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Beautiful (is) the city of the Christians!

Comm.: Even though Germer-Durand saw only the few letters at the left side of ll.1-3 he identified here the invocation of the trinity. Vincent 1913, 101 thought that this stone might have come from the entrance to the Christian (?) quarter or from a church (cf. Fleckenstein). It is not easy to date the inscription: it cannot be dated before the 4 c. AD, but there is no reason to place it exactly in this century (and no reason to interpret it, accordingly, as proof for the newly found security of the Christians etc.). Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations 37 takes the abbreviation marked with the ∫ sign (l.2) as a typical 6 c. AD phenomenon, but also knows of earlier examples. - ll.3f.: Some authors, e.g. Vincent - Abel 266, refer to Num 24,5 and Ps 133,1 - but exclamations in favor of a city are more apt comparisons, even though there seems to exist no exact parallel. As Guarducci noted: "La formula καλή ή πόλις assume, in sostanza, il significato di 'Viva la città'." See already Eupolis, F 246 K/A: αὕτη Χίος, καλὴ πόλις. Since we have no reason to believe in the existence of a Christian quarter in Emmaus/Nicopolis, nor in one that could be called a  $\pi \delta \lambda_{15}$ , this text should be interpreted as claiming the whole of the city by and for the Christians (as opposed to earlier times? Cf. Eus. Onom. s.v. Καριαθαείμ (Num 32, 37): πόλις ἣν ὠκοδόμησαν «οἱ υἱοὶ Ῥουβίν.» καὶ νῦν ἐστιν ὅλη Χριστιανῶν κώμη; Athanasius, Dialogus Athanasii et Zachaei, c. 70 ed. Conybeare: Ζακχαίος: Περὶ τίνος λέγεις, λέγεσθαι ταῦτα; Άθανάσιος: Περὶ Ίερουσαλήμ· οὐκέτι γάρ ἐστιν Ἰουδαίων πόλις, ἀλλὰ Χριστιανῶν πόλις, τῷ καινῷ ονόματι καλουμένη).

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, RCr 17, 1883, 193 no. 2 (left fragment) (ed. pr.). – J. Germer-Durand, RB 3, 1894, 255 (left fragment); L. Vincent, RB 22, 1913, 100f.; F. Bleckmann, ZDPV 38, 1915, 237; C. Kaufmann, Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik, 1917, 412; L. Jalabert - R. Mouterde, DACL 7, 1926, 655f., 664, 679f.; Peterson 31; Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 265f., 429 no. 7; H. Leclercq, DACL 12, 1935, 1245f.; SEG 8, 163; B. Bagatti, SBF 3, 1952/3, 129 no. 34; M. Guarducci, Epigrafia Greca IV 1978, 444 no. 2; Meimaris, Sacred Names 77 no. 497 (ll.1-3); K.-H. Fleckenstein, in: Emmaus in Judäa 293f. no. 17 (ph.); H. Shanks, BAR 34, 2008, 7 no. 9 (ph.).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WA

## B. Inscriptions of public character and in architectural context

## 3092. Building inscription of the cohors VI Petraeorum

"Le couronnement d'un pilastre dénué de tout relief porte sur sa face supérieure ... quelques mots ... gravés sur un champ un peu ravalé" (ed. pr. 113). l.2: TR in PETR in ligature. The capital was reused for this inscripton; at the top of the back and at the right-hand side the form of the original capital is still preserved.

Meas.: h 41.5, w 68, d 34 cm; field for the inscription h 25, w 35 cm; letters 6 cm. Pres. loc.: Trappist Monastery, Latrun (in the garden). Autopsy: 30 May 2014.

 $COH\overline{VI}$   $VLP\ PETR$ 



Coh(ors) VI | Ulp(ia) Petr(aeorum)

fig. 3092

The cohors VI Ulpia Petraeorum (has built this).

Comm.: The *cohors VI Ulpia Petraeorum* was created after the annexation of Arabia in 106 AD. It is attested in military diplomas as part of the army in Syria Palaestina at least between 139 (CIL 16, 87) and 160 (RMD 3, 173; AE 2005, 1730; B. Pferdehirt, Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2004 no. 41; H. Cotton - W. Eck, Michmanim 23, 2011, 11ff. (Hebr.); cf. Eck, Judäa - Syria Palästina 256ff.). Possibly the cohors was stationed for some time near Emmaus, which was strategically well placed and on the way to Jerusalem.

Bibl.: F.-M. Abel, RB 33, 1924, 113f. (ed. pr.). – AE 1924, 132; Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 427 no. 4; M. Gracey, The Roman Army in Syria, Judaea and Arabia, 1981, 216; Isaac, Roman Army 635-40 at 636f., 639 no. 4; id., Limits 428 no. 4; Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II 156f. no. 7; Y. Shahar, in: A. Faust - E. Baruch eds., New Studies on Jerusalem, 2000, 193 (Hebr.); W. Horbury, Jewish War under Trajan and Hadrian, 2014, 324; W. Eck, ZPE 193, 2015, 261-71 at 261.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WE

## 3093. Corinthian capital with a number

A large corinthian capital with an architectural mark. For more details, see Eck. Meas.: h of the capital 84, ø 117 cm; letters 9 cm.

Findspot: Probably from Emmaus-Nicopolis.

Pres. loc.: Trappist monastery, Latrun (in the garden). Autopsy: 30 May 2014.

ΚΔ

κδ

(Capital belonging to) the twentyfourth (column of a building).

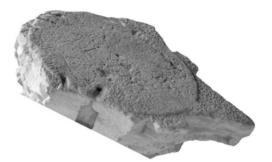


fig. 3093.1

Comm.: The number is a mark made for and during the building process; it indicates that the capital belonged to the twenty-fourth column of a building. For comparable inscriptions on columns, cf. for example CIIP III 2339a-c. Examples from the cardo maximus in Jerusalem are still unpublished. That the capital developed further and in a more stylized manner is seen in a group of capitals classified by M. Fischer as type IIIDc and dating to the period from Marcus Aurelius to Septimius Severus (M. Fischer, Das korinthische Kapitell im Alten Israel in der hellenistischen und römischen Periode, 1990, 44f.). To judge by its decoration and workmanship, the present capital cannot



fig. 3093.2

be earlier than the 4 c.; it could possibly be dated even in the 5 or 6 c. (information H. v. Hesberg, M. Fischer).

Bibl.: W. Eck, ZPE 193, 2015, 261-71 at 270f. (ph.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: WE.

WE

## C. Funerary inscriptions

# 3094. Funerary inscription of P. Oppius ...cio, soldier of the *legio V Macedonica*, probably ca. 68-70 AD

Stele made of sandstone with a raised border; part of the right upper corner and the bottom are missing. The back is somewhat convex and not smooth. The letters are not very regularly cut. Perhaps a first line with *D M* is missing, see the free space above *P. Oppi[us]*.

Meas.: h 96, w 51, d 12.5-15 cm; letters 5.3-6.7 cm.

Findspot: "The tombstone ... is said to have been found near Amwas, the ancient Emmaus" (Landau); other tombstones of soldiers of the same legion found there confirm this information, see comm. below.

Pres. loc.: Hecht Museum, Haifa, IAA inv. no. 1975-59. Autopsy: 10 October 2013.

[--?]
P·OPPIV[...]
CAMILIA[--]
CIO·RAVEN[..]
MILES·LEG·V
MAC·OPTIO
VIXIT·ANOS
XXX·MILITA
ANNOS·VIIII
H S E
H F



fig. 3094.1

[D(is) m(anibus)?] | P(ublius) Oppiu[s P(ubli)? f(ilius)] | Camilia [--]|cio Raven[na] | miles leg(ionis) V | Mac(edonicae) optio | vixit an(n)os | XXX, milita(vit) | annos VIIII, | h(ic) s(itus) e(st); | h(eres) f(ecit)

For the spirits of the deceased(?). Publius Oppius ...cio, son of Publius(?) (Oppius), member of the Camilia tribe, from Ravenna, soldier of the legion V Macedonica (and) optio, he lived 30 years, served in the army nine years. He is lying here. His heir made (the tomb).

Comm.: 1.4: RAVE[N(N)A] Fischer -Isaac - Roll: l.11: heres Fischer - Isaac -Roll. - The origo of the deceased was Ravenna in Italy, which was ascribed to the Camilia tribe. The name of the soldier stood probably in the nominative case, as implied by miles and optio, although in a funerary text it was possible to join a name in the dative with the description of a function in the nominative. However, if the -cio stands for a dative, the nominative would end in -cius, which is unlikely for a cognomen, especially in the 1 c. AD. For cognomina ending with -cio one may cite, for example, Miccio, Felicio, Fuscio, Bucio (see H. Solin - O. Salomies, Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum latinorum, <sup>2</sup>1994, 438). The man was a soldier in the legio V Macedonica, which was stationed first in Oescus in Moesia and transferred to Syria during the wars against the Parthians under Domitius Corbulo. Some years later, the unit became part of Vespasian's army in the war against the Jews. In 68 Vespa-



fig. 3094.2

sian left the legion near Emmaus (Jos. BJ 4,445), but in 70 the legion took part in the siege of Jerusalem under the command of Sex. Vetulenus Cerealis (BJ 6,237). After the war the legion returned to Moesia, where it stayed, with one short interval, until the time of Marcus Aurelius, first in Oescus and later on in Troesmis. What we know about the legion makes it probable that P. Oppius [--]cio died during the Jewish revolt, when the unit stayed in Emmaus. The chronology fits the form of the name, with the membership in the tribus Camilia and with the city of Ravenna as the *origo* of the soldier. Oppius started as a simple soldier, was promoted later on to the rank of an *optio*, a position which normally led to the rank of a centurio.

Other soldiers of the legion are attested at Emmaus; some of them perhaps died at the same time during the First Jewish Revolt, see nos. 3095-3097; for the legion in the province in a later period, see no. 3198.

Bibl.: Y. Landau, Atiqot 11 (Engl. Ser.), 1976, 89ff. (ed. pr.). – Isaac, Roman Army 635-40 at 636f. no. 4; id., Limits 428 no. 4; Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II 156 no. 5; E. Dvorjetski, Latomus 56, 1997, 567-81 at 568; R. Rosenthal-Heginbottom, in: O. Guri-Rimon ed., The Great Revolt in the Galilee, 2008, \*91-\*107 at \*93; W. Eck, ZPE 193, 2015, 261-71 at 261, 267f. – For the legio V Macedonica, see I. Piso, in: Y. Le Bohec ed., Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire, 2000, 213ff. (only from the time of Trajan onwards).

Photo: IAA.

WE

# 3095. Funerary inscription of C. Vibius Firmus, soldier of the *legio V Macedonica*

Slab of limestone, the back is roughly finished; small damages at the edges. Meas.: h 38, w 34, d (left side) 5, (right side) 6 cm; letters: l.1: 4 cm, l.2: 3.5 cm, ll.3-6: 3 cm, ll.7-8: 2.8 cm, l.9: 3.2 cm.

Pres. loc.: SBF Museum, Jerusalem. Autopsy: 2 November 2005.

CVIBIVSFIRMVS
MILLEG-VMAC

POLLIONISBENE
FICIARIVSMILITA
ANNISXIIX-VIXIT
ANNIS XXXX
H S E
SACCIAPRIMIGINIA
CONIVGISVO F C



fig. 3095

G(aius) Vibius Firmus | mil(es) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) | (centuria) Pollionis bene|ficiarius milita(vit) | annis XIIX, vixit | annis XXXX | h(ic) s(itus) e(st). Saccia Primiginia | coniugi suo f(aciendum) c(uravit)

Gaius Vibius Firmus, soldier of the legio V Macedonica, in the centuria of Pollio, beneficiarius; he served eighteen years (and) lived forty years, he is buried here. Saccia Primiginia had (this tomb) erected for her husband.

Comm.: C. Vibius Firmus died as a simple soldier, having served for a while as a beneficiarius, perhaps attached to the legate of the legion. He entered the army when he was 22 years old. When he died he was serving in the centuria of a Pollio. He is the only soldier whose inscription was found in Emmaus and who was buried by a woman who calls him *coniunx* (i.e. husband), a "legally" impossible expression, since soldiers were forbidden to get married during their service. However, women could and did accompany their "husband-soldier" even during campaign. Thus dating the inscription to the Jewish revolt is possible. His death must have occurred during the time the *legio V Macedonica* had its camp at Emmaus. For the chronology see commentary to no. 3094. However, the involvement of the woman in the burial may well be a sign that the *legio* or at least a part of it was stationed there for a longer period, perhaps up to and during the Bar Kochba revolt.

Bibl.: P.-M. Séjourné, RB 6, 1897, 131ff. (ed. pr.). – É. Michon, RB 7, 1898, 269ff.; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP I 468 n.\*; CIL 3, 14155.12; Peterson 287; Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 427 no. 2; Bagatti, Flagellazione 137f. no. 240 fig. 67; C. Johns, PEQ 80, 1948, 81-100 at 95; Isaac, Roman Army 635-40 at 636f. no. 4; id., Limits 428 no. 4; Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II 156 no. 2; E. Dvorjetski, Latomus 56, 1997, 567-81 at 568; W. Eck, ZPE 193, 2015, 261-71 at 261, 267f.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WE/HMC

# 3096. Funerary inscription of Sabinus, soldier of the *legio V Macedonica*, probably ca. 68-70 AD

Limestone slab with a raised border, broken on top and bottom; guidelines; word dividers clearly incised. The inscription was found in 1898. Meas.: h 47, w 52, d 19 cm; letters: 5-6 cm.

Pres. loc.: Museum École Biblique, Jerusalem. Autopsy: 5 June 2014.

C·ATILI[--]
F·COLSABIN
VS·AMASIO
MIL·LEG·V·MA
C·O·STIMINI
AN·XXV·MIL
[--]+



fig. 3096

G(aius) Atili[us G(ai)?] | f(ilius) Col(lina) Sabin|us Amasio | mil(es) leg(ionis) V Ma|c(edonicae) (centuria) Stimini | an(norum) XXV mil(itavit) | [an(nos) --]+

For Gaius Atilius Sabinus, son of Gaius(?), member of the tribe Collina, from Amaseia, soldier of the legio V Macedonica, in the centuria of Stiminius; (he lived) twenty-five years, served ... years ... (was buried here).

Comm.: The remains of letters after the praenomen can be read as ATILI; the nomen gentile is therefore Atilius, and the father's praenomen probably *G(aius)*. The soldier is likely to have come from Amaseia in Pontus like other legionaries (cf. CIL 3, 971, 6607, 14214,10). The form *Amasio* is perhaps a mistake by the stonecutter. The tribe Collina may indicate that one of Sabinus' ancestors was a slave, and when freed was inscribed in this tribe. The structure of the inscription is very similar to that of no. 3094. Therefore, the same considerations for associating the presence of the *legio V Macedonica* in Iudaea with the Jewish revolt between 68 and 70 AD, and accounting for the location of the soldier's burial apply here as well. However, a later date cannot be overruled totally: cf. Eck. A Stiminius is attested in CIL 6, 2274, an Istiminia in CIL 10, 5718.

Bibl.: É. Michon, RB 7, 1898, 269ff. (ed. pr.). – CIL 3, 14155,11; Peterson 287; Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 426f. no. 1; C. Johns, PEQ 80, 1948, 81-100 at 95; Isaac, Roman Army 635-40 at 636f. no. 4; id., Limits 428 no. 4; Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II 156 no. 1; E. Dvorjetski, Latomus 56, 1997, 567-81 at 568; W. Eck, ZPE 193, 2015, 261-71 at 262, 267f.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WE

# 3097. Funerary inscription of a soldier of the *legio V Macedonica*, probably ca. 68-70 AD

Limestone fragment of the righthand side of a funerary stele with a raised border. Above the V at the beginning of l.3 a horizontal hasta for marking the letter as a number. Word dividers in ll.2 and 3.

Meas.: h 24, w 30 cm.

Pres. loc.: Louvre Museum, Paris, inv. no. AO 1213.

[--] [--]VETVS [--]MA·MIL· [--]V·MAC· [--]



fig. 3097

[--|-- Mans]uetus or [--] Vetus | [--]ma, mil(es) | [leg(ionis)] V Mac(edonicae) | [--]

... Mansuetus or Vetus originating from ...ma, soldier in the legio V Macedonica ... (is buried here).

Comm.: l.1: Praenomen, nomen gentile and filiation are missing; l.2: the *tribus* might have been mentioned at the beginning; the cognomen of the soldier can be read as Vetus or [Mans]uetus; origo: [Par]ma *Eph. epigr.* or [Ro]ma or [Uxa]ma; l.5 is necessary, but not mentioned in the previous publications, as happened also in the case of the first line.

This is a burial inscription of a soldier of the *legio V Macedonica*; only the [--] *ma* is preserved from the name of the city where he was born, which may well stand for Roma, as in most other cases of an origo ending in -ma. The structure of the inscription seems similar to no. 3094; therefore the chronology of the stay of the *legio V Macedonica* in the context of the Jewish revolt between 68 and 70 AD mentioned in no. 3094 should apply to this burial as well.

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, AMSL 11, 1885, 157-251 at 167 (ed. pr.). – Ephemeris Epigraphica 5, 1446; CIL 3, 6647; Dussaud, Louvre 80f. no. 108; Peterson 287; Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 427 no. 3; C. Johns, PEQ 80, 1948, 81-100 at 95; Isaac, Roman Army 635-40 at 636f. no. 4; id., Limits 428 no. 4; Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II 156 no. 3; E. Dvorjetski, Latomus 56, 1997, 567-81 at 568; W. Eck, ZPE 193, 2015, 261-71 at 261, 267f.

Photo: C. Larrieu, courtesy of Louvre Museum.

WE

## 3098. Latin burial inscription of an auxiliary soldier

Limestone block, broken on all sides except the left. The inscription was damaged at the top and at the left-hand side by erosion. The back is rough.

Meas.: h 45, w 52, d 31 cm; letters 3.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Trappist monastery, Latrun (in the garden). Autopsy: 30 May 2014.

[--] [--]BRAC A[--]TANOR MILANNXXXIIX VIXITANNLX H S E HERFC



fig. 3098

[-- mil(es) coh(ortis) III/IIII] Brac|a[raugus]tanor(um) | mil(itavit) ann(os) XXXIIX | vixit ann(os) LX | h(ic) s(itus) e(st). | Her(es) f(aciendum) c(uravit)

... (someone), was soldier in the third (or the fourth) cohors of the Bracaraugustani; he served thirty-eight years, he lived sixty years; he lies here. The heir had the tomb made.

Comm.: Two *cohortes Bracaraugustanorum* were stationed in Syria Palaestina, one with the number III, the other with the number IV (see no. 3827). It cannot be decided in which one of the two the soldier, whose name is lost, served. The places where the two units were permanently stationed are unknown too. Other military units are attested in Emmaus/Nicopolis, especially the *cohors VI Ulpia Petraeorum* (see no. 3092).

Bibl.: W. Eck, ZPE 193, 2015, 261-71 at 266ff. (ph.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: WE.

WE

## 3099. Greek warning inscription on a grave

Meas.: h 0.62, w 1.40 m; letters 10 cm.

Findspot: At the entrance of a grave, "sur l'ancienne route de Jaffa, qui passe entre Amoas et Al-Atroun" (Germer-Durand).

ΤΗΝΑΝΑΝΚΗΝΣΟΙ ΤΑΥΤΗΝΑΝΘΡΩΠΕ ΜΗΑΝΥΓΕ[--] ΝΕΚΡΟΣΚΙΤΕ

# THNANANKHNCOI TAYTHNANΘΡωΠε MHANYΓε MEKPOCKITE

τὴν ἀνάνκην σοι. | ταύτην, ἄνθρωπε, | μὴ ἀνύγε. [ἐνθάδε] | νεκρὸς κῖτε

fig. 3099

The (same) necessity to you! Man! Do not open this. Here lies the corpse.

Comm.: l.1: SEG compares SEG 6, 111 τὸν θεόν σοι. – l.2: ταύτην (scil. τὴν σορόν) SEG. – l.3: [ἔνθα γε] edd., corr. SEG.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, RB 5, 1896, 617 no. 4 (ed. pr.). – Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 429 no. 6; SEG 8, 162.

Photo: J. Germer-Durand, RB 5, 1896, 617 (dr.).

## 3100. Greek funerary inscription scratched in mortar

A line of letters scratched into the still fresh mortar. Meas.: w about a yard.

Findspot: A rock-cut tomb with four arcosolia on Ras el Ekra', a hill north-north-east of Emmaus, separated from it by the Khall't el Hammam (Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 94, who infers from the nearness of other tombs that this area was used as one of the necropoleis of Emmaus). It seems that the walls were covered a long time after the construction of the tomb with "a very thick layer of excellent plaster ... covered with a coat of red paint. All round the top of the walls there runs a cornice of moulded mortar" (ibid. 97). The inscription is at the back of the arcosolium opposite the entrance (marked N in ibid. 96 fig. b).

... prayer ... all say ...

Comm.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 95: "At the beginning, I sometimes feel inclined to read Kε, X, ἀκούε τὰ ... 'Lord, Christ, hear the prayers ...' but this is very doubtful. I ought to mention that the engraving does not always reproduce exactly the outlines of the original, which are confused enough. In any case the inscription, from the shape of the characters, is certainly Christian, and dates from the time when this ancient tomb was converted and its present decoration added." In his first mention of the inscription, 1883, Clermont-Ganneau read πάντες εὐλογοῦσιν and identified the grave as Jewish; this was accepted by de Rossi, Klein, and Frey (CIJ) – the last two without reference to Clermont-Ganneau's edition in ARP. – εὐχή, εὐχῆ? TLG provides only one parallel, John Chrysostom, PG 61,527: καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετανοία, κοιναὶ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν γίνονται αἱ εὐχαὶ, καὶ πάντες μίαν λέγουσιν εὐχὴν, εὐχὴν τὴν ἐλέου γέμουσαν.

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, RCr 8, 1883, 142 (ed. pr.). – J. de Rossi, Archives de l'Orient Latin 2, 1884, 453; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 94ff.; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 173 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 1189; B. Bagatti, Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria, 1979, 151f., 37\* fig. 58; id., Samaria 184 fig. 58.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 97 (dr.).

## 3101. Fragmentary Greek funerary inscription (?)

Fragment of gray-black marble.

Meas.: h 15, w 33 cm; letters 3.5-4 cm.

Findspot: "découvert ... dans le blocage d'une tombe musulmane," Vincent - Abel 266.

[--]ΩΗΜΕΕΝΥ

[--]ΘΟΥΙΝΔς



[--]Ω, ἡμ(έρα) ε', ἐν ὑ|[πατεία--] ΘΟΥ, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)  $\varsigma$ '

fig. 3101

... fifth day (i.e. Thursday), when ... was consul, indiction 6.

Comm.: l.1: Rather a date than part of the age of the dead. *Omega* is the end of a month's name. Note the difference between the *upsilon*(?) in this line and the one in the following one. – l.2: There could not be found a fitting name of a consul.  $\theta \circ \nu$ '=479? It remains unclear which era was used then.

Bibl.: Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 101f., 266 (ed. pr.). - SEG 8, 157.

Photo: Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 101 fig. 46 (dr.).

WA

## 3102. Greek letters on ossuary lid

Three Greek letters incised on gabled lid of stone ossuary. The smaller *nu* is inside the *omega*.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem (not found), IAA inv. no. 1937-1143.

 $A(?) \Omega N$ 

Comm.: The ossuary bearing this inscription was among eight which, according to a report in 1937, were discovered in a tomb destroyed by construction-

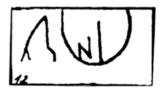


fig. 3102

works. Three are in the possession of the IAA (Rahmani, nos. 91-93), but the locations of the other five, including this one, are undocumented. Testa interpreted the three letters here, if that is what they are, as straightforward Christian symbology,  $A-\Omega \ \nu(\iota \varkappa \widetilde{\alpha})$ , but this is far from certain. The parallel he cites for the *alpha* is from

Dominus Flevit, Jerusalem (his ref. does not match the main publication of that site), which was not a Christian burial site (see CIIP I, pp. 200f.), and the "letter" there could well have been a mason's mark; there are similar mason's marks on the ossuaries in Rahmani, CJO nos. 91 and 92. The other two intertwined Greek letters were then a personal monograph of the occupant of the ossuary.

Bibl.: Testa, Simbolismo 365f. - Cf. Rahmani, CJO nos. 91-93.

Photo: Testa, Simbolismo 365 fig. 139,12 (dr.).

JJP

## D. Instrumentum domesticum

## 3103. Magic amulet on silver plate with Aramaic inscription, 5-7 c. CE

A thin silver plate, bearing the remains of seven lines, the first two of which contain only magic characters. Magic figures appear between ll.6 and 7. The beginnings and the ends of the lines are missing.



(magic characters)
(magic characters)

fig. 3103

```
(--] מִשג (magic character) אל שמראל אלהא [--]
[...]טיריא קדישיה בטהלון כל ח+[--]
[...]ינוי מן נוחרה מן רישה מן גידו[--]
[...]יסיא בשם (magic figures)
[--] ומן +++נוי ומן בניה +++[--]
```

```
[--] משגאל שמראל אלהא [-- אתון] | [כרק]טיריא קדישיה בטהלון כל ח+[--] | [מן ע]ינוי
מן נוחרה מן רישה מן גידו[י --] | [מן ר]יסיא בשם | [--] ומן +++נוי ומן בניה +++[--]
```

Translit.: [--] mśg'l šmr'l 'lh' [-- 'twn] | [krq]ṭyry' qdyšyh bṭhlwn kl ḥ+[--] | [mn ']ynwy mn nwḥrh mn ryšh mn gydw[y --] | [mn r]ysy' bšm | [--] wmn +++nwy wmn bnyh +++[--]

... Mśg'el, Shamri'el, the God ... You holy characters, annul all the ... from his eyes, from his nostril, from his head, from (his) tendons, from the eye-lids. In the name of ... and from ... and from her sons(?) ...

Comm.: According to Naveh - Shaked 60f., this fragmentary amulet "was found in 1896 in a tomb in Emmaus and was acquired by Herbert Clark for his collection." However, "it does not appear to be in the Clark collection, which is kept at the Y.M.C.A. in Jerusalem." Its first publication by Vincent (1908) included only a facsimile drawing and the reading is based on this drawing. Naveh - Shaked, however, improved some of Vincent's readings. It seems that the amulet was rolled sidewise. There is no indication concerning the size of the missing parts on both its right and its left sides, and there may perhaps have been more text at its top as well as at its bottom. The restoration of the lines offered by Naveh - Shaked is therefore conjectural. As indicated by the short list of the client's body members (ll.5-6), the purpose of the amulet seems to have been his/her healing or protection from a certain sickness.

- l.3: A magic character splits the name  $M\acute{s}g'l$  in two parts. According to Naveh Shaked 62, who do not offer any interpretation of  $m\acute{s}g$ , the name  $M\acute{s}gy'l$  appears in Sefer ha-razim, VI:14. As declared by Naveh Shaked 62, the reading of ll.3-4 "is based on Geniza 1:2 and similar texts" (cf. Naveh Shaked 216).
  - l.4: The function of the supralinear *he* above *bṭlwn* is unclear.
- l.5: By reading *nwhrh* ("his nostril"), Naveh Shaked corrected Vincent's reading and interpretation.
- l.7: Except for the word *wmn* appearing twice, the reading in this line is uncertain. If the suggested reading is correct, the client's name appears here, and as indicated by *wbnyh* ("her sons"?) the client was a female.

Bibl.: L. Vincent, RB 17, 1908, 382ff. (ed. pr.). – CIJ 2, 1185; Testa, Simbolismo 64ff.; I. Mancini, Archaeological Discoveries relative to the Judeo-Christians, 1984, 32f.; Beyer, Aramäische Texte 383 no. ggEM 1; J. Naveh - S. Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, 1985, 60-3, 216 fig. 5; Beyer, Aramäische Texte, Ergänzungsband 253 no. ggEM 1; E. Dvorjetski, ARAM 18/19, 2006/7, 13-32; id., Leisure, Pleasure and Healing, 2007, 250, 418 fig. 28; H. Eshel - R. Leiman, Journal of Ancient Judaism 1/2, 2010, 189-99; Figueras, Pagan Image 113 fig. 624.

Photo: L. Vincent, RB 17, 1908, 382 (dr.).

AY

## 3104. Greek inscribed gold leaf

A small gold leaf, 24 carat. On the left side perhaps the remains of a hanger, unless the tablet had not been originally made in the form of a tabula ansata. The artist drew a preliminary draft of the inscription (below fig. 2), but later changed his mind and wrote the text with a slightly different distribution of the letters.

Meas.: h 2.3, w 2.8 cm.

Findspot: In the vicinity of Emmaus together with some other, uninscribed gold leaves inside a sarcophagus.

ΘΑΡΣΙ ΝΙΚΟ ΜΑΧΕ

θάρσι, | Νικό|μαχε

Have courage, Nicomachus!

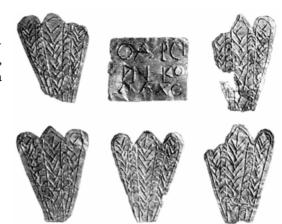


fig. 3104.1

Comm.: Benoit infers from the letter forms a date in the 2 c. AD. The use of gold leaves for funerary purposes is well known, but one should note that this type of lamella (θάρσει, N.N., οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος) is found mainly in Palestine (Kotansky; cf. nos. 3487-3494). – 1.2: The *nu* is mirrored as a result of the production process. – ll.2f. The draft has Νικόμα|χε.



fig. 3104.2

Bibl.: P. Benoit, RB 59, 1952, 253f., 256ff. no. 1 (ed. pr.). – BE 1956, 338; R. Kotansky, in: C. Faraone - D. Obbink eds., Magika Hiera, 1991, 115f.; F. Graf - S. Johnston, Ritual Texts for the Afterlife, 2nd ed., 2013, 210 no. 7.

Photo: P. Benoit, RB 59, 1952 pl. 9 no. 2, 256 no. 1 (ph. and dr.).

WA

## 3105. Fragmentary inscription on a vase

Two fragments of a terracotta vase with a handle in the form of a cross; letters on its bulge.

KEMN[--]

κ(ύρι)ε, μν[ήσθητι --]



fig. 3105

Lord, remember ...

Comm.: This kind of invocation would require a personal name, which perhaps appeared in the missing part. Therefore the inscription on the vase might not be massware.

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, RCr 17, 1883, 193 no. 3 (ed. pr.). – id., PEQ 16, 1884, 190; M. Schiffers, Amwas, das Emmaus des hl. Lukas, 1890, 230f.

Photo: C. Clermont-Ganneau, RCr 17, 1883, 193 (dr.).

WA

## 3106. Greek inscription on fragment of a bowl

A fragment of the wall and bottom of a bowl; one letter and a horned cross still visible.

Findspot: Locus 2226, Basket 2825; found in front of a cave (Locus 2225), said to be in Stratum VII, which is dated to the 6 c. AD (Fleckenstein 306).

A (cross) [.]

 $A[\Omega]$ 

Alpha - Omega.



fig. 3106

Comm.: The stratum is said to date to the 6 c. AD, whereas the bowl is dated to the 2-4 c. AD (Fleckenstein 331). Neither the remaining *alpha* nor the inscription itself seem possible at such an early date, but the bowl may have been in use for a long time, i.e. the inscription was added later.

Bibl.: K. Fleckenstein - L. Fleckenstein, Emmaus-Nicopolis, 2010, 304, 306, 331 (ed. pr.).

Photo: K. Fleckenstein - L. Fleckenstein, Emmaus-Nicopolis, 2010, 331.

WA

#### E. Varia

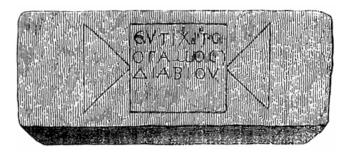
## 3107. Well-wishing for a certain Gamus

"Huge block of calcite ... apparently ... the lintel of a door" (Conder - Kitchener); the inscription is written inside a tabula ansata.

Meas.: w 1.4 m.

Findspot: "aux alentours immédiats du village," where a number of larger buildings were plundered for stones (Clermont-Ganneau).

ΕΥΤΙΧΙΤΟ ΟΓΑΜΟΣ ΔΙΑΒΙΟΥ



εύτυχίτο | ὁ Γάμος | διὰ βίου

fig. 3107

Let Gamus have good luck throughout his whole life.

Comm.: l.1: Last letter *epsilon* or *omicron*; εὐτιχῖτ[ε]=εὐτυχεῖτε Clermont-Ganneau; instead: εὐτυχείτω. – l.2: "Nomen proprium recognovit Wilh(elm)," SEG; cf. e.g. M. Segre, Iscrizioni di Cos II 2007, 29 EF 111: Γάμου τοῦ Γάμου, ἐτῶν ιδ', C. Welles, in: C. Kraeling, Gerasa, 1938, no. 74: Γάμου ἄρχοντος; IGLS 15,1, 40f. (Sahr); 16, 920 (Saleh).

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 14, 1882, 35ff. (ed. pr.). – Id., AMSL 9, 1882, 307; id., RCr 8, 1883, 144; id., AMSL 11, 1885, 212; Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea 80f.; Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 428 no. 3; SEG 8, 160.

Photo: C. Clermont-Ganneau, AMSL 11, 1885, 212 (dr.).

WA

## F. Fragments

## 3108. Greek marble fragment mentioning a bishop

Fragment of marble.

```
[--]ΕΟΦΙΛ[--]
[--]ΟΥΕΠΙΣΚΟ[--]
[--]NOEM[--]
```

[-- θ]εοφιλ[εστάτου --|--]ου ἐπισκό[που --|-- μηνὶ] Νοεμ[βρί $\omega$  --]

... of the most God-loving ... bishop ... in the month of November ...

Comm.: The inscription was classified as a funerary inscription, but without a photograph (or the report of an archaeological context) this cannot be verified, since donations and benefactions were dated as well. – 11.1f.: [θ]εοφιλ[εστάτου καὶ ἁγιωτάτ]ου?

Bibl.: Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 429 no. 8 (ed. pr.). - SEG 8, 151.

## 3109. Fragment with Latin words, probably from a military context

Limestone fragment, broken on all sides; with guidelines. Meas: w 30 cm.

Findspot: Acquired by Clermont-Ganneau in the village of Kubab near Emmaus around 1873. "Vincent and Abel assume that these [i.e. the present inscription and no. 3110] came originally from Emmaus-Nicopolis which is only 5 km. away, but we do not want to exclude the possibility that they were found in situ, since Qubab itself is an ancient site" (Fischer - Isaac - Roll).

$$[--]$$
  $c(o)ho(rtis/e) ++[--]--]ARVN+[--]$ 

... of the cohort ... or ... in the cohort ...

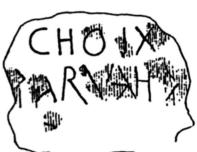


fig. 3109

Comm.: A *cohors* seems to be mentioned; the signs after CHO are unclear; Clermont-Gan-

neau wrote the number IX; in the CIL the signs are interpreted as CHORT; whether the letters refer to a legionary or an auxiliary cohors cannot be determined. At Emmaus-Nicopolis the *legio V Macedonica* and two cohorts are attested in inscriptions; for the legion see nos. 3094-3097; and for the cohorts see nos. 3092, 3098. – 1.2: ARUNL CIL and Vincent - Abel; PARU Fischer - Isaac - Roll.

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 84 (ed. pr.). – CIL 3, 13588=14155.9; Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 427 no. 6; Isaac, Roman Army 635-40 at 636f. no. 4; id., Limits 428 no. 5; Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II 237 no. 1.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 84 (dr.).

WE

## 3110. Fragment of a Latin inscription

Stone fragment, broken on all sides.

Findspot: Perhaps, like no. 3109, found in Kubab near Emmaus.

[--]++++[--|-- ?Anto]nini Au[g(usti) --]



fig. 3110

Comm.: Clermont-Ganneau interpreted the unclear signs in the first line as possibly referring to the  $legio\ X$  Fretensis; he interpreted the very unclear letter F as an abbreviation for F(retensis):  $[legio]\ X$  F(retensis)  $An[toniniana\ ...]$ . But such an abbreviation is not attested in other inscriptions mentioning this legion. F=F(retensis) is only found on tiles, where the limited space forced this abbreviation. l.2: a reference to an emperor with the name Antoninus is probable. The use of the Latin language makes it likely that the fragment belongs to a military context, like other Latin inscriptions known from Emmaus and vicinity.

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 84 (ed. pr.). – CIL 3, 14155,10; Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 428 no. 7; Isaac, Roman Army 635-40 at 636f. no. 5; id., Limits 428 no. 4; Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II 237 no. 2; A. Ecker, in: J. Geiger - H. Cotton - G. Stiebel eds., Israel's Land, 2009, 219-28 at 225ff. no. 5 (Hebr.); W. Eck, ZPE 193, 2015, 261-71 at 263.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 84 (dr.).

WE

## 3111. Fragment of a Greek funerary or building inscription, AD 97/8?

Fragment of a limestone block, broken on the left and right side. The back is smooth. Meas.: h 54, w 33.5, d 24-27.5 cm; letters 6.5-7 cm.

Pres. loc.: Garden of the Trappist Monastery in Latrun. Autopsy: 30 May 2014.

[--]+AN[--] [--]ΙΑΣΑ[--] [--]ΝΟΥ+[--] [--]ΥΣΘΥ[--]

... in the year 409 ...

Comm.: If our understanding of the last line is correct, the fragment probably belonged to a funerary or a building inscription. The year 409 should refer to the Seleucid era, which is equivalent of the year AD



fig. 3111

97/8, and which would also fit its paleographical dating. In each of the three preceding lines the letters to the left represent the end of a word – probably of a name in the genitive case in l.3 – whereas the letters to the right represent the beginning of a new word, as implied by the wider spaces between.

Vincent - Abel reconstructed the text as [--] ἀν[τωνίνου αὐτοκρατορ]ίας ἀ[--]νου [-- Δρο]υσου(?), obviously influenced by the fact that Emmaus received the rank of *polis* from the Emperor Elagabalus and their own interpretation of the similarly fragmentary inscription no. 3078. The reconstruction as a whole should be rejected due to the fact that no parallels seem to exist for the word αὐτοκρατορία in l.2 in the entire epigraphic Greek thesaurus. Fleckenstein realized that in the last line there is *theta*, not *omicron*, but otherwise followed the Vincent - Abel interpretation.

Bibl.: Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 259 fig. 10 (ph.), 429f. no. 11 (ed. pr.). – SEG 8, 153; K.-H. Fleckenstein, in: Emmaus in Judäa 279-96 at 284 no. 7; W. Eck - D. Koßmann, ZPE 198, 2016, 223-38 at 237f. no. 3 fig. 3.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WE

## 3112. Fragmentary Greek inscription on marble

Fragment of white marble.

- [--]ΔΡΟΣΚΑΙ
- [--]TPAPX
- [--]ΝΠΑΣΑ
- [--]ΣENΠ



fig. 3112

[-- αν]δρος καὶ | [-- τε]τραρχ|[--]Ν πασα|[--]ς ἐν  $\Pi$ [--]

Comm.: Reading according to Germer-Durand, accepted by Vincent - Abel. – ['Aλέξαν]δρος Και[σαρείας πα]τρ<ι>άρχ[ης] Germer-Durand; [τε]τραρχ SEG. There is no indication of the date, but the 1 c. AD seems rather unlikely.

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, RCr 17, 1883, 193f. (ed. pr.). – J. Germer-Durand, RB 3, 1894, 254f.; Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 428 no. 2; SEG 8, 159.

Photo: J. Germer-Durand, RB 3, 1894, 254 (dr.).

WA

## 3113. Fragmentary Greek stone inscription

Marble fragment, finely engraved guidelines; roughly picked at the back.

Meas.: h 13.5, w 16 cm.

Pres. loc.: Louvre Museum, Paris, AO 1218.

[--]ΠΟΛ+[--] [--]ΠΑΤΙΑ[--]

[--]ΠΟΛ[--|-- Ύ]πατία [--]

Comm.: l.1: If Clermont-Ganneau's assumption  $[N\iota\kappa\sigma]\pi\sigma\lambda[--]$  is correct, the inscription dates to the 3 c. AD at the earliest. The letter forms show that it cannot date much later; the trace of the letter after lambda suggests a triangular letter. – l.2:  $[\dot{\upsilon}]\pi\alpha\tau\dot{\iota}[\alpha]$ , Clermont-Ganneau; one has a choice between a personal name and the Roman consulate. A name may be preferable due to the fact that  $\dot{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\tau\dot{\iota}(\alpha)$  is used only in dating formulas. The case cannot be determined.

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 14, 1882, 16ff. (ed. pr.). – Id., AMSL 9, 1882, 315; id., AMSL 11, 1885, 169 no. 15 (dr.); Dussaud, Louvre 81 no. 110; Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 428 no. 4; SEG 8, 161.

Photo: M. Rabeau, courtesy of Louvre Museum.



fig. 3113.1



fig. 3113.2

WA

#### 3114. Greek marble fragment

Piece of marble, writing on both sides.

Meas.: h 12, w 16 cm; letters 4 cm.

Findspot: Among "un dallage hétéroclite" of the left apsis of the basilica (Clermont-Ganneau).

(a) [--]E+E[--] [--]ZΥΓ∫ΚΑ[--]+ (b) [--]+[.]IΩN[--]

[--]YZYTʃ[--]

WINDE TERMINATION

imaimi I ω nimima

WWAY ZY GWARAWA

fig. 3114

(a) [--]E+E[--|--  $\sigma\upsilon$ ] $\langle\upsilon\gamma(--)$   $\kappa\alpha[\iota--]+$ 

(b) [--]+[.]IWN[--|--  $\sigma]$ υζυγ(--) [--]

Comm.: (a) l.1: The middle letter is *gamma* rather than *tau*, therefore Clermont-Ganneau looked for something like ἐγε[ίρε], ἐγε[ίρων] (cf. Ps 112,7 ὁ ἐγείρων ἀπὸ γῆς πτωχόν). Cf. Felle, Biblia Epigraphica 135 no. 235; index p. 523 for the use of this verse (without our text). Germer-Durand thinks of God as awaker of the dead and tries συζύγου καὶ τέκνων in l.2. Unfortunately, σύζυγος is not a very common term in these parts of the Roman Empire, but one can quote the NT for it.

(b) l.1: [άγ]ίων? Clermont-Ganneau; Germer-Durand thinks of a formula like [εἰς κόλπους τῶν ἁγ]ίων [πατέρων].

In both cases we do not know what kind of inscription is represented by these fragments. Are they funerary texts? Or do they record donations? For instance, ἐγένετο ὑπὲρ ... καὶ ... συζυγ(--) καὶ ...?

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 14, 1882, 35ff. (ed. pr.). – Id., AMSL 9, 1882, 305ff.; Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea 80; J. Germer-Durand, RB 3, 1894, 255f.; Vincent - Abel, Emmaüs 428 no. 1; SEG 8, 158.

Photo: C. Clermont-Ganneau, AMSL 9, 1882, 306 (dr.).

WA

## 3115. Marble fragment with Greek inscription

Fragment of yellowish marble.

Meas.: d 3 cm; letters 3 cm.

Findspot: "Fragment qui aurait été trouvé à 'Amouas (Emmaus-Nicopolis)" (Clermont-Ganneau).

Pres. loc.: Musée du couvent de Saint-Sauveur, Jerusalem (Clermont-Ganneau).

[--]+A[--|--]+ΩΝΠ[--|--]φίας Ε[--]

Comm.: l.3: The last letter could be a *theta* too.

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, CRAI 1903, 482 no. 6; id., RAO 6, 1905, 184 no. 6 (edd. prr.).

Photo: C. Clermont-Ganneau, CRAI 1903, 482 (dr.).



fig. 3115

WA

## LIV. Aialon (mod. Yalu)

## 3116. Greek letters on marble plate

Marble; rectangular plate, corners rounded; back smooth; worked on all sides; on the back a stylized figure like a three-barred *sigma*.

Meas.: h 21.5, w ca. 39.5, d 3.2 cm; letters 2.5-3 cm.

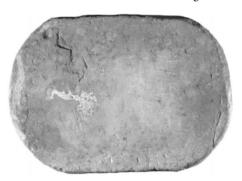
Findspot: "Burg bei Ajjalon" (Euting), which most likely means Aialon III (Yalu; see TIR p. 59 [lit.]; Guérin, Judée I, 1864, 290, describing Yalu, notes: "Au sommet de la colline, on remarque les débris d'un petit château en belles pierres de taille"). Pres. loc.: Formerly Collection Ustinov, Jaffa; today in the Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C41681. Autopsy: 4. August 2003 (JJP).

#### ΣΑΙΚΠΡΣ



fig. 3116.1

Comm.: Euting wrongly thought it to be a brick with a stamp; no sense can be made of the string of letters, even if taken to be a list of abbreviations.



Bibl.: Euting 686 no. 85 pl. 12 (ed. pr.).

fig. 3116.2

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of University Museum of Cultural Heritage – University of Oslo.

## LV. el-Qubeibe (Parva Mahomeria)

#### Introduction

The site of el-Qubeibe (Parva Mahomeria) lies on one of the roads from the plain to Jerusalem. It has attracted much attention from archaeologists because of the tradition from the 13 c. which has identified this place with Emmaus in Luke 24,13. The excavations lie in the grounds of the Franciscan monastery, surrounded by pine and olive trees which produce a somewhat misleading impression that the site is naturally well-watered, whereas in fact the nearest spring is deep down in the wadi to the north.

## **Literary Sources**

The first reference to el-Qubeibe is found in a privilege of Amalric V, from 1164, referring to a village named Parva Mahomeria with a church, in the territory of Betsurieh (Beit Suriq). The place is called "the Little" to distinguish it from "the Major Mahomeria" (el-Bireh). A document of 1169 describes it as "a village built by the church and settled by the Latins."

The first traveller to refer to this place is Benjamin of Tudela (1170) who travelled from Nabi Samwil three parasangs to "Mahomerie le petit which is Giv'at Shaul, where there are no Jews there and this is Gibeah of Benjamin. Thence three parasangs to Beit Nuba."<sup>3</sup>

There can be little doubt that the "Parva Mahomeria" refers to el-Qubeibe.<sup>4</sup> "Mahomeria" is a term for a Muslim sanctuary, an appropriate rendering of "Qubeibe" (the little cupolas).<sup>5</sup> The location fits: a site between Nabi Samwil, Beit Suriq and Beit Inan, with a church. The alternative site, Biddu, may have been occupied in the Crusader period, but no church has been seen there. According to a document from 1159, Mahomeriola bordered on Beit Inan, which is true for Qubeibe and not for Biddu. More important, Biddu as such is never mentioned in medieval sources, while the name Qubeibe, in some form or other, is attested and alternates, but never occurs together, with that of Parva Mahomeria. "Parva Mahomeria" oc-

<sup>1</sup> E. Rozière, Cartulaire de l'Eglise du Saint Sépulcre de Jérusalem, 1849 no. 144 (p. 263). Further references: B. Bagatti, I monumenti di Emmaus el-Qubeibeh e dei dintorni, 1947, 3f.; for the possible identification of Parva Mahomeria with Qubeibe, ibid., 185ff.

<sup>2</sup> Rozière (n.1) no. 167 (p. 303); similarly: no. 166 (p. 298 from 1170).

<sup>3</sup> Benjamin of Tudela, ed. Adler, p. 27 (43).

<sup>4</sup> See the convincing arguments by F.-M. Abel, RB 35, 1926, 272-83 esp. 275ff. Bagatti (n.1) 185ff., is doubtful and tends to consider Biddu a suitable candidate.

<sup>5</sup> References in R. Röhricht, Regesta regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII-MCCXCI), 1893, 502.

curs in documents from 1159, 1164, and in a text referring to 1170. The name Qubeibe is found in various texts of the subsequent period.<sup>6</sup>

After the expulsion of the Crusaders from Jerusalem and the Judaean mountains in 1244 the el-Qubeibe road became the only one that Christian pilgrims were allowed to use. This resulted in a shift of several traditional identifications of holy places, among them Emmaus of the book of Luke. Hitherto identified with Abu Ghosh and 'Imwas, it was now sought at the ruined el-Qubeibe while Abu Ghosh now came to be identified with Anatoth. The first author who clearly refers to el-Qubeibe as Emmaus is an anonymous pilgrim in 1280: "Et de yleqe à Rames, là où seint George fust martirizé, iiii liwes; e d'ileqe à Emaüs, là où Ihesu parla ou Cleophas, e le conust par fraccion de pain. E de yleque à Montioie, ii liwes …"

It is then regularly mentioned by travellers who refer to it as "Emmaus," some of them describe it as a place in ruins, e.g. Ludolph (1336): "Not far from Shiloh is Emmaus, once a fair city, but now deserted, where Jesus appeared to his disciples after his resurrection. This city is now called Nicopolis. Near Emmaus on the right-hand, once stood two very famous cities, now deserted – to wit, Gibeon and Ajalon ..." In the 16 c. the road through Abu Ghosh was again used more frequently than the road through Qubeibe, for obvious reasons, the latter being notoriously bad and unsafe. 9

These, then, are the literary sources. It will be clear by now that they provide no basis for the identification with Emmaus of the Roman period, even though this is still claimed by the Franciscans. The village of Qubeibe came to be identified with Emmaus only because it lies at roughly the correct distance from Jerusalem on the road in use after the Crusades, i.e. at 75 stades from the city.

### **Archaeological Exploration**

In the 19 c. the site was briefly described by Guérin, by Conder - Kitchener and by Clermont-Ganneau, who published a plan of the church and investigated the Crusader masons' marks.<sup>11</sup> Because of the special interest it aroused the site was

<sup>6</sup> See Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II, 237ff.

<sup>7</sup> H. Michelant - G. Raynaud, Itinéraires à Jérusalem et descriptions de la Terre Sainte rédigés en français aux XI<sup>e</sup>, XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, 1882, 229: "Pelrinages et pardouns de Acre."

<sup>8</sup> Ludolphi de Itinere Terrae Sanctae Liber, ed. F. Deycks, 1851, 92f.; English translation, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1895, 122. Full testimonia ap. Bagatti (n.1) 3-32.

<sup>9</sup> For instance, the Anonymous Voyage de la Saincte Cyté de Hierusalem, ed. C. Schefer, 1882, 68.

<sup>10</sup> Note the full title of Bagatti's otherwise excellent book: I monumenti di Emmaus el-Qubeibeh e dei dintorni, and see in particular ibid. 184, where the identification is not rejected.

<sup>11</sup> Guérin, Judée 1, 348-61; Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea 130f.; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP I 475-8. Full bibliography: Bagatti (n.1) 45f.; cf. C. Enlart, Les monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem 2, 1928, 329-35.

among the first excavated in Palestine. Naturally these investigations were carried out with the primitive techniques of the times and without an understanding of modern dating methods. The first explorations were undertaken in 1862 by the Marquise Paolina de Nicolay who had purchased the site; a brief note on her finds is cited by Bagatti. These activities were further pursued in 1873-5, 1887-90, and 1898-1902. The latter campaign preceded the reconstruction of the mediaeval church, but unfortunately failed to take the opportunity of clarifying the date of the so-called "casa" or "House of Cleophas," an older feature laid out on an alignment different from that of the church.

In the years 1940-43 the Italian Franciscans were interned in the monastery. They passed the time with further excavations under the direction of Bagatti, published in his extensive report in 1947. This study includes a collection of the sources related to the site and a valuable report on the sites and roads in the vicinity. The report on the excavations discusses (1) the church, (2) the remains of the village, (3) the castle or *curia* with the tower. This is followed by a full description of small finds: pottery, glass, metal, stone, and coins. What follows is based on Bagatti's report.

## Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Remains

In the northern aisle of the Crusader church foundations of an older structure were discovered, designated "the house." The alignment of its walls is slightly different from that of the church. The walls are 1.80 m thick and consist of two faces with filling. In the southern wall there is a base of what was probably a pilaster for an arch which must have divided the structure into two parts, the eastern half being higher and paved with a mosaic floor. According to Bagatti white tesserae were found in levels destroyed by the construction of the Crusader church.

Some of the other structures from the Crusader period also contain earlier remains: see Plan 41f. rooms 34-38, discussed on p. 89f. These have thinner walls (90-95 cm) which, unlike the Crusader walls, are built with mortar and pebbles. Near the doors of rooms 34 and 35 segments of arches were seen. Rooms 30-33 were found under the Arab and Crusader remains. They contained pottery and coins of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, but these were not stratigraphically separated. A nozzle of a "Herodian" lamp (ph. 48,6) is noteworthy, as are fragments of dishes of "Late Roman" ware (ph. 48,10 and 12), dating to the 5 c. AD. Of a total of 281 coins, 42 (i.e. 14%) date from the period between the 3 c. BC and the

<sup>12</sup> Bagatti (n.1) 38.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 38-41.

<sup>14</sup> Bagatti (n.1) 41 cites a note from the excavators which is not helpful.

<sup>15</sup> Bagatti (n.1) 82f.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. 101 pl. 22 ph. 48,1-13.

5 c. AD:<sup>17</sup> There are 3 Hellenistic coins, 10 Hasmonaean, 2 Early Roman, 1 coin of the First Revolt, 4 Roman coins, 12 Late Roman, and 10 Byzantine.

Other remains include stone fragments. Some of these, as published by Bagatti, antedate the Crusaders and belong to the Byzantine period. A marble fragment, said to be from Qubeibe, comes from a screen consisting of a frieze with stylized garlands with columnettes with capitals of the Corinthian order. Definitely from Qubeibe are an entire Corinthian capital and a fragment of another, possibly from the 5 c., <sup>18</sup> fragments of chancel screens (ph. 10,6); and a marble fragment with an inscription. <sup>19</sup>

It seems likely that the pre-Crusader remains at Qubeibe, particularly rooms 34-8, are Byzantine, although earlier periods are attested.

#### The Architectural Remains

These consist of two public buildings: the church and the "curia" (administrative centre), with adjacent tower and two rows of dwellings. The entire settlement is systematically laid out, being built on either side of the paved road.<sup>20</sup> The planning is more typical of contemporary European settlements than of the Near East.

#### Conclusions

While there is some archaeological evidence indicative of occupation in the Hellenistic and Roman period this does not suffice to establish the nature and precise date of the site. The tradition that this was the Emmaus of the book of Luke belongs entirely to the middle ages and has no basis in fact. Byzantine remains are better defined: foundations, installations, fragments of architecture, pottery and coins. C. Schick, PEQ 33, 1901, 111, even claimed that the Crusaders restored a Byzantine church, but this cannot be confirmed.

The major period of occupation was that of the Crusader village, a planned settlement with a church and administrative centre, which is attested in literary sources. Following the expulsion of the Latins from the area the settlement was not immediately abandoned, but because of a lack of stratigraphical evidence it is hard to trace the transition between Crusader and Mameluke occupation. This may be further complicated by the fact, known from literary sources, that there was a brief

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. 161-77.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., pl. 6 ph. 10,3-4.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., ph. 10, 11; already published by C. Clermont-Ganneau, CRAI, 1903, 482 no. 7; id., RAO 6, 185 no. 7. Below, no. 3117.

<sup>20</sup> Bagatti (n.1), pls. 41f. (plans); description of the excavations in ch. III; brief description and comments by M. Benvenisti, The Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1970, 224-7.

return to Crusader control between 1241 and 1244. In the 14 c. the settlement was certainly abandoned but remained "Emmaus" to the pilgrims who followed the road to Jerusalem from Beit Nuba.

ΒI

## **Inscriptions**

## 3117. A string of Latin letters which does not yield any sense

"A fellah of Abu Gosh ... has brought me a rough copy, made by himself, of an inscription at El Kubeibeh." (Clermont-Ganneau).

CIIOIXI ARV II

Comm.: The text given here follows Clermont-Ganneau, who wrote: "Difficult to get anything out of this."

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 6, 1874, 135-78 at 159 (ed. pr.).

WE

## 3118. Fragmentary Greek inscription

"Pierre dure" (Clermont-Ganneau). Meas.: w ca. 23, d 5 cm; letters 4 cm. Pres. loc.: SBF Museum, Jerusalem (Bagatti).

[--]ŅΟΥ[--] [--]ΩNEN[--] [--]++O[--]



fig. 3118.1

Comm.: l.2:  $[\tau]$ ῶν ἐν, [--, κατοίκ]ων ἐν[--], [γέγ]ωνεν etc. – l.3: "il circolo di un O piccolo posto in alto o più probabilmente l'occhio di P, poi la parte superiore di un Λ ο Δ ο A quindi O. Il Clermont-Ganneau lesse il terzo rigo: metà di Φ e DΛO ma il confronto con l'originale mostra che la sua lettura è errata" (Bagatti). Comparing Clermont-Ganneau's drawing with Bagatti's photograph one gets the impression that the fragment suffered further damage at the bottom in the course of time.

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, CRAI 1903, 482 no. 7 (ed. pr.). – Id., RAO 6, 1905, 185 no. 7; B. Bagatti, I monumenti di Emmaus el-Qubeibeh e dei dintorni 1947, 154.



fig. 3118.2

Photo: B. Bagatti, I monumenti di Emmaus el-Qubeibeh e dei dintorni, 1947 pl. 6 ph. 10 no. 11; C. Clermont-Ganneau, CRAI 1903, 482 (dr.).

# LVI. Megharat el-Jai

## 3119. Inscription on mosaic

"Monastic complex; traces of buildings; chapel with mosaic pavement and inscription; anchorite cells; cisterns; Chal basalt vessels; cave" (Greenberg - Keinan). No further details or photograph are available.

Bibl.: HA-ESI 110, 1999, 56\*f.; Greenberg - Keinan 2009, 72 no. 363.

WA

### LVII. Khan Saliba

#### 3120. Greek mosaic inscription mentioning Abbot Paulus

The inscription is set in the narrow strip of white tesserae separating the ornamented mosaic carpet from the walls, at the eastern side of the room; the text is to be read "en passant du locus 4 dans le locus 2" (Prignaud). Black tesserae were used for the letters.

Meas.: band of writing: h 12 cm, w 2.65 m; letters 7-9 cm.

Findspot: Ruins of the ancient monastery at Khan Saliba, Room 4 (for detailed description, see ed. pr.).



fig. 3120

#### (palm branch) $E\Pi ITO \Upsilon\Theta EO\Phi \Pi PE\Sigma B KH FO \Upsilon M \PiA \Upsilon \Lambda O \Upsilon E FENETO TO E P FON$

ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφ(ιλεστάτου) πρεσβ(υτέρου) κ(αὶ) ἡγουμ(ένου) Παύλου ἐγένετο τὸ ἔργον

The work was executed under the most God-loving priest and Abbot Paulus.

Comm.: 5 or 6 c. AD. Some editions put the abbreviated text in square brackets; on priests and abbots, cf. no. 2669.

Bibl.: J. Prignaud, RB 70, 1963, 243-54 at 251f. (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, Sacred Names 194 no. 978, 244 no. 1222; Ovadiah, MPI 91 no. 147; Madden, Corpus 97f. no. 133.

Photo: J. Prignaud, RB 70, 1963 pl. 9c.

WA

# LVIII. Iohannis Baptistae Ecclesia (mod. Qasr el-Yahud)

#### 3121. Greek mason's marks

Two stones with mason's marks.

(a) A(b) XΔ(?)



fig. 3121.1 (a)

Comm.: The second stone displays an X connected at the bottom by a horizontal line, thus forming a monogram of *chi* and *delta*, but this is quite uncertain. It could also be merely a sign with no letters involved. On mason's marks in general, cf. the introduction to nos. 3404-3425.

Bibl.: A. Sussman - D. Strauss, Atiqot 9, 1989, 21f. (Hebr.).

Photo: A. Sussman - D. Strauss, Atiqot 9, 1989, 22 figs. 8, 9.



fig. 3121.2 (b)

EDD

#### LIX. Beit Surik

#### 3122. Greek mosaic inscription

Mosaic inscription in a tabula ansata (a leaf or a cup at the left ansa); black letters on a white background, with a row of red tesserae between the lines. The somewhat unusual ligatures and the lack of organization (the lines do not seem to end with words or syllables) make a reconstruction difficult.

Meas.: h 100, w 120 cm (tabula); space between lines 13 cm.

Findspot: "À mi-côte entre la bourgade et la fontaine" (Vincent); the completely recovered mosaic was destroyed a few days after its discovery; the entire middle part is missing. The orientation of the mosaic is said to have conformed to the orientation of a church. Three or four drums or small columns and some other rather rudely executed architectural ornaments ("moulures" Vincent) were found there as well. Bagatti saw, in 1943, a Corinthian capital (see his pl. 31,2) and the "bottom part of a bronze chandelier coming from this church (20 cm diameter at base, 13 cm high up to the shaft, thickness of the metal: 2 mm), that was brought to the Flagellation Museum" (Bagatti, Samaria).

(cross) EΠΙΤΟΥ[--]ΨΑΝΟΥΔ IAKO[--]+ $\dot{A}$ N A[--]  $\dot{\Sigma}$ E+[--] ZΩ+[--] ΠΚΕΚΟΥ+[--] ΑΝΕΡΓΟΝ+[--]



fig. 3122

έπὶ τοῦ [--]ΨΑΝΟΥ δ|ιακό[νου --]+ΑΝ|Α[--]|∫Ε+[--]|ΖΩ+[--]|ΠΚΕΚΟΥ+[-- τὸ π]|ᾶν ἔργον ἐ[τελειώθη]

*Under* ... the deacon ... the whole work (i.e. the whole mosaic) was finished.

Comm.: Clermont-Ganneau believes that the paleography dated the inscription to the early 6 c. AD, whereas Di Segni (DGI) attributes the letter form (especially the delta in l.1 and the ligatures) to the 8 c. Cf. comm. on ll.5f. – l.1: [--]ψ (?) ανουσι (?) Vincent. – l.2: Ἰακ(ω), i.e. "le débris d'un nom propre comme Ἰακώβου" (Vincent). ll.1f.: ἐπὶ τοῦ [-- ἐπι]φανοῦς Ἰακώ[βου] BE; [Στε]φάνου δ|ιακό[ν(ου)] Clermont-Ganneau; [--]ψανου δ|ιακό[νου] Meimaris, Sacred Names (his assessment "the inscription is damaged but indicates that the term was given in complete form" is per-

haps somewhat too confident); [Στε]φάν(ου) δ[ιακό[ν(ου)] Meimaris, Chronological Systems. – ll.2f.: ἀν|α[γνώστου] Clermont-Ganneau. – l.4: Vincent takes the abbreviation mark to be (καί), but it might refer to the last letters of l.3. The first letter might be an epsilon, but theta is not excluded. - l.5: Third letter omicron, omega or *omicron-upsilon* in ligature, Vincent; lunar *sigma* is not impossible: Zωσ[ίμου] Clermont-Ganneau. – ll.5f.: [ἐν ἔ] |τι κε' κ(υρίου) 'Α[ναστασίου] ? (i.e. 516 AD) Clermont-Ganneau, who writes: "le protocole impérial est un peu maigre; on voudrait, au moins, ἡμῶν; mais je ne vois pas la possibilité matérielle de placer ce mot. La sécheresse de la formule tiendrait-elle à ce que l'empereur Anastase, eutychien enragé, était peu en odeur de sainteté auprès des orthodoxes qui dominaient à Jerusalem, et dans la région"? Feissel has very strong doubts that this date (according to him: 514 AD) can be correct; dating formulas according to the reign of the current emperor were introduced only in 537 AD, and Di Segni (DGI) reminds us that the Christian emperors were not κύριοι ἡμῶν, but δεσπόται ἡμῶν. Since mentioning any, even a monophysite, emperor without the proper protocol was surely impossible, she rightly rejects Clermont-Ganneau's interpretation and toys with [ἐν ἔ]|τι κε' κ(υρί)ου ά[ρχιεπισκόπου], but admits, again rightly, that this is unlikely to "offer a minimum of credibility." - l.6: After the epsilon a triangle of red cubes, acting perhaps as a word-divider; ΚΟΥΛ Vincent. – l.7: Vincent believes that the lacuna contained a date; suppl. Clermont-Ganneau.

Bibl.: L. Vincent, RB 10, 1901, 445f. (ed. pr.). – Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 5, 1902, 46ff. (dr.); M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 2, 1933, 149 no. 27 (repr. in: id., Art in Ancient Palestine, 1981, 296 no. 27; Avi-Yonah gives Vincent's and Clermont-Ganneau's text); SEG 8, 239 (relying on Avi-Yonah and Alt, but giving Clermont-Ganneau's text); B. Bagatti, I monument di Emmaus el-Qubeibeh e dei dintorni, 1947, 212; Meimaris, Sacred Names 166 no. 819; Meimaris, Chron. Systems 378 no. 102 (following Clermont-Ganneau); DGI 647f. no. 223\* (dr.). – Cf. C. Wilson, PEQ 33, 1901, 422; A. Baumstark, Oriens Christianus 1, 1901, 423; J. Stryzygowski, ByzZ 11, 1902, 276; BE 1903 p. 103; R. Horning, ZDPV 32, 1909, 130; A. Alt, Pjb 30, 1934, 75f.; B. Bagatti, Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria, 1979, 93f., pl. 31,2; Ovadiah, Corpus Suppl. 3, 129f.; D. Feissel, Ktema 18, 1993, 175 n.23; Bagatti, Samaria 113; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 21f., fig. 170,3; Madden, Corpus 30f. no. 28.

Photo: L. Vincent, RB 10, 1901, 446 (dr.).

WA

#### 3123. Fragment of a chancel screen(?) with remains of a Greek inscription

"Un frammento di pluteo in pietra che ha la fine dell'iscrizione ..." (ed. pr.). Meas.: d 7 cm; letter 4 cm.

Findspot: According to Bagatti, the fragment was seen along with a Corinthian capital and fragments of columns at the site where the mosaic with inscription

no. 3122 had been found (for the capital and columns, cf. Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 21).

[--]Y (cross)

Bibl.: B. Bagatti, I monumenti di Emmaus el-Qubeibeh e dei dintorni 1947, 213.

DK

# LX. Bethagla (mod. Qasr Ḥajle)

#### 3124.-3126. Rock caves with hermit cells

3.5 km southwest of Deir Ḥajleh, a group of caves were found which seem to have been used by hermits.

#### 3124. Greek graffiti in a cave

"Cave no. 2 is a fifteen meter long rock-cut tunnel ... The south end ... forms a chamber (2x4 m, height ca. 2.5 m) probably used for habitation, with an 0.8 m wide opening to the outside. In its eastern wall is a 'prayer-niche' – it has three crosses carved in the wall next to it and is flanked by small crosses" (Patrich - Arubas 62). The inscriptions were carved into the rock-cut wall.

Pres. loc.: In situ.

#### (a) ΤΟΥΤΟΣΠΟΥΔΗΣΙΟΑΝΗΣ

- (b) "The name Ioannes, which is incised also on the western jamb of the entrance" (ed. pr.).
- (c) "One cross is flanked by the Greek letters A and  $\Omega$ " (ibid.).
- (d) ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ
- (a) τοῦτο σπουδῆς Ἰοάνης
- (b) Ἰοάννης
- (c) ἄ(λφα) ὧ (μέγα)
- (d) Χριστός
- (a) This was done by the zeal of Ioanes.
- (b) *Ioannes*
- (c) Alpha Omega.
- (d) Christ.

Comm.: (a) and (b) seem likely to belong to the same inscription. (a) For the use of σπουδῆς without ἐκ or διά cf. nos. 2674, 3197 (d); IGLS 21,2, 7: σπουδῆς καὶ καμάτων Σα[--]; SEG 7, 1129: καὶ σπουδῆς Γεωργίου.

Bibl.: J. Patrich - B. Arubas - B. Agur, in: F. Manns - E. Alliata eds., Early Christianity in Context, 1993, 277, 281 fig. 5 (plan) (ed. pr.). – J. Patrich - B. Arubas, ESI 13, 1993, 61-4 (=HA 100, 19ff. [Hebr.]); SEG 43, 1049.1; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 64, 66.

#### 3125. Greek invocation incised in the wall of a cave

This inscription was found on the eastern wall of Cave 3, Room 2; to its right-hand side there are three crosses. The rock had to be smoothed down in order to write the inscription and draw the crosses; a vertical line drawn to the left of the inscription serves as border. The edges of the letters were "marked by a tiny drill, made by means of a pontile" (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: In situ.

ΘΣΒΟ ΗΘΙ ΙΛΑΣΘΗ ΤΙΑΜΗΝ

θ(εό)ς, βο|ήθι, ίλάσθη|τι- ἀμήν

God, help; have mercy. Amen.

Comm.: The diplomatic reading follows the ed. pr. The only available photograph does not permit a revision of the reading. Accord-

ing to Patrich - Arubas 63f. the cave was in use during the 6 c. AD and abandoned in the early 7 c. AD. The letters, so far as they can be made out, could belong to an even earlier date. Cf. MAMA 5, 310 (Nakoleia): ἱλάσθητι τῶν ἀμαρ(τιῶν); SEG 57, 879f. (Lilybaion; two dipinti with identical text): ὁ



fig. 3125.1

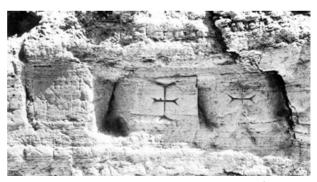


fig. 3125.2

 $\theta(\epsilon \delta)$ ς, ἱλάσθετι ἡμῆν τοῖς ἁμαρτολοῖς (but the ἀμήν in the inscription here is reported as certain); SEG 58, 1498 (Aizanoi):  $\theta \epsilon \delta \varsigma \epsilon i \lambda \alpha \sigma \theta$ [--]. – Around the two crosses on the right side of the cave wall further single letters seem visible.

Bibl.: J. Patrich - B. Arubas - B. Agur, in: F. Manns - E. Alliata eds., Early Christianity in Context, 1993, 284f. (ed. pr.). – SEG 43, 1049.2; R. Milman Baron, SCI 13, 1994, 154 no. 23. – Cf. J.

Patrich - B. Arubas, ESI 13, 1993, 61-4 (=HA 100, 19ff. [Hebr.]); Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 64, 66.

Photo: J. Patrich - B. Arubas - B. Agur, in: F. Manns - E. Alliata eds., Early Christianity in Context, 1993 fig. 10.

WA

### 3126. Illegible inscription

"At the entrance to corridor 8 [of Cave 3], on its western wall, there are two crosses incised and surrounded by circles of 15 and 30 cm. in diameter, with smaller crosses between the arms. A third cross, without a circle, is well incised nearby. We also discerned in this part of the corridor a frame of a tabula ansata, with a large cross at its left end. The inscription is illegible" (Patrich - Arubas - Agur).

Bibl.: J. Patrich - B. Arubas - B. Agur, in: F. Manns - E. Alliata eds., Early Christianity in Context. Monuments and Documents, 1993, 284f.; J. Patrich - B. Arubas, ESI 13, 1993, 61-4 (=HA 100, 19ff. [Hebr.]); Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 64, 66.

WA

# LXI. Bab el-Oued (Sha'ar Hagai)

### 3127. Greek inscription for the salvation of benefactors

Limestone stele, roughly smoothed on the front; almost no work was done on the back. Above the inscribed field there is a round medallion, almost worn out (a head? "l'inscription est surmontée d'une rosace dégradée, qui renfermait peut-être une croix" [Germer-Durand]) and the inscription is hardly readable today. Letters carved in relief, lines divided by carved margin lines.

Meas.: h 1.37, w 62, d 50 cm; inscribed field: h 17, w 47.5 cm; letters 4 cm.

Findspot: On the route from Jaffa to Jerusalem at Shaʿar Hagai interchange of modern highway no. 1, ca. 4 km southeast of Emmaus/Nicopolis. See Fischer - Isaac - Roll, pl. 16,27 for a photograph of the findspot.

Pres. loc.: Trappist monastery, Latrun. Autopsy: 30 May 2014 (WE).

(cross) ΥΠΕΡΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ ΚΕΒΟΘΙΑΣΤΩΝΚΟ ΠΗΩΝΤΩΑΜΗΝ



fig. 3127.1

ύπὲρ σωτηρίας | κὲ βο<η>θίας τῶν κο|πηώντω(ν). ἀμήν

For the salvation and help for those who struggle. Amen.

Comm.: l.2: "Les deux lettres O et Θ paraissent réunies par un trait qui formerait l'H qui manque"; βο(η)θείας Germer-Durand.

– ll.2f.: Germer-Durand refers us to Mt 11,28: δεῦτε πρός με πάντες κοπιῶντες, (cf. e.g. no. 3166) but Clermont-Ganneau rightly reminds us of expressions like ἐκ τῶν



fig. 3127.2

κόπων (cf. no. 2675). The idea is present in Ps 24,18: ἐδὲ τὴν ταπείνωσίν μου καὶ τὸν κόπον μου καὶ ἄφες πάσας τὰς ἁμαρτίας μου (used in inscriptions in Cyprus, Felle, Biblia epigraphica 106 no. 146). – l.3: "le second ω, commencé en onciale se termine par une forme anguleuse qui peut représenter le N absent" Germer-Durand.

– The inscription was made for the salvation of those who gave, most likely not to "the church" (Germer-Durand, followed by Leclercq, Bagatti and Moralee), but for the building or decoration of *a* particular church.



Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, RB 3, 1894, 256f. (ed. pr.). – Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 5, 1902, 185; H. Leclercq, DACL 13, 1937, 831; B. Bagatti, SBF 3, 1952/3, 135 no. 44; id., Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria, 1979, 146; Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II 125 no. 11; Bagatti, Samaria 177; J. Moralee, For Salvation's Sake, 2004, 256 no. 358.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; J. Germer-Durand, RB 3, 1894, 256 (dr.).

fig. 3127.3

WA

# LXII. Khan el-Aḥmar (mod. Mishor Adumim)

#### 3128.-3138. Monastery of St. Euthymius

The site of Khan el Ahmar lies today in the center of the Mishor Adumim industrial area. The monastery is identified as the one founded by Euthymius of Melitene, one of the fathers of Iudean Desert monasticism. This is based mainly on the topographical description given by his biographer Cyril of Scythopolis and the accounts of Orthodox pilgrims visiting the place in the Middle Ages. Born in 377, Euthymius came to the Holy Land in 405 and, after living at various places, finally established a laura in 428 (Cyril of Scythopolis, v. Euthymii 23,26; 27,10; 48,5) where he lived until his death in 473. Afterwards, the monastery became a coenobium. and the consecration of its new church by the Bishop of Jerusalem took place on May 7, 482 (v. Euthymii 66,15-17). The monastery was heavily damaged by an earthquake in 659 and rebuilt subsequently. It continued into the early Islamic period. Having been abandoned, as recorded by

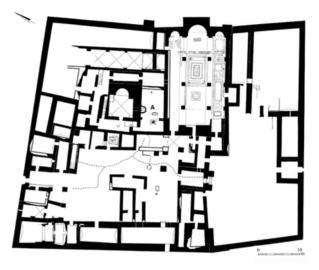


fig. 3128.A Ground plan, Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 58 fig. 194,1

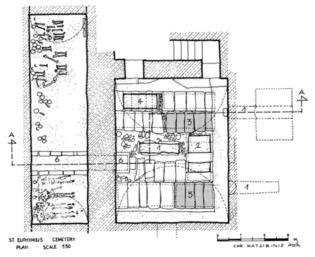
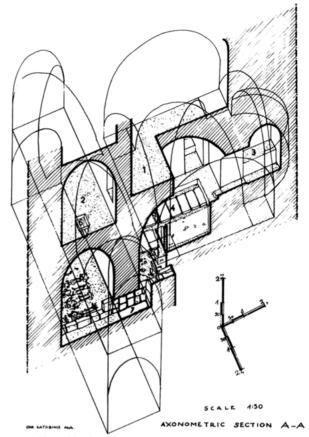


fig. 3128.B Ground plan of the cemetery, C. Katsibinis, in: Meimaris, Euthymios, fig. 41

a Russian pilgrim visiting the site in 1107, the monastery witnessed a short revival in the late 12 c. AD.

Excavations at the site were carried out periodically between the late 1920s and 2000. They exposed a facility of 65x54 m enclosed by a wall with the entrance gate in the north, containing a variety of buildings and structures arranged around a courtyard (cf. plans figs. A-C). The complex had a number of building phases. The monastery may have been established inside a Late Roman fortress, but the extant remains of the most part belong to the restorations after the earthquake in the late 7 c. or early 8 c. AD and later up to the 12 c. AD. Extensive restauration and construction took place in the 12 c. in the east wing of the monastery and the basilical church (25.5x14 m). The wall surrounding the facility was



- 1. Floor of the chapel
- 2. Corridor west of the chapel
- 3. Tombs N.E. of the main burial chamber
- 4. Level of the tombstones in the main burial chamber
- 5. Level of the western burial chamber
- 6. Ventilation and light window
- 7. Blocked passageway to the W. burial chamber

fig. 3128.C Axonometric section A-A of the cemetery, C. Katsibinis, in: Meimaris, Euthymios, fig. 42

probably built in this last phase. The crypt north of the church in the center of the monastery, however, can be dated to the early period. It consists of a main chamber (4.7x5.8 m) and a smaller one (2.4x8.5 m) to the west of it, accessible through a narrow passage. Beneath the paving stones of the main chamber, nine masonry burial troughs were uncovered, some of which, when excavated in the late 1920s, still contained skeletons and late-antique pottery lamps. The second chamber, the passage to which had been blocked, was uncovered only in excavations taking place in the 1970s. The method and quality of its construction are the same as that of the main chamber. Two large burial troughs for mass burial were cut into the floor of this chamber, containing the remains of more than one

hundred monks (cf. Meimaris, figs. 37f. for further plans of the ground and its various sections).

Bibl.: Meimaris, Euthymios; Y. Hirschfeld, NEAEHL 2, 1993, 428ff.; Dauphin, Palestine byzantine 902 no. 131; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 58ff. no. 194.

#### 3128. Greek mosaic inscription

Mosaic inscription in a tabula ansata, made of two rows of red tesserae; mosaic in white, letters black; a row of red tesserae between the lines.

Findspot: In the floor of the court adjoining the church in the north.

[...]ΡΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ [--]ΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΙΑΣ [--]ΟΥΤΟΥΔΙΑΚ ΚΑΙΠΑΝΤΟΣΤΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΥΑΥΤΟΥ (palm)



fig. 3128

[ὑπὲ]ρ σωτηρίας | [καὶ κ]αρποφορίας | [--]ου, τοῦ διακ(όνου), | καὶ παντὸς τοῦ | οἴκου αὐτοῦ

For the salvation and offering of ... us, the deacon, and all his house.

Comm.: ll.1f.: The formula is rare, but cf.  $[\dot{\nu}\pi]\dot{\epsilon}\rho$  μνήμης καὶ καρποφορίας (CIIP I 808, second half of the 5 c. AD). – l.3: Some tesserae belonging to the first two letters can still be seen on the photograph, but a proper reading is hardly possible (eta, lambda?).

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WA

#### 3129. Nomina sacra in Greek on a stone

"A soft stone with a raised area, perhaps used for a painting of Christ, and an engraved tree, the branches of which form a cross. The nomina sacra ... are distinct on both the icon and the cross" (Meimaris).

Findspot: "Found during the 1928-30 excavations" (Meimaris, caption to fig. 95). Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem (Kamat Archive).

- (a)  $\overline{I\Sigma} \overline{X\Sigma}$
- (b)  $\overline{I\Sigma} \, \overline{X\Sigma}$  NIKA
- (a) Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς
- (b) Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς | νικᾶ
- (a) Jesus Christ.
- (b) Jesus Christ wins.



fig. 3129.1

Comm.: "The small objects were of no great interest, see figs. 95, 95a" (Meimaris).

Bibl.: Meimaris, Euthymios 426, 483 (ed. pr.). – SEG 40, 1585.

Photo: Meimaris, Euthymios 483 figs. 95 and 95a (ph. and dr.).

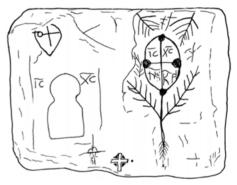


fig. 3129.2

WA

#### 3130. Nomen sacrum on a lintel

Meas.: h 26, w 57 cm; cross: h 20, w 18 cm.

Findspot: Among fallen stones east of a building adjoining the west wall of the monastery, facing the church.

Pres. loc.: "Stored at the east end of the central vaulted room under the main church" (Meimaris).

[..] XS

[Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς] Χ(ριστό)ς

*Iesus Christ.* 



fig. 3130.1

Bibl.: Meimaris, Euthymios 426, 482 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Meimaris, Euthymios 482 figs. 94 and 94a (ph. and dr.).

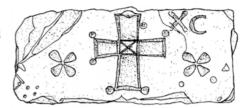


fig. 3130.2

WA

#### 3131. Greek inscription

Fragment of white marble which may have been part of a table or less likely of a chancel screen. The original text of the inscription (a) was later written over to give another personal name, deciphered by Meimaris (b).

Meas.: "Quite large" (Meimaris).

Findspot: Placed at the side of no. 3133 along with other stones to block the falling of earth into the passage leading from the main chamber of the crypt to the second chamber.

- (a)  $[--]+EO\Sigma\PiETPO\UpsilonO\SigmaI[--]$
- (b) [--]+ΕΟΣΘΕΩΔΟΥΛΟΥΟΣΙ[--]
- (a) [--]+ΕΟΣ Πέτρου ΟΣΙ[--]
- (b) [--]+ΕΟΣ Θεωδούλου ΟΣΙ[--]
- (a) ... of Petrus ...
- (b) ... of Theodulus ...



fig. 3131 (a and b)

Comm.: The first letter was read as *upsilon* by Meimaris; if instead we read a *psi*, something like [ὑπὲρ ἀναλήμ]ψεος becomes possible. (a) Petrus may have been the Arab phylarch who built this as the first church in honor of St. Euthymius (v. Euthymii 15, ed. Schwartz, p. 24): ἀκούσας δὲ ἀσπέβετος ὁ καὶ Πέτρος ὅτι διὰ χρόνον ἦλθεν ὁ μέγας Εὐθύμιος, ἔρχεται πρὸς αὐτὸν μετὰ πολλῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ παιδίων καὶ παρακαλεῖ αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν αὐτοῖς λόγον σωτηρίας ... ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἐνέγκας τεχνίτας ἐποίησεν μέγαν λάκκον δίστομον ... ἐν τῶι κήπωι καὶ ἀικοδόμησεν πλησίον μαγκιπεῖον καὶ τῶι ἀγίωι γέροντι ἐποίησεν τρία κελλία καὶ εὐκτήριον ἤτοι ἐκκλησίαν εἰς τὸ μέσον τῶν κελλίων. Peter became later τῶν Παρεμβολῶν ἐπίσκοπος. (b) A small sign above and between *pi* and *epsilon* is perhaps not an *omega*, but some damage to the stone. The person is unknown. – At the end a form of ὅσιος?

Bibl.: Meimaris, Euthymios 418f. (ed. pr.) – HA 59/60, 1976, 34f. (Hebr.); SEG 40, 1485; Feissel, Chroniques 235 no. 753.

Photo: Meimaris, Euthymios 462 fig. 52.

#### 3132. Fragment of an altar table (?) with Greek inscription

Alabaster; "fragment from the table-edge [of an altar-table]" (Chitty).

Meas.: h 7.3, w 18.5, d 4.3 cm; letters 3 cm.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. 1942-87. Autopsy: 1 June 2014 (WE).

 $[--]\Lambda O \Sigma O \Phi I A \Sigma [--]$ 

[-- φι]λοσοφίας [--]

... of philosophy ...



fig. 3132.1

Comm.: Cf. Lampe s.v. B 5: "denoting spiritual life; a. in gen., ... b. ref. asceticism" with a long list of examples. – CIIP I 815 is another inscription on an altar edge, used to compare this text. – Bagatti 64ff. on "altari paleo-cristiani della Palestina."

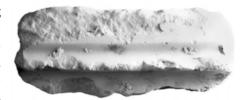


fig. 3132.2

Bibl.: D. Chitty, PEQ 64, 1932, 197 (ed. pr.). – SEG 8, 314; Meimaris, Euthymios 428f., 491 fig. 131; SEG 40, 1485. – Cf. B. Bagatti, SBF 7, 1956/7, 69.

Photo: IAA; WE.

WA

#### 3133. Flagstone with abbreviated Greek inscription

"10 cm below the paved floor we came across a smooth reddish flagstone ... blocking a passage leading into a new vaulted burial chamber (fig. 51). ... If my suggestion is correct then this stone, although it fits this opening, was used here for a second time and is in fact the original tombstone ... of St. Euthymios' tomb, 'θήκη', sent for this purpose by the Archbishop of Jerusalem Anastasios" (Meimaris); see v. Euthymii 42, ed. Schwartz, p. 61,17ff.: ὁ δὲ διάκονος Φίδος πολλὴν σπουδὴν θέμενος ὡικοδόμησεν τὸ κοιμητήριον ἐν τῶι τόπωι τοῦ σπηλαίου ἔνθα ἐν ἀρχῆι ἡσύχαζεν ὁ μέγας Εὐθύμιος. ὅπερ σπήλαιον καταλύσας ἐν μόνοις τρισὶ μησὶν ἔκτισεν οἶκον μέγαν καὶ θαυμαστὸν κεκαμαρωμένον. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῶι μέσωι τὴν τοῦ ἀγίου θήκην πεποίηκεν. ἑκατέρωθεν δὲ ἐσκεύασεν θήκας ἡγουμένων τε καὶ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ λοιπῶν ὁσίων ἀνδρῶν. ὁ δὲ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος προπέμψας τήν τε ἐπικειμένην πλάκα μετὰ τῆς ἀργυρᾶς χώνης καὶ τὰ κυκλοῦντα κάγκελλα κατῆλθεν εἰς τὴν λαύραν καὶ μετήνεγκεν τὸ

τίμιον λείψανον εἰς τὸν ἑτοιμασθέντα τόπον οἰκείαις βαστάσας χερσὶν καὶ τοῦτο καταθέμενος ἀσφαλῶς πρὸς τὸ μηδένα δύνασθαι ἀνοῖξαι καὶ λείψανον ἀποσυλῆσαι ἐπέθηκεν τὴν πλάκα πήξας τὴν χώνην ὑπεράνω τοῦ στήθους αὐτοῦ.

Meas.: h 60, w 88 cm.

Findspot: Western side of the main burial chamber.

Tſ

 $\tau(\alpha\phi\circ\varsigma)$  (?)

Grave(?).

Comm.: Meimaris thinks this to be an abbreviation (see text), but  $\tau(άφος)$  is rare. Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations 76 (cf. 103) refers only to Paton, JHS 20, 1900, 78 no. VII (Karasu):  $\kappa\alpha\tau(?\omega\gamma\epsilon i\omega\nu)$   $\tau(άφω\nu)$  |  $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$  Πε|ρίτα, but this text is problematic: a) it is either a rectangular basis or an altar; b) the first four letters (on side a) are by a different hand from the rest, even though they are of the same height. Paton only offers a suggestion: "May KATT stand for  $\kappa\alpha\tau(\omega\gamma\epsilon i\omega\nu)$   $\tau(άφω\nu)$ ? It must be an abbreviation of something."

Bibl.: Meimaris, Euthymios 418, 459 fig. 46 (inscription not recognizable) (Greek) (ed. pr.). – HA 59/60, 1976, 34f. (Hebr.); SEG 40, 1585.

WA

#### 3134. Marble weight, 5-7 c. AD

Marble fragment that was used as a weight. Blank except for the incised inscription. Uneven edges.

Meas.: h (max.) 7.5, w (max.) 6.3 cm; wt 228 g.

Findspot: Inside Locus G, during the soundings alongside the north wall of the monastery in 1977.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, unknown inv. no.

#### ΟΚΙΑϚΗ ΜΙΣΥ

ὀκία ς' ἥ|μισυ or ὀκία ς'/ἥ|μισυ (λίτρας)

Six and a half ounces or six ounces (=) half (a litra).



fig. 3134

Comm.: Meimaris interpreted the *stigma* as abbreviation mark for  $\kappa\alpha i$  and understood ὀκία καὶ ἡμισυ, "one ounce and a half" (i.e. 45 g). This is, however, impossible, given the actual weight of the piece: 228 g. The interpretation ὀκία  $\varsigma$ ' ἡμισυ, "six and a half ounces" might come to mind. But since the additional specification of half an ounce (i.e. 15 g) does not modify the 6 ounces (= 180 g) by very much, and would be highly unusual, this could rather be interpreted as two alternative expressions of the same weight: ὀκία  $\varsigma$ '/ἡμισυ (λίτρας), "6 ounces, or half a litra" (one litra had 12 ounces).

Bibl.: Meimaris, Euthymios 425 (ed. pr.). - SEG 40, 1485; Feissel, Chroniques 235 no. 753.

Photo: Meimaris, Euthymios 480 fig. 90.

PW

#### 3135. Fragmentary Greek inscription

Three fragments together preserving the lower edge of the stone; the back is left unfinished.

Meas.: h 19.5, w 18.5, d 3 cm; letters 3.5-4 cm.

Findspot: "Found by the 1928-30 excavators at various places on the site" (Meimaris, caption to fig. 130).

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. 1942-89. Autopsy: 1 June 2014 (WE).

```
[--]+OΔO[--]
[--]XAPTOΥ[--]
[--]+ΣΜΗ+[--]
[--]ΥΟΧ[--]
```



fig. 3135

$$[--]+OΔO[--]--]$$
 χαρτου $[λαρ--]--]+Σ$  μη $(νδς)+[--]--]ΥΟΧ[--]$ 

Comm.: Mentioned by Chitty. – l.1: Before the first *omicron*, the lower part of another lunar letter is preserved, perhaps *sigma*; [I]sodo[tus] is rare, but still not unknown; Theodotus, or even Theodorus are much more likely. – l.2: For another chartularius, see CIIP II 1339; cf. no. 1754. – l.3: *Eta* above another letter. If the letter below *eta* is rightly identified as a *mu*, this must be a funerary inscription and not the record of a donation by the chartularius. There are traces of another letter

before the *sigma*, looking a bit more like a curve than a vertical hasta. – l.4: Unfortunately,  $\upsilon \alpha \alpha'$  is no numeral. Perhaps  $[\tau 0] \widetilde{\upsilon} \alpha \alpha'$  [ $\xi \tau 0 \upsilon \alpha'$ ] (year 670)?

Bibl.: Meimaris, Euthymios 428, 491 fig. 130 (ed. pr.). - D. Chitty, PEQ 64, 1932, 203.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WA

## 3136. Greek inscribed architectural fragment

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem (Kamat Archive).

[--]++A[--]

Comm.: Only a photograph of poor quality is available. [--]+MA[--]?

Bibl.: Meimaris, Euthymios 428, 491 (no reading).

Photo: Meimaris, Euthymios 491 fig. 132.



fig. 3136 WA

## 3137. Fragment of a Greek inscription

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem (Kamat Archive).

[--]OAN[--]

Comm.: Late writing, see the *alpha*. "Ioan(n)es"?

Bibl.: Meimaris, Euthymios 428f., 491 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Meimaris, Euthymios 491 fig. 133.



fig. 3137 WA

#### 520

# 3138. Greek fragment of plaster

Meas.: h 3.7, w 6 cm; letters ca. 3 cm.

Findspot: From the 1928 excavation in St. Euthymius.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. I-1209. Autopsy: June 2014 (WE).

Comm.: E.g. [ἄ]γιε [--|--]+[--].

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.



WA

## LXIII. Wadi Murrar

## 3139. Traces of a Greek inscription

Some hermit cells were found to the northeast of Qumran in the Wadi Murrar; on one of the walls are traces of a Greek inscription, but the authors do not give a text, a photograph or a drawing.

Bibl.: Z. Greenhut, Atiqot 9, 1989, 87; Greenberg - Keinan 2009, 90 no. 528.

WA

# LXIV. Kh. Murasas (Ma'ale Adumim)

#### 3140.-3151. Monastery of Martyrius

The monastery of Martyrius lies today in a residential area of the town of Maʿale Adumim. In Arabic the site is called Kh. Murasas. Substantial excavations extending over several years were carried out by Y. Magen and H. Hizmi in the early 1980s. The building complex is surrounded by walls enclosing a space of 70.6x79x 77.4x65.4 m showing a largely intact ground plan (see below fig. A). A quantity of larger and smaller rooms form units or wings grouped around a central courtyard. Among these the excavators identified a main church compound with two building phases, several secondary chapels, a refectory, a bathhouse and stables. A structure (40x27 m) annexed to the main complex at its northern corner was interpreted by the excavators as a hostel for pilgrims. Mosaic pavements are preserved in vast areas of the monastery containing several inscriptions (nos. 3140-3144). Other inscribed objects found at the site are fragments of chancel screens (nos. 3145, 3146), a tombstone (no. 3147), two metal objects that may have been liturgical tools or pieces of liturgical furniture (nos. 3148, 3149) and a stone plaque (no. 3150); a short notice reported on painted wall inscriptions (no. 3151).

The proposed identification of the site with the monastery of Martyrius was initially based on the similarity of the names Martyrius and Murasas in combination with the record about this monk in the 'Life of Euthymius' by Cyril of Scythopolis (v. Euthymii 32): Martyrius came from Egypt to the Judean Desert in 475 AD and was accepted into the monastery of Euthymius at Khan el-Ahmar (cf. introduction to nos. 3128-3138) but left soon after and retreated to a cave 15 stadia west of it. Although the distance given by Cyril does not really match the actual distance between Khan el-Ahmar and Kh. Murasas, the identification was accepted, since no other monastery had been found in the region. The attribution found further confirmation in the epitaph no. 3147 commemorating the presbyter and archimandrite Paulus who, according to Cyril (v. Euthymii 44), was abbot of the Martyrius monastery.

According to Magen - Kagan 53f. four phases can be distiguished at the site: "phase I, a Roman fortress erected in the late fourth century CE; phase IIA, the establishment of the monastery, from the second half of the fifth to the first half of the sixth century CE. The monastery of this phase, which was of limited extent, was established in the Roman fortress ... phase IIB, mid-sixth century CE until the Arab conquest: this was the high point of the monastery ... phase III, establishment of the agricultural farm in the vicinity of the monastery, dated to the Early Islamic period." The monastery itself was abandoned after the Arab conquest.

Bibl.: Y. Magen - R. Talgam, CAHL 91-152; Y. Magen, The Monastery of Martyrius at Ma'ale Adummim, 1993; id., NEAEHL 2, 968-72; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 53-7; Madden, Corpus 108-13; Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity V.

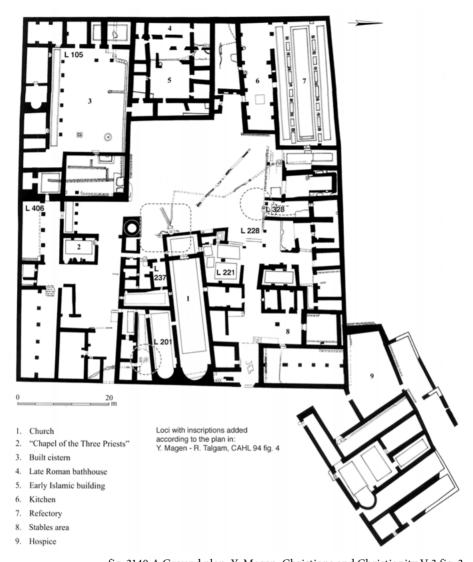


fig. 3140.A Ground plan, Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity V 3 fig. 3

# 3140. Mosaic pavement with Greek building inscription mentioning Father Genesius, 2nd half of 6 c. AD (?)

Mosaic inscription in a tabula ansata.

Meas.: h 0.73 (outer frame), w 3.215 (with ansae), 2.26 m (without ansae); letters 9.5-10 cm.

Findspot: At the eastern end of the refectory, facing the main entrance. The direction of the letters shows that it was meant to be read from the inside of the building, by people facing east; see introduction to nos. 3140-3151 fig. A.

Pres. loc.: In situ. Autopsy: 22 October 2013 (WE/DK).



fig. 3140.1

(palm) ΕΠΙΤΟΥΟΣΙΟΥΠΑΤΡΟΣΗΜΩΝ ΓΕΝΕΣΙΟΥΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥΚ∫ΑΡΧΙ ΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΟΥΕΓΕΝΕΤΟΚ∫ΤΟΥΤΟΤΟΕΡΓΟΝ ΥΠΕΡΤΕΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣΑΥΤΟΥΚ∫ΤΗΣΕΝ ΧΩΣΥΝΟΔΙΑΣΑΥΤΟΥΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΙΔ∫ ΕΝΜΗΝΙΜΑΡΤΙΩΙΝΔ∫Α (vine)

έπὶ τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν | Γενεσίου πρεσβυτέρου κ(αὶ) ἀρχι|μανδρίτου ἐγένετο κ(αὶ) τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον | ὑπὲρ τες σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ κ(αὶ) τῆς ἐν | Χ(ριστ)ῷ συνοδίας αὐτοῦ. ἐτελιώθι δ' | ἐν μηνὶ Μαρτίῳ, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) α'

Under our pious Father Genesius, priest and archimandrite, also this work was made for his salvation and that of his convent in Christ. It was finished in the month of March, indiction 1.



fig. 3140.2

Comm.: l.1: θείου Meimaris. – ll.1f. On Genesius, see no. 3141. – l.4: ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ Meimaris; ὑπὲρ τᾶς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ Di Segni; SEG; Madden; ὑπέρ τε σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ BE. The mosaic maker either forgot one sigma or the one sigma was meant to count double for the end of the first word and the beginning of the second. – l.5: ἐτελιώθι δ(έ); Feissel; SEG; – l.6: Indiction 1 is either 568 or 583 – if Di Segni's considerations on the date of Genesius are accepted; Magen (Christians and Christianity V) prefers a date in the reign of Justinian, viz. 552/3 AD.

Bibl.: Meimaris, Sacred Names 53 no. 311 (ll.4f.), 191 no. 954 (ll.1-3), 247 no. 1244 (ll.1-3), 248 no. 1251 (ll.1-3) (ed. pr.). – Y. Magen - H. Hizmi, Qadmoniot 18, 1985, 65, 73 (Hebr.; transl. only); BE 1987, 523; L. Di Segni, CAHL 158f. no. 6; SEG 40, 1498; Y. Magen - R. Talgam, CAHL 92f.,

fig. 2. – Cf. Ben Pechat, L'architecture baptismale II 182; P. Figueras, in: Archéologie Chrétienne 1779; Y. Magen, The Monastery of Martyrius at Ma'ale Adummim, 1993, 11f. (ph.); K. Dunbabin, Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World, 1999, 195f.; J. Moralee, For Salvation's Sake, 2004, 162 no. 241; Feissel, Chroniques 234 no. 750; Ribak, Religious Communities 189f.; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 53-7 fig. 193,5; Madden, Corpus 108-13 no. 152; Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity V 163f., fig. 191.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity V 164 fig. 193 (dr.).

WA

# 3141. Mosaic pavement with Greek building inscription mentioning the Fathers Genesius and Ioannes, 6 c. AD (?)

Frame of black tesserae, perhaps forming a tabula ansata.

Meas.: h 32 (inner frame), 36 (outer frame), w (preserved) ca. 120, (restored) 320 cm; letters 9-10 cm.

Findspot: In front of the bema of the new church; see introduction to nos. 3140-3151 fig. A.

Pres. loc.: In situ, but disintegrated and badly damaged.



fig. 3141.1

 $[--] \dot{N} \Gamma E N E \Sigma I O \Upsilon \Pi P E \Sigma B \int K \int A P X I M [--]$ 

[--]NHMH $\Sigma$ KAIANA $\Pi$ A $\Upsilon$  $\Sigma$ E $\Omega$ [--]

 $[--]\Omega N'I'\Omega ANNO Y'I'\Omega A[--]$ 

[ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶ]ν Γενεσίου πρεσβ(υτέρου) κ(αὶ) ἀρχιμ(ανδρίτου) [ἐγένετο | καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ὑπὲρ μ]νήμης καὶ ἀναπαύσεω[ς -- | -ca. 13 letters- πατέρων ἡμ]ῶν Ἰωάννου Ἰωά[ννου --]

Under our pious father Genesius, priest and archimandrite, this work was made as well in memory and rest of ... our fathers Ioannes (and) Ioannes ...

Comm.: Restored according to no. 3140. – ll.1f.: Since the literary sources do not mention Genesius, and since they cease to mention this monastery in 544,

Di Segni assumes that Genesius lived in the second half of the 6 c. AD. – 1.3: [τῶν ὁσίων οτ μακαρίων πατέρων ἡμ]ῶν Di Segni; Ἰωάννου (καὶ) Ἰωά[ννου] Di Segni (text), since it is unusual to mention a cleric's father's name; however, other inscrip-



fig. 3141.2 (surviving rest 2014)

tions from this site (nos. 3142, 3143) mention more than one cleric without a copula, and an abbreviation mark is lacking in the present inscription. Di Segni's suggestion of three names having been mentioned here, is perhaps easier to accept, if it were not for the fact, that the lacuna measures three or four letters only. The first John would be John the Eunuch, who became abbot in about 536 (Cyril, v. Sabae 86, ed. Schwartz, p. 193): Ἰωάννην δὲ τὸν εὐνοῦχον τῆς μονῆς Μαρτυρίου κρατοῦντα ἡγούμενον; another John is supposed to have been in office between John the Eunuch and Genesius; for two different Johns appearing in the same text, cf. no. 3758.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, CAHL 153ff. no. 2 (ed. pr.). – Y. Magen - H. Hizmi, Qadmoniot 18, 1985, 71 (Hebr.; transl. only); SEG 40, 1494; Y. Magen - R. Talgam, CAHL 92f., 98, 108; Y. Magen, The Monastery of Martyrius at Ma'ale Adummim, 1993, 11f. (ph.); Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity V 73, 81 fig. 97. – Cf. Y. Tsafrir, in: Archéologie Chrétienne 1748, 1753; Feissel, Chroniques 234 no. 750; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 53-7; Madden, Corpus 108-13 no. 152; B. Mulholland, The Early Byzantine Christian Church, 2014, 164 pl. 6,2.

Photo: Y. Magen, The Monastery of Martyrius at Ma'ale Adummim, 1993, 11f.; A. and N. Graicer.

WA

# 3142. Greek mosaic inscription remembering the priests Elpidius, Ioannes and Georgius

Inscription in a tabula ansata; the lines divided by a row of red tesserae. Meas.: h: 76/63 (outer/inner frame), 58 (inner part of the tabula), w 205 cm; letters

8.7-12 cm.

Findspot: So called "chapel of the three priests" to the southwest of the church; the inscription is in front of the altar(?); see introduction to nos. 3140-3151 fig. A.

Pres. loc.: In situ. Autopsy: 22 October 2013 (WE/DK).



fig. 3142.1 (condition in 2014)

(palm) ΚΕΟΘΣΗΜΩΝΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙΕΝΤΗ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣΟΥΕΛΠΙΔΙΟΥΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥΤΩΝΠΡΕΣΒΒΒ∫Κ∫ΠΑΣΗΣ ΤΗΣΕΝΧΩΑΥΤΩΝΣΥΝΟΔΙΑΣ (palm)

κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θ(εό)ς ήμῶν, μνήσθητι ἐν τῆ | βασιλεία σου Ἐλπιδίου, Ἰωάννου, | Γεωργίου τῶν πρεσβ(υτέρων τριῶν) κ(αἰ) πάσης | τῆς ἐν X(ριστ)ῷ αὐτῶν συνοδίας

O Lord, our God, remember in your kingdom, the three priests Elpidius, Ioannes, Georgius and their whole convent in Christ.

Comm.: For the general layout cf. no. 3143, where the dead priests are remembered. It seems that they were still among the living when this chapel



fig. 3142.2

was decorated in the second half of the 6 c. AD. – l.4:  $\alpha \mathring{\upsilon} \tau \widetilde{\omega} \nu$  om. Di Segni; SEG; Magen, Christians and Christianity V 111. Cf. no. 3140 for the formulation.

Bibl.: Meimaris, Sacred Names 22 no. 61 (ll.1f.), 32 no. 147 (ll.1f.), 53 no. 311 (ll.3f.), 191 no. 955 (ll.3f.) (ed. pr.). – Y. Magen - H. Hizmi, Qadmoniot 18, 1985, 77f., 89 pl. 3 (Hebr.; transl. only); BE 1987, 523; L. Di Segni, CAHL 159f.; SEG 40, 1499; Y. Magen, The Monastery of Martyrius at Ma'ale Adummim, 1993, 12f., 52ff.; Felle, Biblia epigraphica 119 no. 185; Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity V 108-11 figs. 128f., 132. – Cf. P. Figueras, in: Archéologie Chrétienne 1779; Y. Magen - R. Talgam, CAHL 141f.; Feissel, Chroniques 234 no. 750; Magen, Good Samaritan 224 (ph.); Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 53-7 fig. 193f.; Madden, Corpus 108-13 no. 152, 221 fig. 21.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity V 111 fig. 133 (dr.).

# 3143. Greek mosaic inscription remembering the priests Elpidius, Ioannes and Georgius

Inscription in a tabula ansata; lines divided by rows of tesserae.

Meas.: h 97 (left part), 74 (right part), w 295 (with ansae), 229 cm (without ansae); letters 11-14 cm; lines: h 18 cm.

Findspot: On the groundfloor of Locus 328, above a large, but sparsely used burial cave in the northern part of the complex; see introduction to nos. 3140-3151 fig. A. Pres. loc.: In situ, but partly destroyed and badly restored. Autopsy: 22 October 2013 (WE/DK).



fig. 3143

(palm) MNH[--]THBAΣΙΛΕΙΑΣΟΥ ΕΛ[--]NΝΟΥΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΤΩ[--]+ΝΛΟΙΠΩΝΠΡΩΝ ΤΩ[--]TAKΕΙΜΕΝΩΝ ΩN[--]

μνή[σθητι, κ(ύρι)ε, ἐν] τῆ βασιλεία σου | Ἐλ[πιδίου, Ἰω]άννου, Γεωργίου | τῶ[ν πρεσβ(υτέρων τριῶν) καὶ τ]ῶν λοιπῶν π(ατέ)ρων | τῶ[ν ὧδε κα]τακειμένων,| ὧν [γινώσκεις τὰ ὀνόματα]

Remember, Lord, in your kingdom Elpidius, Ioannes, Georgius, the (three) priests, and the other fathers who lie here, whose names you know.

Comm.: Cf. no. 3142. – l.1: Cf. Lk 23,42: Ἰησοῦ, μνήσθητί μου ὅταν ἔλθης εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν σου; Felle, Biblia epigraphica 44 no. 13 (Tamiathis) for its use in a funerary context. – l.2: For the same three priests, see no. 3142. This monastery possessed not only the main church, but also five chapels in addition, and may well have been in need of more than one priest. – l.3f.: ΠΡΩΝ is marked as an abbreviation: [καὶ τ]ῶν λοιπῶν πρ(εσβυτέρ)ων | τῶ[ν ἐνθαῦ]τα κειμένων Di Segni, corr. Feissel. The reference is to other persons buried in the cave below the inscription.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, CAHL 157f. no. 5 (ed. pr.). – Y. Magen - H. Hizmi, Qadmoniot 18, 1985, 72 (Hebr.; transl. only); SEG 40, 1497; Y. Magen - R. Talgam, CAHL 99, 105 fig. 13; Y. Magen, The Monastery of Martyrius at Ma'ale Adummim, 1993, 12f., 52ff. (ph.); Felle, Biblia epigraphica 125 no. 201; Madden, Corpus 108-13 no. 152; Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity V 182f.,

fig. 213. – Cf. Y. Tsafrir, in: Archéologie Chrétienne 1748, 1752f.; Y. Magen, BAR 21, 1995, 38-49; Feissel, Chroniques 234 no. 750.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WA

#### 3144. Fragmentary Greek mosaic inscription

Inscription in a tabula ansata; only a part of the left and a very small part of the upper right side are preserved. Assuming that the inscription covered the whole inner part of the mosaic carpet, it was ca. 3.2 m wide and contained ca. 40 letters per line. The drawing (fig. 3144.2) does not show whether the right-hand fragment was placed correctly in the suggested restoration, i.e. ca. 25 letters to the right of the beginning.

Meas.: h 55, w ca. 320 cm (?); letters 10 cm.

Findspot: Locus 201, in the chapel south of the main church; see introduction to nos. 3140-3151 fig. A.

Pres. loc.: The only part left in situ is the left-hand side of an incomplete triangle of the tabula ansata (see fig. 3).

 $\begin{array}{l} (\operatorname{palm}) \ \Upsilon \Pi E P[\text{--}] E \Omega[\text{--}] \\ \Pi A T P + +[\text{--}] +[\text{--}] \\ \Pi A T[\text{--}] \\ H +[\text{--}] \end{array}$ 



fig. 3144.1

ύπὲρ [--]ΕΩ[--] | ΠΑΤΡ++[--]+[--] | ΠΑΤ[--] | H+[--]

Comm.: ll.1ff.: Almost anything is possible, e.g. ὑπὲρ [ἀναπαύσεως καὶ ἀντιλήμψ]εω[ς τοῦ adjective?] πατρὸς [--]. The quality of the mosaic leads Di Segni to some "further speculation," as



fig. 3144.2

she herself calls it. The argument runs as follows (unfortunately, no photograph was published in 1990): a) the first letter after  $\dot{\nu}\pi\dot{\epsilon}\rho$  cannot be a lunar *sigma*; *mu* 

"is unlikely" (alpha not mentioned); "a one-footed letter is indicated." Since all the other abbots of the monastery are mentioned in the inscriptions (a premise that depends heavily on the interpretation of no. 3141 and the assumption that we know all the abbots of the monastery), with the single exception of the founder, Di Segni tries to find Martyrius in the text and restores: ὑπὲρ [τελείας μνήμης καὶ ἀναπαύσ]εω[ς τοῦ ὁσίου or ἀγίου] | πατρὸς [ἡμῶν Μαρτυρίου]



fig. 3144.3 (condition in 2014)

τοῦ ὁσιωτ(άτου) ἀρχιεπισκ(όπου) καὶ] | πατ[ριάρχου e.g. τοῦ τῆς ἐν X(ριστ)ῷ συνοδίας συστησαμ(ένου) καὶ] | ἡγ[ουμένου κτλ.] (first three lines reprinted by SEG).

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, CAHL 155f. no. 3 (ed. pr.). – SEG 40, 1495; Y. Magen - R. Talgam, CAHL 102f., 132; Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity V 81f. – Cf. Feissel, Chroniques 234 no. 750; Madden, Corpus 108-13 no. 152.

Photo: Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity V 85 fig. 102; L. Di Segni, CAHL 155f. (dr.); A. and N. Graicer.

WA

### 3145. Fragment of a chancel screen with Greek inscription

Right part of a narrow marble slab; for the form of the lower side see fig. 3445.2; a groove in the middle of the lower side allowed the stone to be put on a chancel screen. The inscription is on the upper part, to be seen only by someone who looked down on the screen. "No similar item was found among the chancel posts and screens ... in and outside ... Israel. This led us to conclude that this was a way of memorializing donors to the monastery church after the marble chancel screen was in place" (Magen).

Meas.: h ca. 7.5, w 60, d 17 cm; letters 4 cm.

Findspot: Near the chapel in the southwestern wing, Locus 105; see introduction to nos. 3140-3151 fig. A.



fig. 3145.1

 $[--]NINA\Sigma KAIA\Upsilon\Xi ENTIO\Upsilon$  (cross)

[--]νίνας καὶ Αὐξεντίου

... of ... nina and Auxentius.

Comm.: l.1: [προσφορὰ κτλ.] Di Segni. The woman is named before the man, Di Segni; she supplemented [ἀντο?]νίνας. A name like Domnina is possible too.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, CAHL 156f. no. 4 (ed. pr.). – SEG 40, 1496; Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity V 244f. no. 1. – Cf. Feissel, Chroniques 234 no. 750; B. Mulholland, The Early Byzantine Christian Church, 2014, 154f., 164 pl. 6,2.

Photo: L. Di Segni, CAHL 157; Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity V 245 fig. 281 (dr.).

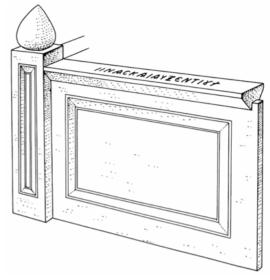


fig. 3145.2

WA

#### 3146. Fragment of a chancel screen with a monogram

Fragment of a chancel screen made of hard limestone.

Findspot: Passageway Locus 228 in the northeastern wing; see introduction to nos. 3140-3151 fig. A.



fig. 3146.1

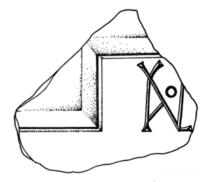


fig. 3146.2

Comm.: The monogram is incomplete; perhaps it is possible to read here letters like *alpha*, *nu*, *omicron*, *lambda*, *upsilon*, perhaps a square *sigma*.

Bibl.: Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity V 248 no. 5 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity V 247 fig. 285,1 (ph. and dr.).

#### 3147. Tombstone of Paulus, the priest, 5 c. AD

Red stone slab, carefully and beautifully worked; the back is only roughly smoothed. Meas.: h 90, w 77, d 6.5 cm; letters 4.6-5.8 cm; cross below inscription: h 30, w 28 cm.

Findspot: Embedded in the mosaic floor of Locus 221 adjoining the church at its northwestern corner with access to the narthex; see introduction to nos. 3140-3151 fig. A. The plaque covered a grave (cf. Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity V 58 fig. 59). Magen - Talgam 92: "The tomb ... contained the remains of ten skeletons, placed one on top of the other. They must have been Paul's successors in the abbacy." Pres. loc.: Good Samaritan Museum, Ma'ale Adumim, inv. no. K29224. Autopsy: 22 October 2013 (WE/DK), 14 April 2017 (WA).

(cross) ΘΗΚΗΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΚΑΙΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΙ (palm) ΤΟΥ (palm) (cross)



fig. 3147.1

θήκη Παύλου, | πρεσβυτέρου | καὶ ἀρχιμανδρί|του

*Grave of Paulus, priest and archimandrite.* 

Comm.: On Paulus see Cyril, v. Euthymii 44, ed. Schwartz, p. 65 (Paulus in charge in 482): δι΄ δ ἐν ἀπορίαι πολλῆι γεγονότες οἱ περὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον Ἡλίαν καὶ τὸν διάκονον Φίδον ἐδήλωσαν τῶι τε ἀββᾶι Παύλωι ἡγουμένωι ὄντι τῆς Μαρτυρίου μονῆς ἀποστεῖλαι τὰ ἄλογα τῶν ἀμφοτέρων μοναστηρίων κτλ.; v. Sabae 30, ed. Schwartz, p. 115: ἀπὸ τότε τοίνυν ὁ μὲν ἀββᾶς Θεοδόσιος ἀρχηγὸς γέγονε καὶ ἀρχιμανδρίτης παντὸς τοῦ κοινοβιακοῦ κανόνος ἔχων μετ' αὐτὸν δευτερεύοντα τῆς τῶν κοινοβιακῶν καταστάσεως φροντίδων τὸν ἐν ἀγίοις ἀββᾶν Παῦλον τὸν τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Μαρτυρίου μονῆς ἡγούμενον (Paulus chosen as deputy of the archimandrites); v. Theodosii, ed. Schwartz, p. 239:

πάντες οἱ τῆς ἐρήμου μοναχοὶ συναθροισθέντες ... καὶ μιᾶς γνώμης γεγονότες κοινῆι ψήφωι προεβάλοντο τὸν μέγαν τοῦτον Θεοδόσιον ἀργιμανδρίτην τῶν ὑπὸ την άγίαν πόλιν κοινοβίων εἰς τὸν τόπον τοὺ κατὰ τὴν μακαρίαν Μελάνην Γεροντίου, δευτερύοντα αὐτοῦ καταστήσαντες τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις Παῦλον τὸν τῆς μονῆς τοῦ ἀββᾶ Μαρτυρίου ήγούμενον. On archimandrites in general, Patrich 287ff.; he points out on p. 292 that the office was divided and that Theodosius was ἀρχιμανδρίτης παντὸς τοῦ κοινοβιακοῦ κανόνος, and that his authority did not extend to the hermits. Paulus' appointment reflects the importance of the monastery of Mar-



fig. 3147.2

tyrius (Patrich 296). No source tells us that Paulus was later chosen as archimandrite of all the monasteries, but in ACO 3,1 p. 130,70 we have: Δομετιανὸς πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀρχιμανδρίτης μονῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Μαρτυρίου; cf. 145,67: Δομετιανὸς ἐλέει θεοῦ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀρχιμανδρίτης μονῆς Μαρτυρίου καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῆι ἐρήμωι τῆς ἀγίας πόλεως μοναχῶν ὑπέγραψα; 158,70, 174,76: Δομνῖνος πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀρχιμανδρίτης μονῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Μαρτυρίου. It seems therefore that πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀρχιμανδρίτης was the official title of the abbot of this monastery; cf. Patrich 298.

Bibl.: Meimaris, Sacred Names 191 no. 956 (ed. pr.). – Y. Magen - H. Hizmi, Qadmoniot 18, 1985, 65, 69f. (Hebr.; transl. only); BE 1987, 523; P. Figueras, in: Archéologie Chrétienne 1779; L. Di Segni, CAHL 153 no. 1; SEG 40, 1493; Y. Magen - R. Talgam, CAHL 91f., 98; Y. Magen, The Monastery of Martyrius at Ma'ale Adummim, 1993, 9 (ph.); id., BAR 21, 1995, 38-49 (ph.); H. Goldfus, Tombs and Burials in Churches and Monasteries of Byzantine Palestine (324-628 A.D.), 1997, 200ff.; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 53-7 fig. 193,7; Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity V 5ff., fig. 8, 55, 57f., figs. 58ff. (fig. 58 shows the stone still in situ). - Cf. Cradle of Christianity 176f. (ph.), 224; J. Patrich, Sabas, 1995; Feissel, Chroniques 233 no. 746, 234 no. 750.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity V 58 fig. 60 (dr.).

WA

#### 3148. Lamp hanger with Greek inscription

"Lamp hanger with three bronze arms, apparently part of a chandelier" (Magen 357). The inscription is engraved on one of the arms.

Findspot: Locus 221; see introduction to nos. 3140-3151 fig. A.



fig. 3148.1 (detail)

(cross) ΑΓΙΟΥΠΑ ΜΦΙΛΟΥ (cross)

άγίου Παμφίλου



Of St. Pamphilus.

fig. 3148.2 (detail)

Comm.: Pamphilus is most likely the 3 c. Bishop of Caesarea and teacher of Eusebius, famous for his large library (even though there are other saints of this name and Garitte has an otherwise unknown Pamphilus on Oct. 29th; cf. p. 371). Di Segni apud Magen 357 suggests that the chandelier belonged to "a chapel or an altar dedicated to St. Pamphilus." She furthermore points to Garitte 93 (notice on Sept. 28th; Latin transl.): in Engiglon pago, litania, et in Sancto Alexandro in Sacello, depositio sanctorum Georgii et Pamphili et Alexandri et Tarachi, Probi et Androniki, et patris nostri Charitonis sancti et monachorum principii et apostolorum gratiae



fig. 3148.3

et cursus participis, et Theodoris. Parallels for the depositio are quoted by Garitte 342, who does not identify "Engiglon" ("la syllabe initiale en- correspond certainement à 'Ain"). Martyrius deposited the relics of Tarachus, Probus and Andronicus on May 7th, 487 in the monastery of Euthymius (Cyril, v. Euthymii 44, ed. Schwartz, p. 66), and since some of the names can be found in both lists, Di Segni believes it possible that the sacellum of the Georgian calendar was abandoned at some time and that the relics of this sacellum and some of the furniture were brought to Martyrius' own monastery. Of course, we know nothing about the year in which the depositio of Sept. 29th took place. On Alexander, cf. no. 3149 comm.

Bibl.: Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity V 357f. - Cf. Garitte, Calendrier.

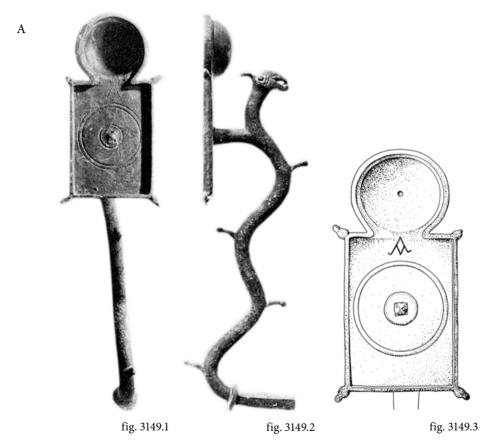
Photo: Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity V 367 pl. 50 (ph. and dr.).

#### 3149. Incense shovel with an engraved Greek letter

"A bronze incense shovel decorated with a griffin-like creature and probably attached to a stand, also of bronze" (Magen, Christians and Christianity V). The rectangular plate of the shovel is decorated with two concentric circles, and one letter is above the circles.

Meas.: h 37.5 cm; rod ø 1.7 cm; rectangular plate h 11, w 7.5 cm; bowl ø 6 cm.

Findspot: Locus 237; see introduction to nos. 3140-3151 fig. A.



Comm.: It seems that the letter was made after the casting of the rectangular plate. Di Segni apud Magen 358 suggested the abbreviation of the name A(lexander); a Martyrius deposited relics of some martyrs (inter alia Pamphilus [cf. no. 3148] and Alexander) in a chapel near Bethphage. Since this Martyrius might be the Martyrius of the monastery here, and since "it is conceivable that due to the circumstances the chapel was abondoned, and that the relics, as well as some of the furniture, were brought to the monastery of Martyrius," this incense-shovel may have been used for the worship of St. A(lexander) (are there other incense shovels with a similar

description of their use?). However, if the square peg at the end of the object was used to insert it into a wall or some kind of stand, the letter might simply have been used to mark a sequence ( $\alpha'=1$ ).

Bibl.: Y. Magen - H. Hizmi, Qadmoniot 18, 1985, 86 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.) – Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity V 359, 362.

Photo: Y. Magen - H. Hizmi, Qadmoniot 18, 1985, 86; Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity V 369 pl. 52 (dr.).

WA

#### 3150. Greek letter on limestone block

Block of limestone with irregular, but preserved edges. Meas.: h 47, w 32, d 17.5 cm; letters 21 cm.

Findspot: Seen during the 2013 visit for autopsies of the mosaic inscriptions lying on the ground near the enclosure wall in Locus 406 (see introduction to nos. 3140-3151 fig. A) together with various other stones and fragments apparently deposited there.

Pres. loc.: See findspot. Autopsy: 22 October 2013 (WE/DK).

Φ



Bibl.: Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity V 258 no. 2, 259 fig. 302 (dr.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: WE. fig. 3150

WA

# 3151. Fragments of painted wall inscriptions

Findspot: On the walls of the refectory; see introduction to nos. 3140-3151 fig. A.



fig. 3151

Comm.: "The white plastered walls had red-coloured inscriptions and paintings" (Ribak); "The walls are decorated with red, orange, yellow and green frescoes, and red inscriptions" (Magen). – Upper left fragment:  $[\alpha]$  yio[ $\varsigma$ ]? Large fragment in the third row: Eumelus? Fragment to the right of it: Theodorus?

Bibl.: Ribak, Religious Communities 189; Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity V 158.

Photo: Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity V 161 fig. 189.

# LXV. Rafat

### 3152. Fragment of a chancel screen with Greek inscription

Marble.

Findspot: In the small collection of artifacts in the monastery in Rafat erected by the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem in 1927. The collection contains "capitelli di chiesa, colonnine del mobilio liturgico, crocette metalliche con circoli proveniente dalle tombe che attorniano il piccolo colle di Rafat e dei dintorni. ... Questi pezzi riuniti nel Convento ci mostrano chiaramente l'esistenza di un edificio religioso, benchè finora non si sia trovato" (Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 109, 111).

(cross) ΥΠΕ[--]

ύπὲ[ρ σωτηρίας ... vel sim.]

For the salvation of ...



fig. 3152.1

Comm.: ΥΠΕΡ Bagatti, SBF 7; ΥΠΕ Canova; Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev; id., SBF 40; id., Judaea; SEG.



fig. 3152.2

Bibl.: R. Canova, Iscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del paese di Moab, 1954, 172f. no. 199 bis (ed. pr.). – B. Bagatti, SBF 7, 1956/7, 69; id., Giudea e Neghev 109ff.; id., SBF 40, 1990, 273 (dr.); SEG 40, 1507; Bagatti, Judaea 116.

Photo: R. Canova, 1954, 173 fig. 201; Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 110 fig. 17,8 (dr.).

WA

### LXVI. Deir el-Mukalik

# 3153.-3171. Cave chapel and underground burial complex of the monastery of St. Theoctistus

The monastery in the Wadi es-Sikke (Deir el-Mukalik) has been known for a long time (for a bibliography on the site, see Goldfus - Arubus - Alliata 247 n.1; see plans below, figs. 3153 A-C). Originally, its caves and paintings could only be studied with binoculars from the other side of the valley (Fast; a good view in Kühnel, pl. 62), which made the study of the site and its inscriptions difficult (on the difficulties cf. Cyril's description). The foundation of the monastery is probably attested in v. Euthymii 9, ed. Schwartz, p. 16f.; if this is correct, then these are the ruins of a monastery of St. Theoctistus (411 AD): ποιήσας δε χρόνους πέντε είς Φαράν έξῆλθεν ἄμα Θεοκτίστω τῷ μακαρίω καθ' δν καιρὸν εἰώθεισαν, ἐπὶ τὸν Κουτιλᾶν καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου παρερχόμενοι ἦλθον ἐπί τινα χείμαρρον Φοβερὸν καὶ βαθύτατον λίαν καὶ δύσβατον. θεασάμενοι δὲ τὸν τόπον καὶ περινοστήσαντες τοὺς ὑπερκειμένους κρημνούς ώς ύπὸ θεοῦ ὁδηγούμενοι εὖρον σπήλαιον μέγα τε καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἐν τῷ βορινῶ τοῦ χειμάρρου κρημνῶ. καὶ μετὰ κινδύνου τοιχοβατοῦντες μόλις ἴσχυσαν άναβηναι είς αὐτὸ καὶ περιχαρεῖς γενόμενοι ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἑτοιμασθέντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ σπηλαίου ἔμειναν εἰς αὐτὸ ἐκ τῶν παρεμπιπτουσῶν βοτάνων τρεφόμενοι. τὸ δὲ ἄντρον ἐκεῖνο κατοικητήριον ὑπῆρχεν θηρίων μὲν τὸ πρότερον, ἡμερωθὲν δὲ τοῖς θείοις ύμνοις καὶ ταῖς ἀπαύστοις τῶν ὁσίων ἀνδρῶν προσευχαῖς ἐκκλησίας θεοῦ ἁγιαστείαν έδέξατο. Monks lived here from the 5 c. to the early 7 c. AD, and a hermit lived there in a cave church even some time after the Persian invasion (8 c. AD, Acta Sanctorum July 3rd, p. 506). In 1107 a pilgrim noted that the monastery was destroyed by pagans, but in the later 12 c. AD monastic life revived for a short time. The excavators found living quarters of monks and the cave church; the cave gave access to an underground burial-complex, unit E (we do not know where the founders were buried; not necessarily here; Goldfus - Arubas - Alliata 268 believe that the location C 2 is also a valid possibility; the second abbot, Maris, was buried in the same θήκη as Theoctistus, v. Euthymii 36, ed. Schwartz, p. 55; v. Sabae 10, ibid., p. 93). The cave itself was covered with graffiti, "a concentration of epigraphical material in the proximity of the tomb's entrance, to the west, and on the walls adjacent to the apse of the chapel, to the east" (Goldfus - Arubas - Alliata 282). Some graffiti were placed "on the rock surface of an area in front of the gate provided with a stone bench and a cistern, where visitors could wait to be admitted to see the holy men within. Women ... would present their requests here" (Di Segni 64).

The identification of different phases of monastic life in Deir el-Mukalik implies that not all the inscriptions are of the same period (and not all date before the 7 c. AD): Goldfus - Arubas - Alliata 279 state that nos. 3153 and 3154 belong to the earliest times; neither Chitty nor Goldfus - Arubas - Alliata give an indication of their

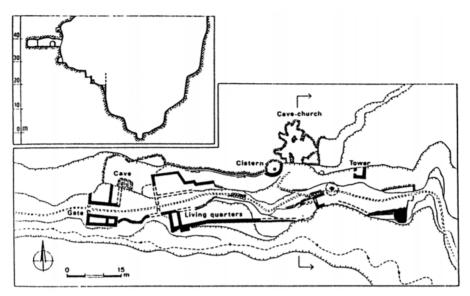


fig. 3153.A H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 248 fig. 1



Abb. 1.  $D\bar{e}r$  el-mkellik. Maßstab etwa 1:800. (B kleiner zweistöckiger Bau, F glatt behauene Felsflächen, G Geröllhalden, H 1—8 Höhlen, L Wasserleitung, M Mauerreste, N Nischen mit Malerei [vgl. Abb. 2], O Zisternenöffnung mit Mosaikrand, P Fußpfad, T Talsohle, V Verputz an der Felswand, W Felswand über der Talsohle, Z Zisterne.)

fig. 3153.B T. Fast, ZDPV 36, 1913, 30 fig. 1

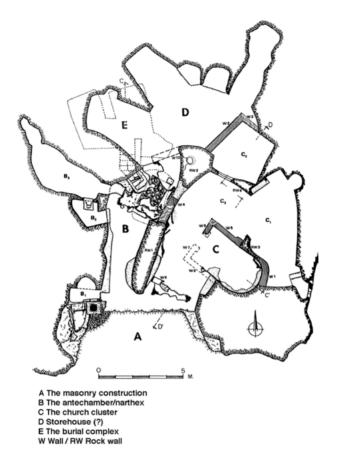


fig. 3153.C H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 250 fig. 2

opinion on nos. 3155-3165. The paintings in the apse and the "hanging" niches are ascribed – with their inscriptions – to the latest phase of the monastery's life, i.e. to the 11 or 12 c. AD (nos. 3166-3171; cf. Goldfus - Arubas - Alliata 273f.; Chitty 147f.). Although the latter are beyond the chronological range of the Corpus, they are included here to give an overall picture of the epigraphic material of the cave which served as church. The inscriptions dated to the early phase of the church are followed by those for which no precise dating is available, beginning with invocations where personal names are preserved (arranged in alphabetical order) and passing on to the more fragmentary inscriptions; the late inscriptions are placed at the end.

Bibl.: T. Fast, ZDPV 36, 1913, 28ff.; D. Chitty, PEQ 60, 1928, 134ff.; G. Kühnel, Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1988, 181ff.; H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 247ff.; L. Di Segni, in: B. Bitton-Ashkelony - D. Krueger eds., Prayer and Worship in Eastern Christianities, 2017, 64.

#### 3153. Quotation of John 11,21, 32, 43

A coat of thin plaster was put on the rock; a red frame was painted on the plaster. In its upper section a tabula ansata in red with the inscription (letters in red, too). In its middle part was a stone or marble plaque, now lost, "bearing an inscription or some flat or low-relief artistic rendering" Goldfus - Arubas - Alliata (cf., perhaps, no. 3165). The lower section has a large cross with the letters A and  $\Omega$  hanging from its arms; the cross stands on a trilobed Golgotha. Below this is written inscription no. 3154. Meas.: letters 2-3 cm.

Findspot: Above the entrance to the burial complex; see introduction to nos. 3153-3171 fig. C.



fig. 3153.1

 $\begin{array}{l} ({\rm cross}) \ \Theta H K H O \Sigma I \Omega N \Pi A T E P \Omega N K E A \Delta E \Lambda \Phi [..] \\ \overline{KE} E I H \Sigma \Omega \Delta E O Y K A N A \Pi E \Theta A N E N O A \Delta E \Lambda \Phi [..] \\ ({\rm cross}) \ \Lambda A Z A P A I \Delta E Y P \Omega \Bar{E}[.] \Omega \ ({\rm cross}) \\ in \ the \ lower \ section: \\ A \Omega \end{array}$ 

θήκη ὁσίων πατέρων κὲ ἀδελφ[ῶν]. | κ(ὑρι)ε, εἰ ἦς ὧδε, οὐκ ἂν ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἀδελφ[ός]. | Λάζαραι, δεῦρω ἔ[ξ]ω

ΑΩ



fig. 3153.2

Burial place of (the) devout fathers and brothers. Lord, if thou hadst been here, the brother had not died. Lazarus, come forth. (King James Version) Alpha Omega.

Comm.: Every line contains a different reflection, and the crosses in 1.3 are like quotation marks. l.1: (αΰ)τ(η) θ(ή)κη Patrich - Di Segni, corr. Goldfus - Arubas -Alliata; κ(αὶ) ἀδ[ελφῶν] Patrich -Di Segni. The πατέρες are either the abbots of the monastery or the monks in general; Goldfus -Arubas - Alliata quote as parallels IGLS 21,2, 116 (Abu Sarbut): θήκη τῶν ἁγί(ων) πατέρων Εὐστρατίου Μάγγου καὶ λοι(πῶν); CIIP I 854 ('Ein el-Jedide): ὁσίων πατέρων ἡμῶν. Most probably the "fathers" are the leaders of the monastery and the ἀδελφοί are the ordinary monks (for this use of the word cf. Meimaris, Sacred Names 227); in this case ὅσιος refers only to the  $\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ . – 1.2:  $\epsilon \emph{i}$ 

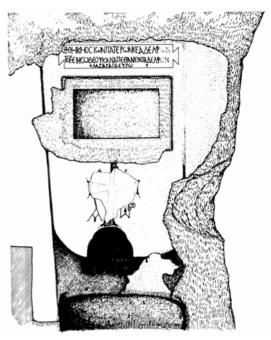


fig. 3153.3

 $<\mathring{\eta}$ ς> ὧδε Patrich - Di Segni; there seems to be no place for μου at the end of the line (i.e. the reader is not identified with the speaker); Goldfus - Arubas - Alliata fig. 16 (see fig. 3 here) seems to show  $A\Delta E \Lambda \Phi O N$  with only the two last letters indicated: perhaps an illegible abbreviation? – 1.3: δεῦρω Patrich - Di Segni; δεῦρω [ἔξω] Goldfus - Arubas - Alliata; read by Tybout apud SEG. - ll.2f.: a mixture of three quotations from the gospel of John, i.e. 11,21: εἶπεν οὖν ἡ Μάρθα πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν· κύριε, εἰ ἦς ὧδε οὐκ ἂν ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἀδελφός μου; 32: ἡ οὖν Μαριὰμ ὡς ἦλθεν ὅπου ἦν Ίησοῦς ἰδοῦσα αὐτὸν ἔπεσεν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς πόδας λέγουσα αὐτῷ· κύριε, εἰ ἦς ὧδε οὐκ ἄν μου ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἀδελφός; 41ff.: ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἦρεν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἄνω καὶ εἶπενπάτερ, εὐχαριστῶ σοι ὅτι ἤκουσάς μου. (42) ἐγὼ δὲ ἤδειν ὅτι πάντοτέ μου ἀκούεις, άλλὰ διὰ τὸν ὄχλον τὸν περιεστῶτα εἶπον, ἵνα πιστεύσωσιν ὅτι σύ με ἀπέστειλας. (43) καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν φωνῆ μεγάλη ἐκραύγασεν· Λάζαρε, δεῦρο ἔξω. – 1.3: αι for ε is a hypercorrect (and therefore unnecessary) variation. The first editors quote from the funeral rites of a monk, where a Greek liturgy is recorded as being said after the closure of the tomb: κατώς εἶπας, κύριε, τῆ Μάρθα, ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἀνάστασις, ἔργω τὸν λόγον ἐπλήρωσας ἐξ Ἅιδου καλέσας τὸν Λάζαρον, οὕτω τὸν δοῦλον σου ἐκ τοῦ "Αιδου ἔγειρον, φιλάνθρωπε. On the connection of this monastery and Lazarion (el-'Azariye), see Cyril, v. Euthymii 8, ed. Schwartz, p. 15f. (quoted by Kühnel 1988, 186 n.38).

Goldfus - Arubas - Alliata associate this place with Leontius Damascenus, Vita S. Stephani Sabaitae ..., Acta Sanctorum July 13th, p. 541: πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἀββᾶς Εὐστράτιος διηγήσατό μοι λέγων· εἶπέν μοί πότε ὁ γέρων· δεῦρο μετ' ἐμοῦ, τέκνον

Εὐστράτιε, ἐπειδὴ βούλομαι ἐπὶ τὴν κατωτέραν ἀπελθεῖν ἔρημον, ἔνθα ἡ θήκη τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοκτίστου, ὅπως λάβωμεν λείψανον ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀσπασόμενος καὶ προσκυνήσαντες τῆν ἀγίαν αὐτοῦ θήκην ἁγιασθῶμεν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ κειμένων ἁγίων. πορευθέντων οὖν ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν τόπον κατανθησάντων, ἔφησαν ἡμῶν τινες πλησιόχωροι Ἄραβες ... ὁ δὲ γέρων ... ἀνοίξας τὴν ἱερὰν θήκην ἔδειξέ μοι τὰ λείψανα τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοκτίστου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἁγίων πατέρων, ἀκριβῶς μεμαθηκὼς ἑνὸς ἑκάστου τὰ ὀνόματα. ἔδειξε δέ μοι καί τινος ἑτέρου ἁγίου λείψανα, χωρὶς κείμενα, καὶ εἶπεν· οὖτος ὃν ὁρᾶς μέγας ὑπῆρχεν ἀναχωρήτης, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ προγνωκώς, ἀφίκετο πρὸς τοὺς ἐνθαῦτα κατοικοῦντας πατέρας καὶ εἶπεν· θέλω κατελθεῖν εἰς τὴν θήκην τῶν πατέρων κατὼ. ... διηγούμενος δέ μοι τοῦτο ὁ ὅσιος γέρων ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἀφείλατο ἕνα τῶν ὀδόντων τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοκτίστου μετά τινα ὀλίγα λείψανα ἐκ τῶν συγκειμένων αὐτῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ...

Bibl.: O. Meinardus, SBF 15, 1964/5, 250 (only partially usable); G. Kühnel, RQA 79, 1984, 172f., fig. 8 (edd. prr.). – ESI 4, 1985, 21 (=HA 86, 23 [Hebr.]); J. Patrich - L. Di Segni, EI 19, 1987, 277ff. no. 9 (Hebr.); SEG 37, 1508; G. Kühnel, Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1988, 185; H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 283f. no. 1 figs. 16, 29 a-c (ph.); SEG 45, 1958; H. Goldfus, Tombs and Burials in Churches and Monasteries of Byzantine Palestine (324-628 AD), 1997, 198f.; Felle, Biblia epigraphica 124f. no. 199 pl. 4,5 (dr.). – Cf. P. Figueras, in: Archéologie Chrétienne 1779f.; Feissel, Chroniques 234 no. 748, 236 no. 756.

Photo: H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 281 fig. 16, 283 (dr.); G. Kühnel, Wall Painting in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1988 fig. 129.

WA

#### 3154. Greek inscription below a cross

"A third inscription runs at the foot of the Golgotha" (ed. pr.); lines above the letters identify them as abbreviations. With only a photograph to go by, not all letters can be identified with absolute certainty. There are additional letters in front of the ones reported in the ed. pr.

Findspot: Above the entrance to the burial complex; see introduction to nos. 3153-3171 fig. C. Below the cross described in no. 3153.

[--?]ŢΙ $\overline{\Gamma}$ ΡΕ $\overline{\Upsilon}$ Φ

[--?] Τίγρ(ις), Εὐφ(ράτης)

...(?) Tigris, Euphrates.

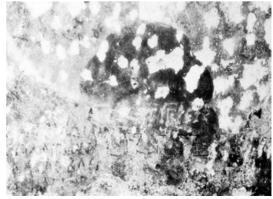


fig. 3154

Comm.:  $\overline{\Gamma P} \, \overline{E Y \Phi} \, ed.$  pr. The editors think that these are probably abbreviated names of monks or donors and suggest  $\Gamma \rho [\eta \gamma \delta \rho \iota \sigma \varsigma]$  and  $E \dot{\iota} \varphi [\dot{\eta} \mu \iota \sigma \varsigma]$ ,  $E \ddot{\iota} \varphi [\rho \alpha \sigma \tau \sigma \varsigma]$  or  $E \dot{\iota} \varphi [\rho \delta \nu \iota \sigma \varsigma]$ . With the reading of additional letters on the left-hand side, it becomes much more probable that the Euphrates and Tigris are mentioned since the depiction represents Golgatha. One expects  $\Phi \iota \sigma \tilde{\omega} \nu$  and  $\Gamma \epsilon \tilde{\omega} \nu$  to the left of these letters, but the photograph shows no traces of corresponding letters. However, the space to the left, comprising the left half of the hill of Golgatha, would suffice for two additional abbreviated words.

Bibl.: H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 285 no. 2 (ed. pr.). - SEG 45, 1959.

Photo: H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995 pl. 19.

WA

### 3155. Greek invocation of Georgius and Basilius

Letters incised into the plaster; traces of a frame are visible on top and on the left side.

Meas.: letters 1-2.5 cm.

Findspot: "On the south wall of a niche in the south-west corner of the cave" (ed. pr.); see introduction to nos. 3153-3171 figs. A, B.

MNΙΣΘΗΚΕΤΩΝΔΟΥΛΟΝΣΟ[.] ΓΕΟΡΓΙΩΚΑΙΒΑΣΙΛΙΩ ΦΥΛΑΤΤΕΤΗΝΑΥΤΩ[--] [--]ΑΜΕΧΡΙΘΑΔ+[--] ΤΩΝΑΓΙΟΝΠΑΤΕΡΟ[.] [--]Η[--]ΕΑΟΣΤΟΥΦΘΟ+[--] [--]ΡΟΥΚΑΙΑ[--]ΕΑ [--]ΑΝΙΚ[--] [--]Π[--] [--]Ν[--]Θ[--] [--]Π[--]

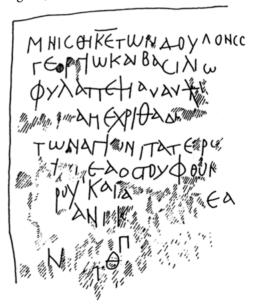


fig. 3155

μνίσθη, κ(ύρι)ε, τῶν δούλον σο[υ] | Γεωργίω καὶ Βασιλίω. | φύλαττε τὴν αὐτῶ[ν --|--]Α μέχρι θα νά '[του --] | τῶν ἁγίον πατέρο[ν |--]Η[--]ΕΑΟΣΤΟΥΦΘΟ+[--|--]ρου καὶ 'A[--]ΕΑ|[--]ΑΝΙΚ[--|--]Π[---]Ν[--]Θ[--|--]Π[--]

Remember, Lord, your servants Georgius and Basilius. Protect their ... until death ... of the holy Fathers ...rus and A...

Comm.: l.1: μνίσθη(τι) ed. pr. – ll.1f.: A medley of genitive and dative. – l.3: φύλαττε τὴν αὐτὧ[ν οἰχίαν] ed. pr.; οἰχίαν is possible, but not certain. Evidently, the editors took tau and eta to be a ligature; for the following letters the drawing suggests rather alpha and upsilon, not nu; and the last letter seems to be neither omicron nor omega: THAYAYT+? – l.4: θαν[άτου] ed. pr., which would result in a violation of the lex Youtie (iuxta lacunam ne mutaveris). – l.5: τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων αὐ][--] ed. pr. – l.6: ὀστοῦ φθορ[ὰ --] ed. pr., but the last letter is certainly not a rho, perhaps a nu. However, it is hard to see what this can mean.

Bibl.: H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 286f. no. 5 (ed. pr.). - SEG 45, 1962.

Photo: H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 287 fig. 5 (dr.).

WA

### 3156. Greek invocation by Ioanes

Letters incised in the plaster.

Meas.: letters 0.5-1 cm.

Findspot: Above no. 3153; see introduction to nos. 3153-3171 fig. C.

[--]HTHTOΔ[--]ΣΟΥ[.]ΩΑΝΟΥ

[κύριε, μνήσθ]ητη τῷ δ[ούλο] σου [Ί]ωάνου

Lord, remember your servant Ioanes.

Comm.:  $[μνήσθ]ητ<ι> το<\tilde{v}> δ[ούλου] σου ed. pr.; for the use of the dative case cf. C. Wessel, Inscriptiones Graecae Christianae Veteres Occidentis, 1989, 122f. no. 501 (Syracuse): <math>μ<ν>ησθη δ θ(εδ)ς τῷ δ(ού)λῳ σου Φασχασίῳ (Wessel refers for the confusion in the cases to Dieterich 150f.). Or perhaps <math>[βο]ήτη$ ? Cf. MAMA 1, 161: [Κ] ὑριε, βοήτι τῆ δού[λη] σου ... κὲ <math>[τῷ] δούλῳ σου ...

Bibl.: H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 285 no. 3 (ed. pr.). – SEG 45, 1960. – Cf. K. Dieterich, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache, 1898.

WA

#### 3157. Greek invocation on behalf of Ioanes

White plaster, yellow paint; written by the same hand as no. 3158.

Findspot: On the roof of the cave; see introduction to nos. 3153-3171 figs. A, B.

[.]EBOΗΘΙ ΙΟΑΝΟΥΩ [.]NΑΣΤΑΣΙ[--] [--]ANΜΣΑΦ[--] [--]AN[--]

[κύρι]ε (vel sim.) βοήθι | Ἰοάνου Ω | [Ά]ναστασι[--|--]ΑΝΜΣΑΦ[--|--]ΑΝ[--]

Lord help Ioanes ... Anastasius ...



fig. 3157

Comm.: l.3: ['A]ναστάσι[ον]: "We prefer the masculine form of the name, considering the strictly monastic character of the cave" ed. pr., but even if this reasoning is sound, it is difficult to determine the casus of the name. Considering the monastic character, one should not be tempted to read Saphira in l.4.

Bibl.: H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 290 no. 15 (ed. pr.). - SEG 45, 1972.

Photo: H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 290 fig. 15 (dr.).

WA

# 3158. Greek dipinto of an invocation on behalf of Procopis

White plaster, yellow paint; written by the same hand as no. 3157.

Findspot: On the roof of the cave, near the east opening; see introduction to nos. 3153-3171 figs. A, B.

 $\overline{\text{XE}}$ BOH $\Theta$ I ПРОКОПІN

Χ(ριστ)έ, βοήθι | Προκόπιν

Christ, help Procopis.

XE BOHO!

fig. 3158

Bibl.: H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 289f. no. 14 (ed. pr.). – SEG 45, 1971. Photo: H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 290 fig. 14 (dr.).

#### 3159. Greek inscription on behalf of the Deacon Thomas

Incised into the plaster; cursive and literary letters are mixed. Meas: letters 1-2.5 cm.

Findspot: To the left of no. 3153, near the entrance of the tomb; see introduction to

nos. 3153-3171 fig. C.

(cross) ΥΠΕΡΣΟ[..] ΡΙΑΣΘ[.]ΜΑ ΔḤΑΚΟΝΟΥΚΑ[.] ΣΩΣΟΝΑΥΤΟΝΚΕ ΠΑΝΤΑΤΤΟΠΟΕΠΙ ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΝΤΟΑ ΓΙΟΝΑ[.]ΤΟΥ ΑΑΑΜΗ (cross)

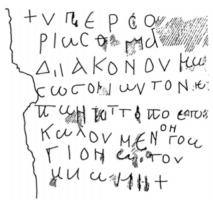


fig. 3159

ύπὲρ σο[τη]|ρίας  $\Theta[\omega]$ μᾶ | δηακόνου. κα[ὶ] | σῶσον αὐτὸν κὲ | πάντα τ(ὸν) τόπο(ν) ἐπι|καλούμενον "τὸ ἄ|γιον α[ὐ]τοῦ." | AA ἀμή(ν)

For the salvation of Thomas, the deacon. And save him and this whole place, called "his sanctuary." Amen.

Comm.: The editors note that the cursive *alpha* and *pi* have clear parallels in the 8 c. minuscule script and refer to Thompson 194. – l.7: The editors wonder whether the αὐτοῦ in  $\tau(ον)$  τόπο(ν) ἐπικαλούμενον "τὸ ἄγιον αὐτοῦ" refers to the Deacon Thomas or to God. Syntactically, Thomas seems to be the better choice, but it is easier to see this place as holy to God. – l.8: =ἀ(μήν), ἀ(μήν), ἀμή(ν)?

Bibl.: H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 285f. no. 4 (ed. pr.). – SEG 45, 1961. – Cf. Thompson, Palaeography; J. Moralee, For Salvation's Sake, 2004, 162f. no. 252; Feissel, Chroniques 236 no. 756.

Photo: H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 285 fig. 4 (dr.).

WA

#### 3160. Greek dipinto with an invocation

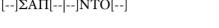
Painted in red letters on white plaster.

Meas.: letters 1 cm.

Findspot: Left side of the apse; see introduction to nos. 3153-3171 figs. A-C.

XEMN[--] [.]ΟΝΔΟΥ[--] [--]ΣΑΠ[--] [--]NΤΟ[--]

Χ(ριστ)έ, μν[ήστηθι] | [τ]ο̃ν δού[λον σου] | [--]ΣΑΠ[--|-]NTO[--]



Christ, remember your servants ...



fig. 3160

Comm.: l.2:  $[\tau]$ ον δού[λον σου] ed. pr. – ll.3f.: Most probably the names of the servants of God. – l.4:  $[\pi \alpha]$ ντο[ν] ed. pr.

Bibl.: H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 289 no. 10 (ed. pr.). - SEG 45, 1967.

Photo: H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 289 fig. 10 (dr.).

WA

#### 3161. Two Greek invocations

Small graffiti.

Findspot: On the left side of the apse; see introduction to nos. 3153-3171 figs. A-C.

- (a) ΚΥΒΟ[...]ΤΟΝΔΟΥΛΟΝΣΟΥ[--]
- (b) KEΦΥ[--]TON[--]
- (a) κύ(ριε), βο[ήθι] τὸν δοῦλόν σου [--]
- (b) κ(ύρι)ε, φύ[λαξον] τὸν [δοῦλόν σου --]
- (a) Lord, help your servant ...
- (b) Lord, protect your servant ...

Comm.: (a) The case is not correct (as happens with some other inscriptions from this site).

Bibl.: H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 289 no. 11 (ed. pr.). - SEG 45, 1968.

WA

#### 3162. Greek graffito of an invocation

Findspot: "One of many fragments of graffiti incised on the right side of the apse" (ed. pr.); see introduction to nos. 3153-3171 figs. A-C.

[--]MNH $\Sigma\Theta$ HTITOY $\Delta$ OY[--] [--]N $\Delta$ NTONTAINON

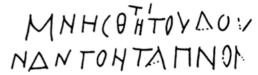


fig. 3162

[κύριε], μνήσθητι τοῦ δού[λου σου | --]ΝΔΝ, τὸν ταπ<ι>νόν

Lord, remember your servant ... the humble one.

Comm.: l.1: *tau* and *iota* were added later above the line. – l.2: [--]ναν as an end of a name? This would entail a change from the genitive case to the accusative case. For the article after the name, cf. C. Kraeling, The Excavations at Dura-Europos 8,2, 1967, 95 no. 17: μνήσκεστε Σισεον τὸν ταπινόν; IGLS 21,2, 99: Κύ(ριε), ἠλήεισον Ἐπιφανία εἰ ταπινί.

Bibl.: H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 289 no. 13 (ed. pr.). - SEG 45, 1970.

Photo: H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 289 (dr.).

WA

#### 3163. Greek inscription on a fresco

Small cross in red, "with spear and reed" (Chitty); letters above the arms of the cross. "Underneath it are fragments of an inscription in black Greek uncials, including the word KHPYKE $\Sigma$ " (Chitty).

Findspot: "Low down on the south-east wall of the window-chamber, near the back of the apse" (Chitty); see introduction to nos. 3153-3171 figs. A-C.

#### ΙΣΧΣ

[--]KHPΥKEΣ[--]

'Ι[ησοῦ]ς Χ(ριστό)ς [--] κήρυκες [--]

Jesus Christ. ... heralds ...

Comm.: Lampe s.v. κῆρυξ 2: "of those who preach gospel."

Bibl.: D. Chitty, PEQ 60, 1928, 151 (ed. pr.).

#### 3164. Fragment of a Greek dipinto

White plaster, black paint.

Findspot: "Eastern wall of the cave to the south of the apse" (ed. pr.); see introduction to nos. 3153-3171 figs. A-C.

[--]ENT $\Omega[--]$ MENA $\Sigma[--]$ 

[--] ἐν τῷ [--]ΜΕΝΑΣ[--]

... in the ...

Comm.: [--]MENA $\Sigma$ [--] is not necessarily a name.

Bibl.: H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 289 no. 12 (ed. pr.) - SEG 45, 1969.

WA

# 3165. Fragment with Greek letters

"Asphaltitic limestone ... The three letters ... over the right-hand side of what appears to be part of a large roundel – The stone suggests part of a sarcophagus" (Chitty).

[--]ΦEP[--]

Comm.: Goldfus - Arubas - Alliata: "Maybe one of the stone or marble fragments found by Chitty ... were pieces of that plaque [i.e. the one once inserted in the recess below inscription no. 3153]. Fragment 1 – a low-relief carving of, supposedly, a man or woman in orans and/or fragment 2 – a marble piece with three



fig. 3165

letters which were probably part of a burial inscription, might have well fitted into the general theme of the three illustrative elements." –  $[\theta \eta \kappa \eta \ \delta\iota \alpha] \phi \epsilon \rho [0 \upsilon \sigma \alpha$  --] Chitty, suggesting "the σόρος (sic) in which Theoctistus and Maris were buried?" But if this is really part of a sarcophagus,  $\theta \eta \kappa \eta$  is unlikely.

Bibl.: D. Chitty, PEQ 60, 1928, 151 (ed. pr.). – SEG 8, 313. – Cf. H. Goldfus – B. Arubas – E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 280 n.91.

Photo: D. Chitty, PEQ 60, 1928, pl. 7,11.

#### 3166. Greek pasticcio of John and Matthew 11,28

A fresco depicts Jesus in a "semi-transparent" mandorla; the mandorla is supported by four angels; Jesus holds a book on his knee, and the inscriptions are inside the book (see Chitty 148 for a more precise description). The part of the fresco showing the book was removed at some point. Four fragments preserving large parts of the text resurfaced at the shop of an antiquities dealer in Bethlehem who reported to have bought them in Hebron. They were published by B. Lifshitz in 1970 who rightly believed that all fragments belonged to the decoration of a church. He assumed them to come from the vicinity of Hebron and named Yatta (Ἰέτταν), Kh. el-Karmil and Kh. Ma'in (Mαών) as possible options. None of the publications dealing with the fragments after Lifshitz trace their origin to the monastery at Deir el-Mukalik.

Meas.: (a) upper left fragment: h 9, w 12 cm; lower left fragment: h 12.5, w 14.5 cm; (b) upper right fragment: h 14, w 10 cm; lower right fragment: h 14, w 13 cm; letters (left side) 1.3-1.6, (right side) 1.2-2 cm (Lifshitz).

Findspot: In the apse; see introduction to nos. 3153-3171 figs. A-C.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. 74.6.296.

(a) (cross) ΕΓΩΕΙΜΙ ΤΟΦΩΣΚΑΙ ΗΖΩΗΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ ΟΠΙΣΤΕΥ ΩΝΕΙΣΕΜΕ ΕΧΕΙΖΩΗΝΑΙ ΩΝΙΟΝΚ∫ΕΙΣ ΚΡΙΣΙΝΟΥΚΕΡΧΕΤ∫

(b) (cross) ΔΕΥΤΕ ΠΡΟΣΜΕΠ ΑΝΤΕΣΟΙ ΚΟΠΙΩΝ ΤΕΣΚ∫ΠΕ ΦΟΡΤΙΣΜΕ ΝΟΙΚΑΓΩ ΑΝΑΠΑΥ ΣΩΥΜΑΣ



- (a) ἐγώ εἰμι | τὸ φῶς καὶ |
  ἡ ζωὴ καὶ | ἀνάστασις. | ὁ
  πιστεύ|ων εἰς ἐμὲ | ἔχει ζωὴν
  αἰ|ώνιον κ(αὶ) εἰς | κρίσιν οὐκ
  ἔρχετ(αι)
- (b) δεῦτε | πρός με π|άντες οἱ | κοπιῶν|τες κ(αὶ) πε|φορτισμέ|νοι, κἀγὼ | ἀναπαύ|σω ὑμᾶς
- (a) I am the light and the life and (the) resurrection: he that believeth in me has everlasting life and shall not come into condemnation.
- (b) Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. (King James Version)



fig. 3166.2 (b)

Comm.: A Johannine quotation was used at the entrance to the burial of the founder(?), no. 3153.

(a) Imperfect though the resemblance is, Felle connected these lines with John 11,25f.: εἶπεν αὐτῆ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ ζωή· ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ κἄν ἀποθάνη ζήσεται, (26) καὶ πᾶς ὁ ζῶν καὶ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνη εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. In reality, we have a mixture of different passages of John, cf. 3,15: ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐν αὐτῷ ἔχη ζωὴν αἰώνιον; 3,16: ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων εἰς αὐτὸν μὴ ἀπόληται ἀλλ' ἔχη ζωὴν αἰώνιον; 3,36: ὁ πιστεύων εἰς αὐτὸν οὐ κρίνεται; 3,36: ὁ πιστεύων εἰς τὸν υἱὸν ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον; 5,24: ᾿Αμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ὁ τὸν λόγον μου ἀκούων καὶ πιστεύων τῷ πέμψαντί με ἔχει ζωὴν



fig. 3166.3

αἰώνιον καὶ εἰς κρίσιν οὐκ ἔρχεται; 6,40: ἵνα πᾶς ὁ θεωρῶν τὸν υἱὸν καὶ πιστεύων εἰς αὐτὸν ἔχη ζωὴν αἰώνιον; 8,12: ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου. – 1.8: KAI Chitty. – 1.9: EPXETAI Chitty.

(b) A quotation of Mt 11,28. – l.5: TE $\Sigma$  KAITE Chitty, but on the fragment one can still see that kappa is followed immediately by a letter with a horizontal upper bar, i.e. pi. Therefore,  $\kappa\alpha$  was abbreviated as in (a) l.8. – l.7: NOI KAIEF $\Omega$  Chitty, which would be a departure from the NT text. But one can still see that the remains of the letter in front of the fragmentary gamma and the omega belong to an alpha with its oblique cross bar. In the lacuna between this alpha and NOI at the beginning of the line there is space for one letter, i.e. kappa.

Bibl.: D. Chitty, PEQ 60, 1928, 148 (ed. pr.). – B. Lifshitz, RB 77, 1970, 77ff. nos. 15-17 pls. VIb, VII; BE 1971, 701; Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 75f. pl. 14,5; id., Judaea 77 pl. 14,5; Felle, Biblia epigraphica 111f. nos. 162-4, 117 no. 177. – Cf. L. Małunowicz, in: E. Livingstone ed., Studia evangelica VII, 1982, 335f. nos. 27, 32, 40; H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 284 n.98; Magen - Kagan, Christianity II 206.

Photo: Israel Museum, Jerusalem; D. Chitty, PEQ 60, 1928, 148 pl. 5 fig. 7.

WA

### 3167. Greek dipinto with Ps 23,7 or 23,9

White dipinto on blue ground in two parts.

Findspot: At the foot of the ascension scene in the apsis, around the lower left angel (cf. no. 3166). The first part is written in two lines to the left-hand side of the angel beneath the wing and arm; the second part on the right side of the angel, the first line beneath his wing and arm, the second one below, beneath the puff of the angel's garment. See introduction to nos. 3153-3171 figs. A-C.

(cross) ΑΡΑΤΕΠΥΛΑΣ ΟΙΑΡΧΟΝΤΕΣΥΜΩΝ ΚΕΠΑΡΘ[...]ΠΥΛΑΙ ΑΙΩΝ[...]



fig. 3167.1 (left part)

ἄρατε πύλας | οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν,  $\|$  κ(αὶ) ἐπάρθ[ητε], πύλαι | αἰών[ιοι]

Lift up your gates, oh princes, and be lifted up, oh everlasting doors.



fig. 3167.2 (right part)



fig. 3167.3

Comm.: Ps 23,7-10: ἄρατε πύλας, οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐπάρθητε, πύλαι αἰώνιοι, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης. (8) τίς ἐστιν οὖτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης; κύριος κραταιὸς καὶ δυνατός, κύριος δυνατὸς ἐν πολέμω. (9) ἄρατε πύλας, οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐπάρθητε, πύλαι αἰώνιοι, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης. (10) τίς ἐστιν οὖτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης; κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων, αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης. – The painting is possibly late Byzantine, Kühnel 187.

Bibl.: G. Kühnel, Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1988, 187 n.43 (left part); H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 287 no. 6 (edd. prr.). – SEG 45, 1963; Felle, Biblia epigraphica 117 no. 178.

Photo: G. Kühnel, pls. 67 fig. 122, 65 fig. 117, 66 fig. 119.

#### 3168. Greek inscription with names of apostles and evangelists

Below the painting of the ascension (cf. no. 3166) there is a row of (thirteen) standing figures identified by painted inscriptions. The reading of some of the inscriptions suggests that the figures are those of the twelve apostles and Theoctistus, the founder of the monastery.

Findspot: Wall of the apse; see introduction to nos. 3153-3171 figs. A-C.

[..]ΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ Α[..]ΡΕΑΣ ΠΕΤΡ[..]

[Φί]λιππος, Μᾶρκος, Ματθαῖος, Ά[νδ]ρέας, Πέτρ[ος]

Philippus, Marcus, Matthaeus, Andreas, Petrus.

Comm.: According to Chitty, paleography and style "would fit in well with the 13th century, though there is nothing to forbid its being a few centuries earlier"; but cf. Kühnel 187: "The apostles ... cover up an earlier layer of paint. It seems that the earlier paintings did not differ thematically from the later ones ... The thematic synchronism of the lower zone is proof of the fact that the later medieval decoration of the church was modelled on the original decorative répertoire"; it may be assumed that the inscriptions reflect an earlier state of affairs.

Bibl.: D. Chitty, PEQ 60, 1928, 149 pl. 4 fig. 5 (only Marcus and Matthaeus, inscriptions not visible); G. Kühnel, Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1988, 187 (the last four names) (edd. prr.). – H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 287f. no. 7; SEG 45, 1964.

WA

# 3169. Greek invocation (?) of Stephanus

Findspot: In the apse; "visible through a crack in the upper plaster, on the lower second layer of painted plaster. Traces of a frame" (ed. pr.); see introduction to nos. 3153-3171 figs. A-C.

... Stephanus ...



fig. 3169

Comm.: l.1: The ed. pr. saw an *alpha*; l.2: [--] σου Στεφά[νου] ed. pr. (as in: *Lord, remember thy servant Stephanus*), but the drawing shows the first letter of the line as *tau* or *gamma*, certainly not as the lunar *sigma* used in the name.

Bibl.: H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 288 no. 8 (ed. dr.). - SEG 45, 1965.

Photo: H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 288 fig. 8 (dr.).

WA

# 3170. Remains of a fresco with Greek inscription

The fresco has "fragments of two hands, the left hand covering the body horizontally, the right hand raised upright ... their chief interest may perhaps be in the fragment of inscription attached to them in white on blue below" (Chitty). Goldfus - Arubas - Alliata only record "white paint on a dark background."

Findspot: "On the west face of the north wall of the apse" (Chitty), i.e. on the western face of wall RW 3 (see introduction to nos. 3153-3171 fig. C).

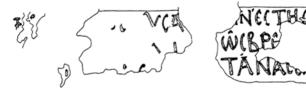


fig. 3170

[--] $\Sigma$ [--]A[.]Y $\Sigma$ A[--]ANE $\Sigma$ TH $\Sigma$ A $\Sigma$ ΦY $\Sigma$ IN[--] [--]++[--] $\Omega$ ΣΒΡΕΦΟ $\Sigma$ ΕΙ $\Sigma$ AΓΚΑΛ[--] [--]+[--]TANA $\Sigma$ Ω[--]

[--]ΙΣ[--]Α[.]ΥΣΑ[-- ἐξ]ανέστησας φύσιν [--|--]++[--]ΩΣ βρέφος εἰς ἀγκάλ[ας --|--] +[--]ΤΑΝΑΣΩ[--]

... you did raise up (our?) nature ... child unto the arms ...

Comm.: Chitty saw only the first two lines, but he saw some more letters to the right-hand side of the inscription than is shown in Goldfus - Arubas - Alliata's drawing. We have no way of knowing whether the preserved letters in l.1 mark the beginning of the text or not. – l.3: according to the drawing; Goldfus - Arubas - Alliata print only ... $\Sigma$ A $\Pi$ ...

"This fresco might be early, but it is too fragmentary for us to be very certain. Superimposed upon it are some of Teofan's inscriptions" (Chitty). Goldfus - Arubas - Alliata point to the accentuation marks on some letters as a sign for a late

date. The two texts are not necessarily connected, but one could make a case for a hymn on Mary and a verse on the presentation of Jesus at the temple.

- (a) Chitty wrote ἀνέστησας φύσιν and translated: "Thou didst raise up against nature," but cf. A. Kominis G. Schirò, Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris 3, 1972 (canones Novembri), day 1, canon 4,1, ode 7, l.12ff.: Τὸ ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης ἄνθος Ἰεσσαὶ καὶ τῆς ῥάβδου τοῦ Ἀαρὼν βλαστήσασα, ἄχραντε θεοτόκε, τὴν νεκρωθεῖσαν ἐξανέστησας φύσιν ἡμῶν (same text in 11, 1978 [canones Iulii], day 1, canon 1,1, ode 7, l. 22).
- (b) Chitty wrote βρέφος εἰς ἀγκάλ[ας μητρός] and translated: "child unto the arms of its mother," but the nearest parallels lead to a different context: Eus. DE 8, 2, 114: Συμεὼν ὁ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀγκάλας αὐτὸν βρέφος ἔτι ὄντα λαβών; Didymos, Comm. in Zachariam 5, 125: ὁ δικαιω[θεὶς] Συμεὼν εἰς τὰς ἀγκάλας ἑαυτοῦ δεξάμενος [τὸ ἐκ] τῆς ἀπειρογάμου Μαρίας τεχθὲν βρέφος, δεικν[ὺς αὐ]τό φησιν; ΑCO 1,1, 5 p. 112 (Ephesus, 431 A.D.): Συμεὼν ὁ δίκαιος, ὅτε τὸ θεῖον εἰς ἀγκάλας ἐδέξατο βρέφος, ἔφη πρὸς τὸν θεόν ... All of them start from Lk 2,28: καὶ αὐτὸς ἐδέξατο (scil. Simeon) αὐτὸ (scil. τὸ παιδίον Ἰησοῦν) εἰς τὰς ἀγκάλας καὶ εὐλόγησεν τὸν θεὸν καὶ εἶπεν ... The word βρέφος is used for Jesus in Lk 2,12, 16. [--]ΩΣ rather the end of an adverb than ὡς.

Bibl.: D. Chitty, PEQ 60, 1928, 149 pl. 4 fig. 6 (inscription not visible) (ed. pr.). – H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 288 no. 9; SEG 45, 1966.

Photo: H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 288 fig. 9 (dr.).

WA

# 3171. Greek inscription of St. Ioanes the theologian and beginning of a liturgical hymn

Chitty describes a fresco of the crucifixion with the virgin and St. John below the cross on the rear wall of a niche; on each of the side walls of the niche there is "a bearded monastic saint carrying a scroll," but "it was impossible to get near enough to read the Greek inscriptions on the scrolls" (Chitty). This changed partly with Kühnel and Goldfus - Arubas - Alliata, but still only poor quality photographs are available. Kühnel identified the saint on the right side wall as St. John Damascene and the text written upside down on the scroll which he is holding as the beginning of a liturgical hymn (b). Goldfus - Arubas - Alliata noticed in addition that St. John the Evangelist in the crucifixion scene was identified by a caption written vertically to the right-hand side of his nimbus (a).

Findspot: In the larger of the two "hanging" niches in the rock face above the cave church; see introduction to nos. 3153-3171 fig. B, no. N.

- (a) ΟΑΙΩΟΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΣ
- (b) (cross)  $\Sigma T \overline{P\Sigma} KATE$

ΠΑΓΙΕΝ ΚΡΑΝΙΩ

 $KHN\Theta[.]$ 

[--]



fig. 3171.1 (a)

- (a) ὁ ἅ(γιος) Ἰω(άννης) ὁ θεολόγος
- (b) στ(αυ)ρ(δ)ς κατε|πάγι ἐν | κρανίω | κ(αὶ) ἤνθ[η|σεν ἡμῖν ἀθανασίαν]
- (a) St. Ioanes the Theologian.
- (b) The cross was fixed on Calvary and gave us immortality.



fig. 3171.2 (b)



fig. 3171.3 (b)

Comm.: Accentuations, ligatures etc. of this type do not usually occur before the 9 c. AD. – (b) Goldfus - Arubas - Alliata suppose that there was room for only five lines on the scroll. The quotation continues: κ(αὶ) ἤνθησεν ἡμῖν ἀθανασίαν ἐκ πηγῆς ἀενάου, τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ Σωτῆρος. This is a liturgical hymn, written by John the Damascene or by his successor, Joseph the Hymnograph (Guillaume). The turban identifies this figure as John the Damascene – an iconography that comes into existence only in the 12 c. AD (Kühnel 1984, 189).

Bibl.: G. Kühnel, RQA 79, 1984, 181 178 fig. 19 (b 1-3); H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 290ff. no. 16 (a+b) (edd. prr.). – G. Kühnel, Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1988, 189 pl. 70 (b 1-3); SEG 45, 1973. – Cf. T. Fast, ZDPV 36, 1913, 28ff., fig. 2; D. Chitty, PEQ 60, 1928, 150 pls. 5, 6 figs. 8f.; D. Guillaume, Paraclitique ou Grand Octoèque I 1977, 7.

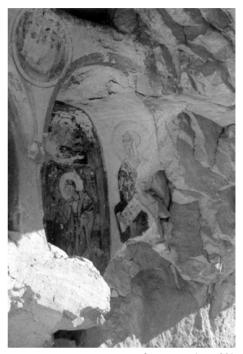


fig. 3171.4 (a and b)

Photo: H. Goldfus - B. Arubas - E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995 pl. 9,7, 291 fig. 16 (dr.); G. Kühnel, Wall Painting in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1988 pl. 71 no. 128.

WA

# 3172.-3179. Cistern near the monastery of St. Theoctistus

On the way to the monastery, about 100 m to the west of its ruins is a cistern; several inscriptions, crosses and drawings are scratched into the cliff face at this place, most plausibly by visitors, thereby dating the graffiti to the time of the monastery's operation. For a general view of the placing of the graffiti, see fig. A below. Traces of monastic settlement can be found at different places in the vicinity of this monastery (cf. nos. 3180, 3181).

Bibl.: T. Fast, ZDPV 36, 1913, 28ff.; D. Chitty, PEQ 60, 1928, 134ff.; G. Kühnel, Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1988, 181ff.; H. Goldfus – B. Arubas – E. Alliata, SBF 45, 1995, 247ff.

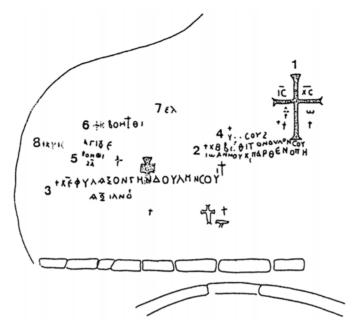


fig. 3172.A J. Patrich - L. Di Segni, EI 19, 1987, 274 fig. 4

# 3172. Cross with inscription

Letters above and below the arms of the cross. For a drawing of the complete cliff face see introduction to nos. 3172-3179 fig. A.

Meas.: h 100, w 70 cm (cross); letters 7 cm, 5 cm.

 $\overline{I\Sigma} \overline{X\Sigma}$ A  $\Omega$ 

'Ι(ησοῦ)ς X(ριστό)ς. | A Ω

Jesus Christ. Alpha (and) Omega.

Bibl.: J. Patrich - L. Di Segni, EI 19, 1987, 274 no. 1 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.) – ESI 4, 1985, 21 (=HA 86, 23 [Hebr.]); SEG 37, 1502.

Photo: J. Patrich - L. Di Segni, EI 19, 1987, 274 fig. 4 (dr.).



fig. 3172

#### 3173. Invocation of Christ

For a drawing of the complete cliff face see introduction to nos. 3172-3179 fig. A.

(cross) ΧΡΒΟΗΘΙΤΟΝΔΟΥΛΟΝΣΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥΚΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΠΗ

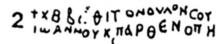


fig. 3173

Χρ(ιστέ), βοήθι τον δούλον σου | Ἰωάννου κ(αὶ) Παρθενόπη(ς)

Christ, help your servants Ioannes and Parthenope.

Comm.: The editors comment on the rarity of the name Parthenope, but this is belied by the existence of many instances of this name. For the missing *sigma*, cf. Gignac I 124 (alternatively, the inscriber used the wrong case).

Bibl.: J. Patrich - L. Di Segni, EI 19, 1987, 274 no. 2 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – ESI 4, 1985, 21 (=HA 86, 23 [Hebr.]); SEG 37, 1503; Feissel, Chroniques 234 no. 748.

Photo: J. Patrich - L. Di Segni, EI 19, 1987, 274 fig. 4 (dr.).

WA

#### 3174. Invocation of Christ

Some of the letters are above a cross, which had existed before the inscription was made. For a drawing of the complete cliff face see introduction to nos. 3172-3179 fig. A. Meas.: letters 4 cm.



fig. 3174

(cross) ΚΕΦΥΛΑΞΟΝΤΗΝΔΟΥΛΗΝΣΟΥ ΑΞΙΑΝΑ

κ(ύρι)ε, φύλαξον τὴν δούλην σου | Άξιάνα

Lord, protect your servant Axiana.

Comm.: AΞΙΛΝΑ=Axilina ed. pr., 'Aξιανα Bingen apud SEG. LGPN 3 A has at least an "Axianus" and quotes CIL 10, 8059.192: *L. Herenni Axiani* (instrumentum

domesticum, Naples museum). For the omission of the final nasal "in pausa," cf. Gignac I 111f.

Bibl.: J. Patrich - L. Di Segni, EI 19, 1987, 274f. no. 3 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – ESI 4, 1985, 21 (=HA 86, 23 [Hebr.]); SEG 37, 1504.

Photo: J. Patrich - L. Di Segni, EI 19, 1987, 274 fig. 4 (dr.).

WA

# 3175. Fragmentary Greek invocation

For a drawing of the complete cliff face see introduction to nos. 3172-3179 fig. A.

 $\begin{array}{l} \text{(cross)} \\ \text{[--]Y[..]} \Sigma OYZ[\text{--]} \end{array}$ 

[-- δο]υ[λ.] σου Ζ[--]

4 + . . corz

fig. 3175

... your servant Z...

Bibl.: J. Patrich - L. Di Segni, EI 19, 1987, 275 no. 4 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – ESI 4, 1985, 21 (=HA 86, 23 [Hebr.]).

Photo: J. Patrich - L. Di Segni, EI 19, 1987, 274 fig. 4 (dr.).

WA

#### 3176. Invocation

For a drawing of the complete cliff face see introduction to nos. 3172-3179 fig. A. Meas.: letters 1.5 cm.

 $\begin{array}{l} A\Gamma IO\Sigma \\ BOH\Theta I \\ ZA[--] \text{ (cross)} \end{array}$ 

ΎΑγιος, | βοήθι | Ζα[--]

Holy One, help Za...



fig. 3176

Comm.: l.1: The drawing seems to show  $\dot{\alpha}\gamma$ (ou with *omicron* and *upsilon* written in ligature and *epsilon* or *theta* rather than *sigma* at the end of the line. – Zacharias or Zenus, ed. pr.

Bibl.: J. Patrich - L. Di Segni, EI 19, 1987, 275f. no. 5 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – ESI 4, 1985, 21 (=HA 86, 23 [Hebr.]); SEG 37, 1505.

Photo: J. Patrich - L. Di Segni, EI 19, 1987, 274 fig. 4 (dr.).

WA

#### 3177. Invocation of the Lord

For a drawing of the complete cliff face see introduction to nos. 3172-3179 fig. A. Meas.: letters 4-4.5 cm.

(cross) KBOH (cross)  $\Theta I$ 

6 + sonte

κ(ύριε), βοήθι

fig. 3177

Lord, help.

Comm.: Whether a name followed the βοήθι cannot be determined.

Bibl.: J. Patrich - L. Di Segni, EI 19, 1987, 276 no. 6 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – ESI 4, 1985, 21 (=HA 86, 23 [Hebr.]); SEG 37, 1506.

Photo: J. Patrich - L. Di Segni, EI 19, 1987, 274 fig. 4 (dr.).

WA

#### 3178. Fragmentary graffito

For a drawing of the complete cliff face see introduction to nos. 3172-3179 fig. A.

[--]EA[--]

7 ελ

Bibl.: J. Patrich - L. Di Segni, EI 19, 1987, 276 no. 7 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.).

fig. 3178

Photo: J. Patrich - L. Di Segni, EI 19, 1987, 274 fig. 4 (dr.).

WA

#### 3179. Invocation of Christ

For a drawing of the complete cliff face see introduction to nos. 3172-3179 fig. A.

(cross)  $K\Upsilon I\Sigma$ 

Κύ(ριος) Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς

8+2416

Lord Jesus.

fig. 3179

Bibl.: J. Patrich - L. Di Segni, EI 19, 1987, 276 no. 8 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – ESI 4, 1985, 21 (=HA 86, 23 [Hebr.]); SEG 37, 1507.

Photo: J. Patrich - L. Di Segni, EI 19, 1987, 274 fig. 4 (dr.).

WA

#### 3180. Cross painted on a wall

Cross in red, letters above the arms.

Findspot: "Some 200 yards further up the valley, round a corner, on the same side, is what appears to be a granary rather than a cistern." Above this granary was a small "cave chapel with three niches almost natural in its northern ... side, and opposite them, on a kind of natural dome which formed the roof of the cave, a cross" (Chitty).

ΙΣ ΧΣ Α Α

'Ι(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς. | Α ΄Ω΄

Jesus Christ. Alpha Omega.

Comm.: "An A hanging from each arm – the  $\Omega$  had become completely degraded into an A" (Chitty).

Bibl.: D. Chitty, PEQ 60, 1928, 140 (ed. pr.). – H. Goldfus, Tombs and Burials in Churches and Monasteries of Byzantine Palestine (324-628 A.D.), 1997, 198f.

WA

# 3181. "Jesus Christ" painted on cliff wall

Parts of the cliff wall were coated with plaster; some paintings were found (a crucifixion, saints), crosses in white were drawn on the wall; "auch die Zeichen IC XC sind mehrfach vertreten" (Fast).

Findspot: "In kurzer Entfernung voneinander (vereinigen sich) fünf Täler: von Westen wadi es-sidr und wadi mter, von Süden wadi el-waschasche und wadi scho'b el-hedschdschadsch und von Norden kommend wadi scho'b ed-derwisch. Sie bilden zusammen das wadi ed-dabr ... Baureste ..., welche sich an steiler Felswand etwa 20 Minuten unterhalb der Vereinigung der oben aufgezählten Täler befinden" (Fast).

 $I\Sigma X\Sigma$ 

Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς

Jesus Christ.

Comm.: See description, where Fast notes that these letters could be seen at many places on the wall.

Bibl.: T. Fast, ZDPV 36, 1913, 28ff. (ed. pr.).

WA

## LXVII. Beth Shemesh

## 3182. Greek inscription on a mosaic

"A colored mosaic that included a Greek inscription and crosses" (ed. pr.).

Findspot: During a survey of the area between Moshav Yish'i and the western industrial region of Beth Shemesh, site 18.

Comm.: "Site 18 is the only site in the survey that is dated with certainty to the Byzantine period, due to a Greek inscription that was discovered within a mosaic pavement. This pavement was probably part of a small church, in whose immediate vicinity was a cistern and an olive press" (Betzer). The mosaic was covered again. The inscription cannot be read from the only available photograph.

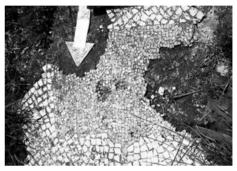


fig. 3182

Bibl.: P. Betzer, HA-ESI 124, 2012, fig. 2 (www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\_detail\_eng.aspx?id=1974&mag\_id=119, viewed: 11.12.2016).

Photo: IAA.

WA

# LXVIII. Kh. Deiry

## 3183. Greek mosaic inscription in a church

The apse of the chapel was paved with a mosaic; the inscription was put into a tabula ansata. "The mosaic carpet is decorated with a recurring pattern of intersecting circles, the intersections of which form cross designs" (Magen - Kagan).

Findspot: The site Kh. Deiry is located near Moshav Nes-Harim, 5 km east of Beth Shemesh, where a small basilica church with narthex was found, whose first phase dated to the 6 c. AD. At a later time a chapel (10.5x4 m) with square apse was attached to the southern side of the church. For the church, see Magen - Kagan. Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 2009-650.



fig. 3183.1

 $\begin{array}{l} ({\rm cross}) \, \overline{KE} O \overline{\Theta} \overline{\Sigma} [\text{--}] + E \Omega \Delta O POY \Delta IA \Phi Y \Lambda A \Xi ONTOY \Sigma \\ \Delta O Y \Lambda + [\text{--}] + N IN \int \Theta E \Omega \Delta O \Sigma IA N E I \Lambda \Lambda O Y \Sigma T P I O N \\ \int A + [\text{--}] + \Theta E \Omega \Phi Y \Lambda A K T O N \int I \Omega A N \Pi P E \Sigma B Y \int K [\text{--}] MAP IA \Sigma \int I O A N O Y T O N \Pi P O \\ [\text{--}] + + \nabla \overline{KE} E \Lambda E I \Sigma O N \Sigma T E \Phi A \int \\ \end{array}$ 

κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θ(εὸ)ς [τοῦ ἀγίου] Θεωδόρου διαφύλαξον τοὺς | δούλο[υς σου --]+NIN (καὶ) Θεωδοσίαν εἰλλουστρίον | (καὶ) Α+[--]+ Θεωφύλακτον (καὶ) Ἰωάν(νην) πρεσβύ(τερον, -τέρους). | Κ[--] Μαρίας (καὶ) Ἰοάνου τον προ|[--]++ ς. κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέισον Στέφα(νον).

O Lord, God of St. Theodorus, save your servants ... and Theodosia, the illustrious one, and A... Theophylactus and Ioanes, the priest(s?). ... of Mary and Ioanes the ... Lord, have pity on Stephanus.

Comm.: The excavators dated the site to the 6 c. or 7 c. AD. – l.1: Di Segni apud SEG translated "O Lord God of saint Theodorus," referring to SEG 28, 1377 (Eboda): κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θ(εὸ)ς τοῦ ἀγίου Θεοδώ|ρου;



fig. 3183.2 (right side, detail)

Meimaris, Sacred Names 130ff. has collected inscriptions mentioning this saint; cf. here no. 2749. – 1.2: [--]ωνίν? Di Segni understood Ά[ντ]ώνιν. "One would expect the feminine form (ε)ἰλλούστριαν: either the epithet also belonged to Antonius but was left in the singular or there is a confusion between O and A," Di Segni apud SEG. For the adjective cf. SEG 36, 1325 (Beersheba): Άναστασί[ου] ἰλλουστρίου καὶ εὐεργέτο[υ]. Illustris started out its career as the highest senatorial title. From the middle of the 5 c. on its bearers had the right to call themselves μεγαλοπρεπέστατος or ἐνδοξότατος. Illustres were still connected with the senate under Justinian, but it seems that this inscription is an example of local κτήτορες using the title, corroborating a date in the late 6 c. or early 7 c. AD. – 1.3: (καὶ) ἀν[άπαυσον --]N Di Segni; it seems that the series of names depending from διαφύλαξον ends with this line. At the end of the line, Di Segni opted for the singular πρεσβύ(τερον). – 1.4: Κ(ύρι)ε [μνήσθητι -- καί] Μαρίας Di Segni. Some kind of invocation of the deity is surely called for here. Following two names in the genitive, τον is necessarily a genitive plural; looking at the end of the other lines  $\pi pol[--]$  has to be a complete syllable: neither  $\pi \rho o | [\sigma - ]$  nor  $\pi \rho o | [\tau - ]$  seems possible, which makes "who have offered" (προ[σενεγκότων], Di Segni; vel sim.) impossible; τῶν προ[[λαβότων]? – 1.5: Di Segni (apud SEG) read [--] $\Delta S$ , as in [ $i\nu$ ] $\delta$ .  $\varsigma$ , "in the 6th indiction," which could point to "587/588, 602/603 or 617/618 AD ...; of these three dates, the two later ones fit the palaeography better than the first," Di Segni apud SEG.

Bibl.: SEG 60, 1722 (communication by Di Segni) (ed. pr.). – D. Ein-Mor, in: New Studies 3, 144ff., figs. 5, 6 (Hebr.); Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 70; Madden, Corpus 114f. no 156.

Photo: Sky View Photography, by courtesy of IAA; D. Ein-Mor, by courtesy of IAA.

WA

# LXIX. Qumran

#### Introduction

The literature about Kh. Qumran and 'Ein Feshkha (nos. 3278-3279) and the surrounding area, about Qumran in particular, is vast. The interpretation of the archaeological discoveries, the nature of the settlement at Qumran and the identity of its inhabitants, who produced the manuscripts found in the caves in the vicinity of Qumran – all this is the subject of numerous volumes and articles. There is no need for an introduction; a brief bibliography should suffice.

A succinct survey of the finds and full bibliography may be found in NEAEHL 4, 1993, 1235-41; 5, 2008, 2107f. Other brief surveys and references in: Anchor Bible Dictionary 5, 1992, 590-4; TIR 116 s.v. 'Ein Fashkha and 210 s.v. Qumran; Encyclopaedia Judaica 16, 2nd ed. 2007, 768-75 s.v. Qumran.

#### Some recent works may be added:

J. Magness, Debating Qumran: Collected Essays on its Archaeology, 2004; ead., in: D. Edwards ed., Religion and Society in Roman Palestine, 2004, 146-61; K. Galor - J.-B. Humbert - J. Zangenberg eds., Qumran, the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates, 2006; Y. Magen - Y. Peleg, The Qumran Excavations 1993-2004: Preliminary Report, 2008; J. Frey - C. Claussen eds., Qumran und Archäologie – wechselseitige Perspektiven, 2011.

## Inscriptions

## 3184. Limestone weight with Greek or Latin inscription

Limestone weight in the shape of a disk with slightly rounded lateral surfaces, broken in half and worked with a spiked tool. Fragmentary inscription, either in Greek or Latin script. The photograph printed in the ed. pr. shows the inscription in inverse order. Since Lemaire does not comment on this point, it remains unclear whether he overlooked it or the photograph was printed back-to-front.

Meas.: ø (max.) 9.4, ø (bottom) 8.1, th 6 cm; wt 509.5 g.

Findspot: Locus 110, inside a cistern.

[-]PIO (?)

[-]ριο *or* [-]pio

Comm.: Lemaire: "On pourrait penser à un nom propre tel que MA]PIO en le rapprochant de la graphie latine MARION, attestée sur un ossuaire [=CIIP I 570]." A similar, complete example, weighing 195.5 g from the Temple Mount in Jerusalem (CIIP I 673) with EPIO (not inversely) was read with some hesitation as ἔριο(ν), meaning "wool." This notion can hardly be correct. The interpretation of both inscriptions remains elusive.

Bibl.: A. Lemaire, in: Humbert - Gunneberg, Qumrân 358 no. KhQ 2124 (ed. pr.). – J. Humbert - A. Chambon, Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Aïn Feshkha I 1994, 326.

Photo: A. Lemaire, in: Humbert - Gunneberg, Qumrân no. KhQ 2124 (ph. and dr.).



fig. 3184.1

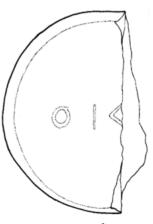


fig. 3184.2

PW

## 3185. Seal with "Iosepus"

Limestone seal with two lines of Greek letters forming one name.

Meas.: seal: h 4.7 cm; base: h 2.35, w 3.3 cm (Lemaire).

Findspot: Locus 30.

ΙΩΣΗ ΠΟΣ

Ίώση πος

Iosepus.



fig. 3185.1

Comm.: De Vaux in ed. pr. originally read the last letter in l.1 as *iota*, but enough remains of it to see that it is an *eta*. This was a common Greek spelling of the biblical Joseph.

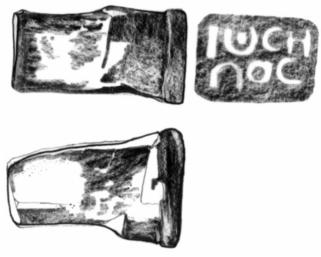


fig. 3185.2

Bibl.: R. de Vaux, RB 61, 1954, 206-36 at 229 (ed. pr.). – J. Humbert - A. Chambon, Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Aïn Feshkha I 1994, 303; A. Lemaire, in: Humbert - Gunneberg, Qumrân 344f. no. KhQ 439; M. Richey, Dead Sea Discoveries 19, 2012, 177-97 at 187.

Photo: A. Lemaire, in: Humbert - Gunneberg, Qumrân no. KhQ 439 (ph. and dr.).

JJP

## 3186. Stone with Greek letters?

Small block of rough limestone. Meas.: h 7, w 6.5, d 4.1 cm.

Findspot: Locus 121, "niveau supérieur"; found on 19 February 1955 (Humbert - Chambon 1994 fig. 204f. for a picture of the locus; ibid. plan IV and V for a general sketch of the building and its vicinity).

(a)-(c)  $\Delta$ 

(a)-(c) *Delta*.

"Spécialement sur les photographies, on serait tenté de lire deux lettres grecques: TO mais cela est très conjectural. L'interprétation de cette sorte de tampon/sceau (?) reste énigmatique" (Lemaire).

Bibl.: A. Lemaire, in: Humbert - Gunneberg, Qumrân 360 no. KhQ 2145 (ed. pr.). – J. Humbert - A. Chambon, Fouilles Khirbet Qumran et 'Ain Feshkha I 1994, 330.

Photo: A. Lemaire, in: Humbert - Gunneberg, Qumrân no. KhQ 2145.



fig. 3186 WA

# 3187. Two column bases and a column drum bearing the Greek letter *delta* as mason's mark

Two composite column bases (a+b) and a column drum (c). All three are of limestone, their upper surfaces are provided with square holes for attaching pins in the center, and bear the engraved Greek letter *delta*.

Meas.: (a) h 27, ø (bottom) 70, (top) 52.5 cm; (b) h 27.2, ø (bottom) 73.2, (top) 58 cm; (c) h 38, ø 49 cm.

Findspot: (a) "Provenant du locus 14, remployée dans le mur 224 du bâtiment principal"; (b) "provenant du locus 100 des annexes à l'ouest du bâtiment principal"; (c) "provient du même lieu, locus 14, que le tambour KhQ. 2985; tous deux devaient appartenir à un même ensemble avec la base KhQ. 2980 [i.e. (a)]" (Chambon). Pres. loc.: (a) and (c) "dans les locaux commerciaux sur le site"; (b) "in situ" (Chambon).

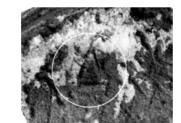


fig. 3187.1 (a)



fig. 3187.3 (a)

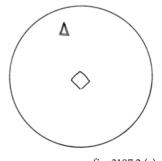
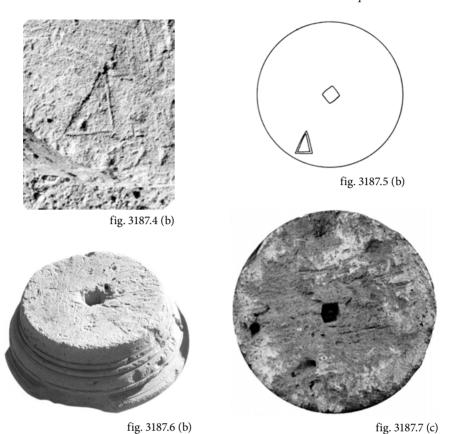


fig. 3187.2 (a)



Comm.: On mason's marks cf. the introduction to nos. 3404-3425.

Bibl.: A. Chambon, in: Humbert - Gunneberg, Qumrân 446f. KhQ. 2980, 2982, 2986 (ed. pr.).

Photo: A. Chambon, in: Humbert - Gunneberg, Qumrân 452f., figs. 15, 16, 457 fig. 21 (ph. and dr.).

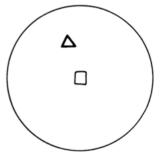


fig. 3187.8 (c)

EDD

## LXX. H. Husham

## 3188. Christograms/Staurograms in a rock-cut cistern

Graffiti on the door jambs of the entrance to a cistern. "The eastern door jamb ... was engraved with an intricate graffito: two large birds, probably doves or partridges, depicted in great detail, an arched installation ..., probably a barred cage, slightly to their right. Two smaller birds are visible in the rear. The tail of the upper one is spread out in a fan-like manner, probably to portray peacocks" (Klein - Zissu). Above these birds a combination of christogram and staurogram is carved, i.e. a cross is integrated into the ligature of the Greek letters *chi* and *rho* (a). "Below the monogram and to its right-hand side there is an intricate graffito composed of many lines, the nature of which is unclear (a fish?)" (Klein - Zissu). A second combined christogram/staurogram (b) was engraved on the western door jamb.

Findspot: Archaeological site of Ḥ. Ḥusham, ca. 2 km west of Beit Jimal monastery; a rock-cut water installation with a staircase leading down which was at first used as a miqveh, but later converted to a cistern in Late Antiquity. "On the walls of the immersion chamber were remains of whitish pink plaster applied to a bedding of ribbed jar fragments characteristic of the Late Roman and Byzantine periods" (Klein - Zissu).

Pres. loc.: In situ.

- (a) and (b) XP
- (a) and (b) Χρ(ιστός)
- (a) and (b) Christ.

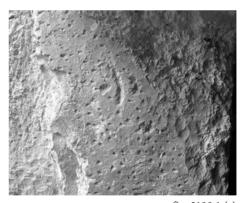
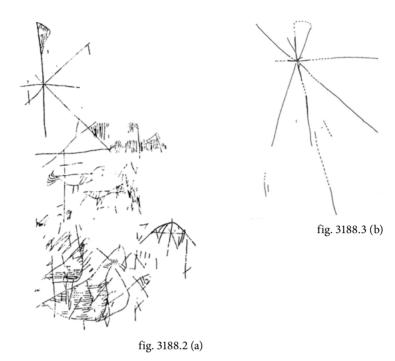


fig. 3188.1 (a)



 $Bibl.: E.~Klein-B.~Zissu, HA-ESI~127, 2015, figs.~3, 6-8~(www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\_detail\_eng.aspx?id=23794\&mag\_id=122, viewed: 6.4.2017)~(ed.~pr.).$ 

Photo: B. Zissu.

WA

# LXXI. Beit Jimal (Beit Gamal, ancient Caphar Gamala?)

## 3189. Fragmentary Greek mosaic inscription in church floor

Byzantine basilica (11.6x8.5 m), partly preserved and excavated, with sacristy and a western annex. The central nave has two different pavements, one of which has rectangles interlaced with a rather large circle; inscription in the circle. The first excavators believed that they had found two tombs under the floor of the church, "mais en réalité il s'agit d'une tombe inachevée et d'une miqweh" (Puech 102, referring to Strus 484ff.).

Meas.: ø (circle) 126, w (preserved) 78 cm; letters 9.5-11.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: In the Monastery, at the wall of the church. Autopsy: 18 October 2013 (WE/DK).

[--]

[--]

[--]ΘE

[--]OY

[--]+OY

[--]OYME

[--]EO

[--]

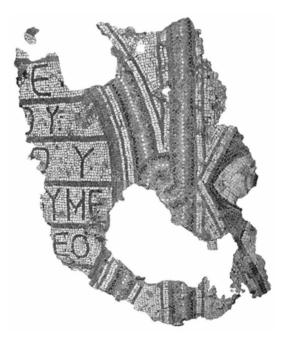


fig. 3189.1 (present state)

$$[--|--|--]\Theta E|[--]O Y|[--]+O Y|[-- ήγ]ουμέ|[νου(?) --]EO|[--]$$

... abbot (?) ...

Comm.: Dated by the first excavator to the 5 c. or 6 c. AD, which roughly agrees with the impression gained from the inscription. - Abel, Mallon and Leclercq expressed scepticism for the attempted restoration - and rightly so. Gisler, Καφαργαμαλα 20 read: [(cross) είς δόξαν] θε[οῦ κ(αὶ) τοῦ κυρί]ου [Στεφάνου] τοῦ [προτοδιακόν]ου με[γακλέου κ(αὶ) μάρτυρος θ]εο[ῦ (cross)]. Discounting these supplements, Puech made a proposition of his own (which fits better into the circle than Gisler's): [(cross) κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ, βωή]θε[σον Λουκιαν]οῦ [εὐσεβεστά]του [πρεσβ(υτέρου) καὶ ἡγ]ου-



fig. 3189.2

μέ[νου Μεγεθίου θ]εο[σεβεστάτου (cross)]. He was inspired by the epistle of Lucianus (cf. no. 3190), which mentions the monk Megethius, but the sequence of names, ranks and adjectives is not identical in both cases (and impossible in the case of Megethius) and therefore does not inspire confidence; Feissel (BE) ended with a "caveat lector," Tybout apud SEG called it "a fanciful restoration" and Di Segni - Gibson argue very forcefully against this restoration. – [ήγ]ουμέ|[νου] in ll.6f. is very probable, and  $\theta$ ε|[οσεβεστάτ]ου for ll.3f. has found favor too (unfortunately,  $\theta$ ε|[οσεβεστάτ]ου | [πρεσβυτέ]ρου | [καὶ ἡγ]ουμέ|[νου] seems impossible); but Di Segni is certainly right that it is not the only possible solution: she advances for ll.6f. [--]ου με[τὰ συμβίου Θ]εο[δώρας] and [--]ου με[τὰ τέκνων Θ]εο[δώρου καὶ --] purely exempli gratia.

This inscription might or might not be identical with a very fragmentary text seen before Gisler made his first explorations (1917, 19f.): "Umgeben von schlichtem Rankenwerk war im Zentrum ein ornamentales Rund, dessen Umkreis ähnlich dem Zifferblatt einer Uhr in Feldern griechische Buchstaben enthielt. Es war niemand zur Stelle, um rechtzeitig eine Kopie zu nehmen; aus vager Erinnerung zitiert man noch einzelne Buchstaben, deren Reihenfolge man vergessen hat: B. C. E. A. M. O. O. Y. Y. und fügt bei, daß fast die Hälfte der Inschrift fehle." If the description is accurate, this is much more likely to be a different inscription with a layout a bit similar to the many zodiakos mosaics.

Bibl.: F.-M. Abel, RB 28, 1919, 247 fig. 1 (dr.) (ed. pr.). – M. Gisler, Καφαργαμαλα, 1923, 20; M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 2, 1933, 148 no. 24 (repr. in: id., Art in Ancient Palestine, 1981, 295 no. 24); H. Leclercq, DACL 13, 1937, 821f.; Keel - Küchler 818ff. no. 528; Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 129f.; Meimaris, Sacred Names 21 no. 50 (without supplements); É. Puech, RB 113, 2006, 102-5; SEG 56, 1892; BE 2007, 519; L. Di Segni - S. Gibson, BAIAS 25, 2007, 138ff., fig. 18; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 80f., fig. 206,6. – Cf. M. Gisler, HL 61, 1917, 18ff.; A. Mallon, Biblica 3, 1922, 502ff.; M. Gisler, El sepulcro de san Esteban protomartir, 1923; Ovadiah, Corpus

28 no. 16; A. Strus, Khirbet Fattir – Bet Gemal, 2003; Ribak, Religious Communities 136; Madden, Corpus 25f. no. 23.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; É. Puech, RB 113, 2006, 104 pl. 1 (dr.).

WA

### 3190. Tomb of St. Stephanus and others with Greek inscriptions

Four simple funerary inscriptions – belonging to the same grave and recording only the names of the deceased – were found late in the year 415; the method which led to the discovery of these texts confirmed immediately that these were the graves (and inscriptions) of the protomartyr Stephanus and some others. Such confirmation was especially necessary because the names themselves would not have led to such a conclusion; they had to be interpreted against the knowledge received in dreams and visions. The stones themselves have not been preserved, but are known through the extensive literary tradition concerning these events.

The two main figures are Lucianus, a priest at Caphar Gamala, and Avitus of Braga, who happened to be in Jerusalem at the time. Lucianus dreamt on December 3rd, 10th, and 17th, 415 AD that Gamaliel, the teacher of St. Paul, revealed to him that he himself, i.e. Gamaliel, his son Abibas, his friend Nicodemus and the protomartyr Stephanus were buried in a field adjacent to the church of Caphar Gamala. Lucian informed the Bishop of Jerusalem, Ioannes, who told him to search for the graves. When the coffins were found, only the relics of St. Stephanus were brought to Jerusalem (26th December); the others remained in Caphar Gamala.

Avitus of Braga asked Lucianus to write an account of these revelations. Avitus translated the account into Latin and sent it to Spain – with an accompanying letter to Palchonius, the Bishop of Braga, and the clergy and all the Christians of the city (PL 41, 805ff.; he sent some ossa solida with the letter). A short version of the story can be found in Gennadius, vir. ill. 46f.: Lucianus presbyter, vir sanctus, cui revelavit deus, temporibus Honorii et Theodosii Augustorum, locum sepulcri et reliquiarum corporis sancti Stephani primi martyris. scripsit ipsam revelationem Graeco sermone ad omnium ecclesiarum personam. Avitus presbyter, homo Hispani generis, antelatum Luciani presbyteri scripturam in Latinum transtulit sermonem et adiecta epistula sua per Orosium presbyterum Occidentalibus edidit.

The Greek account by Lucianus exists in three recensions (BHG 1649; Roma e l'Oriente 8, 1914, 289ff.; RB 47, 1938, 556f.). There are two versions of Avitus' translation (A and B, BHL 7850-6); Bardenhewer who believed that B derived from A was contradicted by Martin 425: "Daß A und B wiederum von dem gleichen lateinischen Text ausgehen, ist klar: ebenso, daß A sich treuer an das Griechische hält, mehr bietet und deshalb nicht von B kommen kann. In gleicher Weise wird aus A 5 und B 4 und 5 klar, daß A nicht als Vorlage für B gedient haben kann." This means that there were more redactions and translations than there are currently extant

(Gibbon 93 n.77 remarked on the only two different Latin versions known to him: "it is the character of falsehood to be loose and inconsistent"). Vanderlinden 186 thinks that the Latin version A is the translation made by Avitus; version B seems to be an official text, distributed by the Bishop of Jerusalem.

The Latin translations of the "revelatio" were not the only ones, since the discovery of these relics was of wide interest: there are two Syriac recensions (BHO 1087 a, b) as well as translations into Ethiopic (Journal Asiatique 1913, 40), Armenian (Mercier, ROC 30, 1946, 341ff.), Georgian (PO 19, 647ff.). They all derive from the Greek original. Furthermore, we possess two late Greek versions of the relics' *translatio* to Constantinople, which are printed by Papadopoulos-Kerameus (ch. 1-2 according to Acts; ch. 3-9 rely in some way on a different Greek tradition; ch. 10ff.: the translation of the relics).

The basic features of the tale and the circumstances of the discovery are given according to Latin version A; only for those parts relating to the inscriptions and their text, the Greek and the Latin version B are given too.

In his introduction of the letter to Palchonius (PL 41, 805-7 [text by Vanderlinden]), Avitus explained his being a witness of St. Stephen's self-revelation in Jerusalem: deinde ut in diebus ipsis, quibus iam ipse reditum ad vos incredibili desiderio parabat (scil. Orosius), ... primus martyr Stephanus se revelare et manifestare signis et virtutibus evidentissime consequentibus dignaretur ... Itaque ... promptus fui de presbytero, cui revelatum fuerat, partem aliquam inventi corporis promereri, quam festinato expetitam secretoque perceptam ad vos dirigere non distuli. ... ut autem nulla possit esse dubitatio, ipsam ad vos, subditam scriptis meis, sancti presbyteri cui haec revelata sunt, epistolam conscriptionemque transmisi, quam, me pro fide veritatis plenius cognoscendae rogante et expetente dictavit Graeco primum ipse sermone, sed per me postea in Latinum versa est.

It follows a summary of PL 41, 807ff. (an English summary can be found in The Ecclesiastical History of M. L'Abbé Fleury, from AD 400 to AD 429, Oxford 1843, 260ff.): Lucianus was a priest in villa Caphargamala in territorio Hierosolymorum. He had on three different occasions a revelation concerning the relics of Stephanus (beati et gloriosi protomartyris Stephani et primi diaconi Christi), of Nicodemus (on him see Jn 3,1ff.; 7,50f.; 19,39ff.) and of Gamaliel (Acts 5,34; 22,3). He starts his account with a solemn date, indicating December 3rd, 415 AD (die Parasceve, (hoc est feria sexta) quae est tertio nonas decembris, consulatu Honorii decies et Theodosii sexies Augustorum), mentioning also the place of his first vision (in loco sancto baptisterii, in quo consuetudo erat mihi dormire et custodire ecclesiastica quae erant in ministerio) and the precise hour (hora tertia nocits, quae est prima custodia vigiliarum). There he saw an old and dignified man in the robes of a priest who told him to go to Jerusalem to see the city's bishop, Ioannes, and to ask him: 'for how long we still have to be locked-in? It is absolutely necessary that we will be revealed during your time as a bishop' (quamdiu clausi sumus et non aperis nobis? et maxime quia in temporibus tui sacerdotii oportet nos revelari. aperi nobis festinanter monumentum, ubi in negligentia positae sunt nostrae reliquiae, ut per nos aperiat Deus et Christus eius et Spiritus Sanctus ostium clementiae suae in hoc mundo).

Lucianus asked him who he was and who was with him (quis enim es tu, domne, et qui tecum sunt?). The old man was Gamaliel; with him was – in the eastern part of the monument – Stephanus (et qui mecum est in orientali parte monumenti iacens, ipse est domnus meus Stephanus, qui lapidatus est a Iudaeis). Caphar Gamala, the name of the village, is explained as villa Gamalielis, and Gamaliel told Lucianus that he had seen to the burial of Stephanus in his own newly built sepulture (poni eum in meo monumento novo in orientali theca). In another receptacle was Nicodemus (ipse etiam domnus Nicodemus in alia theca positus est), whom the Jews had cursed and banned from their civitas: Gamaliel had received him at his place, clothed him and nourished him to the end of his life – et hunc honorifice sepelivi iuxta domnum Stephanum. The fourth dead person was his son Abibas, who was baptized together with Gamaliel, but died before him. He was buried in tertia theca excelsiori, where he himself was put too. The non-Christian members of his family were buried in another place, in Capharemelia.

When Lucianus asked where they were to search, Gamaliel answered: in medio proastio (quod potest intellegi proximo de villa ager) qui dicitur Delagabri, quod interpretatur, virorum Dei. Lucianus now begged for a second and third repetition of this vision to be sure that it was no mere illusion – and his wish was fulfilled. In one of these visions Gamaliel supplied him with more information to recognize the burials, and brought four calathi, three of them made of gold and one made of silver. Two were full of white roses, and the other of roses red as blood. The silver calathus was full of saffron with a good scent. These, Gamaliel said, lipsana nostra sunt. The red roses represented Stephanus, whose grave was at the right side of the monument (qui a dextris positus est, ad orientem ab introitu monumenti); the second calathus represented Nicodemus (positus contra ostium). The silver calathus stood for his son Abibas and was joined to his own calathus (in excelso loco, ubi ambo positi sumus quasi gemini).

Lucianus went to Jerusalem and Bishop Ioannes gave him the order to look for the relics on the field (deambulavi agrum, et vidi acervum minutorum lapidum in medio, ubi arbitrabar eos esse). But this was not the right place, and Gamaliel appeared to the monk Migetius and told him to go to Lucianus and tell him to look elsewhere (quaere nos in alia parte, quae est ad boream, loco qui dicitur Syra lingua Debatalia, quod interpretatur in Graeco ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν). Eventually they turned to the monument indicated by Migetius, dug there and found three thecae (et fodientes invenimus tres thecas, secundum quod apparuerat mihi secundum typum calathorum). The thecae were without inscriptions, but there was a stone with large letters (invenimus igitur altissimis litteris scriptum lapidem obrutum habentem ita), bearing some names, which were then interpreted as the names of the revealed dead (see below). It is interesting to note that this interpretation was based on the authority of the Bishop of Jerusalem (hoc interpretatus est papa

*Ioannes*, *sicut et ipse audivi ab ipso sancto episcopo*), which shows the high interest he took in these relics which were brought directly to Jerusalem, where they arrived on December 26th!

Findspot: See descr.

Greek version: καὶ ὀρύξαντες πάντα σαφῶς εὕραμεν, κατὰ τὰ ὁραθέντα ἡμῖν, τὰ λείψανα αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα αὐτῶν ἔχον οὕτως· Χελιήλ, Ναζοαμί, Γαμαλιήλ, Ἄβιβος υἱός, ἑβραικῆ μέν, ἑλληνικοῖς δὲ γράμμασιν ἐπεγέγρατπο. ἑρμηνεύεται ὁ Χελιήλ Στέφανος, ὁ Ναζοαμί Νικόδημος.

codex Sinaiticus 493, fol. 98 v: καὶ εὕραμεν λίθον ἐπιγεγραμμένον καὶ οὕτως περιέχοντα Χελελιήλ, Ναζωάμ, Ἄββιβος υἱὸς ἑβραικἢ μὲν φωνἢ, ἑλληνικοῖς δὲ γράμμασιν. ἑρμηνεύεται δὲ ὁ Χελελιήλ Στέφανος, Ναζωάμ Νικόδημος. Latin version A: invenimus igitur altissimis litteris scriptum lapidem obrutum habentem ita: CELIHEL, quod interpretatur Stephanus Dei, et NASOAM, quod interpretatur Nicodemus, et GAMALIEL (hoc interpretatus est papa Ioannes, sicut et ipse audivi ab ipso sancto episcopo).

Apparatus of Latin Version A according to Vanderlinden: 8//Celiel 3 5 6acd (sl) 7 8bd; KELIEL (gr.) 6a; KEAEL (gr. 6d; telia 6c (im) Keayea Celiel 8ac - Nasoam 5a; Nardam 3bdfh 6d (sl); Nardan 3acge 6ac; NARDAN (gr.) 6d; Nadar 7; nec suam 6c (im); Dardan 3m 5b; apaan Dardan 8.

Latin version B: Quem cum iussissent fodere et pars terrae maxima fuisset egesta, invenimus lapidem in quo sculptum erat : Celiel, Nasoam, Gamaliel, Abibas, Hebraïca quidem verba, litteris autem Graecis.

Apparatus of Latin Version B: Celiel 12; Cheliel 11; Chaelihcl 15; Chaeleliel, 13, 14; Celeliel 17 // Nasoam G 12, i3ab; Nasoan 13c; Nasuam 11, 16; Nausam 15; Nasoan 17; Nasoan 14//Abbibas 16; Abbiba 11; Abbibon 15; abbiboon 12; Abibahel 14; Abibaben 13; Abibabel 17. The codex Germanensis has: in quo sculptum erat Cheliel, Nasnom, Gamaliel, Abbiba.

Χελιήλ, Ναζοαμί, Γαμαλιήλ, "Αβιβος

Cheliel, Nazoami, Gamaliel, Abibus.

Comm.: When we read that the names were put down Hebraïca quidem verba, litteris autem Graecis (B), it evidently meant that these were Hebrew (or Aramaic) names written in Greek letters (see esp. Cod. Sin.: ἑβραικῆ μὲν φωνῆ, ἑλληνικοῖς δὲ γράμμασιν). This is quite a common phenomenon, especially on the Jerusalem ossuaries.

The names are interpreted by Mgr. Melki, the "syrische Patriarchalvikar von Jerusalem" (apud Gisler 1917, 15) in the following manner: "Stephanus: Kehêija Klîlo=Cleri Corona=Des Klerus Krone ... Nikodemus: Nosûho 'Âm=Triumphator Populi=Besieger des Volkes ... Gamaliel: Dabadâha=Patris et Carini (vel Filii)=des

Vaters und des Lieblings (Sohnes)." In fact, Celiel is seen as the transcription of aramaic kelila' or kelil, crown,  $\sigma\tau\acute{e}\varphi\alpha\nu\sigma\varsigma$ ; names from the root kll can be found in Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 62, 64. On Abibas=Habiba, see Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 9 (A $\beta$ ei $\beta$ o $\varsigma$  on p. 8). Puech n.18, quoting Leclercq 645 believes that "Apaan (ou mieux Nasoon (rec. B)" is a "corruption graphique de NIKO $\Delta$ HM," and sees in Dardan a corruption of Rabban, i.e. Gamaliel (but Dardan is no generally accepted reading). These texts influenced Puech's interpretation of nos. 3189 and 3194.

This is not entirely a fiction (for a similar story cf. Sozom. 9, 17): the core is evidently the (random?) discovery and excavation of a funeral complex at a place associated by etymological speculation with the famous Gamaliel (Keel - Küchler speak of a "zweistöckige Grabanlage"; it would be interesting to know, whether the Latin *calathus* can denote an ossuary, as Gisler 1917, 15 wishes to understand it [no example in TLL s.v.]; *calathus* can, of course, mean a kind of vessel). In this complex there was at least one stone with an inscription in Greek letters (a Greek inscription?); the stone recorded four(?) Semitic names, and – if read correctly – the names of Abibus and Gamaliel lead people to look for other famous figures of the 1 c. AD, identifying Cheliel as St. Stephanus. Already the ps. Clementine Recognitiones knew Gamaliel as a crypto-Christian (1,65,2: *Gamaliel ... qui latenter frater noster erat in fide, sed consilio nostro inter eos erat*; cf. 66,4) – an idea that should have made the Christian interpretation of this text easier.

It goes without saying that the discovery of St. Stephanus' relics in Jerusalem played a part in church politics of the time and were used extensively by the patriarch: at the time of these events, a council against the Pelagians had taken place.

Bibl.: Greek: N. Franco, Roma e l'Oriente 8, 1914, 293ff.; R. Devreesse, RB 47, 1938, 556f. (cod. Sinaiticus 493, fol. 83v-101).

Latin (BHL 7850-2): PL 41, 805ff.; E. Vanderlinden, REByz 4, 1946, 178ff. – Cf. E. Gibbon, The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire II (ed. by D. Womersley), 1994, 77ff.; A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ἀνάλεκτος Ἱεροσολυμικῆς σταχυλογίας 5, 1898, 25ff., 54ff.; M. Gisler, HL 61, 1917, 14ff.; H. Leclercq, DACL 5, 1922, 640f.; O. Bardenhewer, Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur IV 1924, 533; S. Stephan, JPOS 19, 1939, 136ff.; J. Martin, HJ 77, 1958, 419ff.; B. Altaner, Kleine Patristische Schriften, 1967, 450ff.; Keel - Küchler 818; G. Röwekamp, in: S. Döpp - W. Geerlings eds., Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur, 2002, 463; É. Puech, RB 113, 2006, 109ff.

WA

#### 3191. Latin funerary inscription

The left-hand side of a fragment of a roof-like lid of a sarcophagus (not of an ossuary as stated in the ed. pr.). The surface is only roughly smoothed; the inscription is engraved on one side of the "roof."

Findspot: Somewhere in the area of Beit Jimal.

Pres. loc.: In the monastery of Beit Jimal, according to Strus 2003, 27, but not found there.



{Φ?} FVFICIVS·[--]

Fuficius [--]

Fuficius ... (is buried here).

fig. 3191

Comm.: The ed. pr. reads a T in front of Fuficius. But the published photographs speak against this reading. The visible sign looks like a  $\Phi$ . One may speculate that the stone cutter started writing Greek letters and had a change of mind when realizing that Latin was called for.

If the lid was indeed found in one of the known tombs of the neighborhood, one wonders about the use of Latin for Fuficius' burial in a place so remote from strong Roman influence where the Latin language was used, seeing that the Latin language in this province – aside from the two coloniae – was mainly used by people connected to the Roman army. One may speculate that Fuficius was a Roman veteran settled in the area of Beit Jimal. Other reasons are also possible. Another Fuficius is attested in Jerusalem (see CIIP I 739).

Bibl.: A. Strus, Bet Gemal. Pathway to the Tradition of Saints Stephen and Gamaliel, 2000, 54ff. (ph.) (ed. pr.). – Id., Khirbet Fattir – Bet Gemal, 2003, 26ff., fig. 1,7 (ph.), 545.

Photo: A. Strus, Bet Gemal, 2000, 55 fig. 41.

WE

## 3192.-3194. Archaeological site at Kh. el-Jiljil

The site of Kh. el-Jiljil is situated on the slope of a hill ca. 0.5 km northwest of the monastery of Beit Jimal (cf. map accompanying Strus 2003). The ruins at the site consist of a number of ancient building complexes spread out across a ridge. The main facilities consist of a big circular structure used as a wine press in Late Antiquity and a large, roughly square building (50x50 m) immediately to the south of it. A capital with Greek inscription (no. 3192) was found already in the late 19 c., however, excavations took place only in 1999 by A. Strus and again in 2003 by him and S. Gibson (for a map and plan of the site, see Strus - Gibson 31f. fig. 2f.). Dur-

ing the latter, focusing on the large building, a flight of rooms of this structure was exposed one of them containing a Greek inscription in its mosaic floor (no. 3193; cf. the ground plan in Strus - Gibson 36 fig. 8 under no. 2). The building was dated by the excavators to the 4/5 to early 7 c. and they think that it "was most likely part of an agricultural estate or an ecclesiastical farm (perhaps belonging to the Beit Jimal church), or alternatively a monastery of the coenobium type" (Strus - Gibson 82). In a field survey preceding the excavation, Strus and Gibson also found on the surface, around 40 m west of the wine press, a fragmentary lintel with remains of a Greek inscription (no. 3194; cf. the plan in Strus - Gibson 32 fig. 2 under no. 9).

Bibl.: A. Strus, Khirbet Fattir - Bet Gemal, 2003, 31ff.; A. Strus - S. Gibson, BAIAS 23, 2005, 29-89.

#### 3192. Greek acclamation to the One God

Byzantine capital with volutes; stone with coarse grains; "l'inscription commence entre les deux cornes et s'étend ensuite sur une bande circulaire. La pierre est d'un grain assez grossier et l'écriture a beaucoup souffert" (ed. pr.).

Pres, loc.: "The present whereabouts of the inscribed capital from Jiljil are unknown. Although a drawing or photograph of the capital was not published ... we assume that it bore a resemblance to another 'Ionian' capital found in the 2003 survey (fig. 4,1) and indeed they may both have been derived from the same building" (Strus - Gibson 83 n.2).

FIL

	LIL
(cross) ${ m EI}\Sigma$	BEOC
ΘΕΟΣ	□В□Н
OBOH	00011
$\Theta\Omega N$	BωN
ΤΟΝΔΕΣΠΟΤ[]ΑΝΤΩΧΙΑΝΟΥ	ΤΟΝΔΕΕΠΟΤ///ΑΝΤωχΙΑΝΟΥ
	fig 3193

fig. 3192

εἷς | θεὸς | ὁ βοη|θῶν | τὸν δεσπότ[ην] Ἀντωχιανοῦ(?)

One is the God who helps the master (of?) Antochianus(?).

Comm.: Not earlier than the 5 c. AD (Peterson). - ll.1ff.: Di Segni 2005, 103f. gives some examples for the use of the είς θεός-formula in private contexts, but nobody knows the original context of the capital (pace Strus - Gibson). - 1.5:  $\delta \epsilon \sigma \pi \delta \tau [\alpha]$  was sometimes written, but since Germer-Durand's drawing indicates a lacuna, one may be inclined to the correct supplement. The real problem lies in the last word: Άντωχιανοῦ/Άντω[νίου] χ[ριστι]ανοῦ, Germer-Durand (contra: Peterson, who remarks that χριστιανός was quite common in Asia Minor, but not in Syria or Palestine). The name Antochianus is otherwise unknown, but GermerDurand points out that Antochus is known, even though it is rare in the Middle East (a collection of examples in BE 1973, 248, mostly from northern Greece). There is a certain charm in Di Segni's idea (2005, 103 n.2) that an IO was mistaken for an *omega*; if this is true, then two ways are open to us: a) ἀντ'ιο'χιανοῦ could be a "genitive neuter referring to a farm or landed estate," which belonged at some time to a certain Antiochus; Di Segni - Gibson tend to equate this "Antiochianum" with the large building excavated by Strus - Gibson (see introduction to nos. 3192-3194); b) we could adopt Peterson's interpretation: "Daß in der letzten Zeile sowohl der Akkusativ wie der Genetiv in den von βοηθῶν abhängigen δεσπότα und ἀντωχιανοῦ gebraucht wird, darf nicht Wunder nehmen, da beide Fälle nach βοηθεῖν gebräuchlich waren." This solution would lead us to the perfectly normal name "Antiochianus."

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, Cosmos n.s. 17, 1890, 352 (ed. pr.). – P.-M. Séjourné, RB 1, 1892, 262f.; P. Batiffol, BZ 1, 1892, 616; J. Germer-Durand, RB 2, 1893, 212f.; Peterson 44f.; L. Di Segni, SCI 13, 1994, 104 no. 30; Bagatti, Judaea 137; A. Strus - S. Gibson, BAIAS 23, 2005, 30, 83; L. Di Segni, ibid. 103; É. Puech, RB 113, 2006, 101f.; SEG 56, 1892; L. Di Segni - S. Gibson, BAIAS 25, 2007, 137f.; Peterson - Markschies, Heis Theos 427 no. 90.

Photo: J. Germer-Durand, RB 2, 1893, 213 (dr.).

WA

## 3193. Greek mosaic inscription "Good entrance!"

Geometric mosaic carpet with a tabula ansata at its western end; letters in black on a white ground; the tabula is divided into three sections by rows of red tesserae. Room 2 is a passageway leading to Rooms 3 and 6 for everybody coming from the large hypaethral Room 1 (cf. Strus - Gibson 36 fig. 8; 40 fig. 11); the orientation of the mosaic made it possible for anyone going to Room 3 to read it.

Meas.: h 37, w 77 cm (tabula; with ansae 105 cm); letters 8-9 cm.

Findspot: In the so-called "large building," cf. descr.

(cross)  $EI\Sigma I\Theta I$   $XAIP\Omega N$  (cross) (ornaments)

εἴσιθι | χαίρων

Go in with joy!



fig. 3193.1

Comm.: The letter forms make Di Segni opt for a date in the 5 c. AD. For a welcome at the entrance, εἴσελθε χαίρων, see CIIP II 1333 with comm. Even though there are crosses in the tabula, this imperative is mostly used in secular contexts (Puech collects some OT parallels and concludes that the building was an ecclesiastical construction, but in view

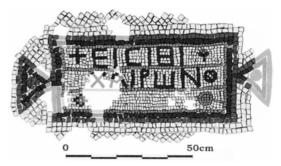


fig. 3193.2

of the inscriptions with similar formulae, this and the consequences drawn by Puech are to be discarded, see Di Segni - Gibson).

Bibl.: A. Strus - S. Gibson, BAIAS 23, 2005, 36, 40, 67ff., with figs.; L. Di Segni, ibid. 101ff. (edd. prr.). – M. Merrony, ibid. 91, 93, 95, 97f.; É. Puech, RB 113, 2006, 107ff.; SEG 56, 1893; BE 2007, 519; L. Di Segni - S. Gibson, BAIAS 25, 2007, 140f.; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 77ff.

Photo: L. Di Segni, BAIAS 23, 2005, 102 fig. 3; F. Amirah, BAIAS 23, 2005, 70 fig. 48 (dr.).

WA

### 3194. Fragment of a Greek lintel inscription

Rectangular lintel of a doorway; limestone; inscription in a tabula ansata. Meas.: h 59, w 124, d 48 cm; tabula: h 46, w 60 cm (without ansae).

Findspot: "It was found lying on the surface of the site, upside down, and judging by its position it could have come from any one of the adjacent buildings situ-

ated within the lower ruins of the site, or, indeed, from the monumental circular building which is located further upslope as suggested by Puech" (Di Segni - Gibson 117); cf. Strus - Gibson 32 map fig. 3 no. 9.

Pres. loc.: In the monastery. Autopsy: 18 October 2013 (WE/DK).



OΔIAK[--] ΦAN[--] ΠΟ++[--] (cross)

fig. 3194.1 (squeeze)







fig. 3194.3 (S. Gibson)

Comm.: Regarding the readability of the stone, cf. the remark of Strus - Gibson 84: "a squeeze was made ... by Emile Puech ... who has since informed us ... that at least one line of faint Greek letters may be discerned"; cf. Di Segni - Gibson 118. The photographs show the tabula ansata, but nothing more.  $-\tau \delta \delta \iota \alpha \kappa (\circ \nu \iota \kappa \delta \nu)$   $[\Sigma \tau \epsilon] [\phi \acute{\alpha} \nu \circ \nu] [\mu \acute{\alpha} \rho (\tau \nu \rho \circ \varsigma)]$  Puech,



fig. 3194.4

who identified a circular structure (see Strus - Gibson 32 fig. 3 no. 1) as the martyrion of Stephanus, "construit (?) probablement lors de l'invention des reliques du saint" (p. 125) (but Lucianus told us that the relics were brought immediately to Jerusalem, see no. 3190 – and there is no reason for a διακονικόν to be an equivalent to a martyrion); Di Segni - Gibson identified the structure as a wine press; "One might suggest a possible reading along the lines of: ὁ διακ(ὼν) [ὁ δεῖνα ἐ]πο[ίησε] but it would certainly be nothing but a wild guess" (Di Segni - Gibson 121).

Bibl.: A. Strus - S. Gibson, BAIAS 23, 2005, 32-5 fig. 6, 84; É. Puech, RB 113, 2006, 109ff. (edd. prr.). – SEG 56, 1894; BE 2007, 519; L. Di Segni - S. Gibson, BAIAS 25, 2007, 117-22.

Photo: É. Puech, RB 113, 2006, pl. 1 fig. b (squeeze), 110 fig. 3 (dr.); S. Gibson, BAIAS 25, 2007, 120 fig. 4 (dr.); WE.

WA

# LXXII. 'Ein Fattir

## 3195.-3196. Church complex

During excavations in 1989 and from 1990 to 1997 a church complex was revealed. The church consists of a narthex and prayer hall with a room serving as an entrance attached to the southwest corner of the church and two rooms annexed to the north wall of the church (for a plan see Magen - Kagan 83 fig. 208). The prayer hall consists of a central nave with internal semicircular apse and two aisles. The excavators distiguished several building phases. Mosaic pavements were preserved in several areas of the complex. In the central nave there is a large, rectangular carpet (4.8x4.2 m), reaching from the entrance of the prayer hall to the end of the second intercolumnium. Its central part "consists of a complex pattern of interlacing bands, forming octagons. The bands are filled with geometric designs and the octagons with various animals, of which a lion and a goat can still be discerned" (Chambon - Strus). The fragmentary inscription no. 3196 is found in the upper part of the carpet. Between this mosaic carpet and the chancel screen there is a pulpit at the left side of the central nave; this eastern part of the nave is filled with another mosaic with three circles containing geometric designs and inscription no. 3195 in front of the chancel. The pulpit in this place is probably a later addition, and therefore this part of the mosaic is perhaps of a later date too.

Bibl.: A. Chambon - A. Strus - F. Alpi, RB 99, 1992, 425-39; A. Chambon - A. Strus, ESI 12, 1993, 82ff. (=HA 99, 74ff. [Hebr.]); A. Strus, Khirbet Fattir – Bet Gemal, 2003, 151-87; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 83f.

# 3195. Mosaic pavement with Greek inscription commemorating the renovation of a church, 6 c. AD (?)

Mosaic inscription in a tabula ansata, letters in black tesserae; text (a) is found above the tabula.

Meas.: h 47, w 245 cm (tabula); text: 1.3 m (a); letters 8 cm (a).

Findspot: Floor of the central nave, in front of the chancel.

Pres. loc.: In situ.



- (a) [--]ΗΘΙΙΩΑΝΝΟζΔΙΑΚΕ...]Ο, Γ
- (b) (palm branch) ΕΠ[..]Ο[.]ΘΕΟΣΕΒΕΣΤΑΤΩΚΟΣΙΟΙΗΜΟΝ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΓΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΟΥΑΝΑΝΕΟΘΗΤΟΠΑΝΕΡΓΟΝΤΓ ΑΓΙΟΤΑΤΗΓΕΚΛΗΥΠΕΡΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣΚΑΙΜΑΚΡΟΗΜΕΡΕΎΕΣΟΣ ΤΟΝΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΗΣΑΝΤΟΝΕΨΉΦΟΘΗΜΙΝΙΜΑΡΤΙΟΥΙΝΔΊΔ ΨΉΦΟΘΕΣΙΑΚΛΑΥΛΙΑΝΟΥΚΙΜΑΝΝΟΥΕΛΊΕΜ



fig. 3195.2

- (a) [ -- βο]ήθι Ἰωάννο(υ) διακ[όν]ο(υ)
- (b) ἐπ[ὶ τ]ο[ῦ] θεοσεβεστάτῳ κ(αὶ) ὁσιο τὰ (άτῳ) ἡμῶν | ἐπισκόπο(υ) ἀναστασίου ἀνανεόθη τὸ πᾶν ἔργον τ(ῆς) | ἁγιοτάτη(ς) ἐκλη(σίας) ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ μακροημερεύ σε ος | τῶν καρποφορησάντον. ἐψηφόθη μινὶ Μαρτίου ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) τος, | ψηφοθεσία Κλαυδιανοῦ κ(αὶ) Ἰμαννουέλ. τε Μ(αρτίου)
- (a) ... help Ioannes the deacon.
- (b) Under our most god-fearing and devout Bishop Anastasius the whole work of the most holy church was renewed for the salvation and long life of those who gave from their belongings. It was paved with a mosaic in the month of March, 14th indiction. The mosaic (was made) by Claudianus and Immanuel. March 15th.

Comm.: Dated to 536 AD by Di Segni (DGI). – The one clue for a date is the name of the bishop; there was an Anastasius Bishop of Jerusalem from 458-78 (with 14th indictions in 461 and 476); the other is the homonymous Bishop of Eleutheropolis, who took part in a Jerusalem synod in 536 (which is a 14th indiction; theoretically 521 and 551 may have been in his time too – and we know of an earthquake in 551). The fact that Anastasius is styled only as  $\frac{\partial \pi}{\partial t}$  as well as the form of the letters seem to point to Anastasius of Eleutheropolis (Di Segni - Gibson).

- (a)  $[X(ριστ)\grave{e}]$  κτλ. edd., but κύριε vel sim. is also possible;  $\delta$ ιακ $[\acute{o}ν]$  $\phi$  ed. pr., Puech, corr. SEG.
- (b) ll.1f.: Note the change from genitive to dative and back. l.3: On ἀγιωτάτη ἐκκλησία see Meimaris, Sacred Names 346ff. On μακροημέρευσις cf. IGLS 21,2, 43,3; 54b 1; for the combination of σωτηρία and μακροημέρευσις , see Lampe s.v. μ. The first editors saw no need to change since μακροημερεύεσος was rather a metathesis. l.5: The spelling Imannuel instead of Emmanuel is familiar, but Meimaris, Sacred Names 73f. quotes no example; cf. Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 46; IGLS 4, 1652; 5, 2091, 2240 have Αμανουήλ, 4, 1858 has Emmanuel as personal name. Strus 1995 sees cryptograms in the three last letters, but cf. Feissel no. 768: "Ces

spéculations laissent perplexes." The same holds true for Strus' idea (1992) that the three letters IEM could represent Jerusalem; the trema on the iota shows that a number is meant. Μ(αρτίου), μ(ηνὸς Μαρτίου) – is quite impossible, (μηνός) Μ(αρτίου) edd.; Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations 82 has only one example of M(άρτιος?), RB 14, 1905, 602 (Bosra), which does not appear in IGLS 13,1, 9276. In the present case this could be possible, because the month was already mentioned. Verhelst 227 quotes CIIP III 2468 as an example of the numeral preceding the month, but Price reads correctly [ἀπὸ  $\tau \tilde{\omega} \nu$ ]  $\theta \epsilon \mu \epsilon \lambda i(\omega \nu)$ ,  $\mu(\eta \nu \delta \varsigma)$ Μαρτίου, ἐν[δικτιῶνος --] rather than θεμελ(ίων), ι' μ(ηνὸς) Μαρτίου.

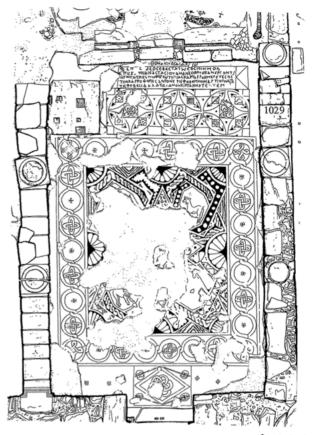


fig. 3195.3

Bibl.: A. Chambon - A. Strus - F. Alpi, RB 99, 1992, 435-8 (ed. pr.). – AE 1992, 1696; SEG 42, 1420 (a); 1421 (b); DGI 650-7 no. 224A-B; É. Puech, RB 113, 2006, 106; M. Donderer, Die Mosaizisten der Antike II 2008, 58f. no. A.15 pl. 8,1; Madden, Corpus 56ff. no. 71. – Cf. A. Strus, Salesianum 54, 1992, 475f.; A. Chambon - A. Strus, ESI 12, 1993, 84 (=HA 99, 76 [Hebr.]); R. Milman Baron, SCI 13, 1994, 150 no. 16B; A. Strus, RB 102, 1995, 250f.; SEG 45, 1951; S. Verhelst, RB 104, 1997, 226ff.; Bagatti, Judaea 136; A. Strus, Khirbet Fattir – Bet Gemal, 2003, 15f., 24; J. Moralee, For Salvation's Sake, 2004, 167 no. 295; Feissel, Chroniques 239 no. 767, 239 no. 768; L. Di Segni - S. Gibson, BAIAS 25, 2007, 140; R. Hachlili, AMP 2009, 247; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 83f.

Photo: A. Chambon - A. Strus - F. Alpi, RB 99, 1992 pl. 18a; A. Strus, Khirbet Fattir – Bet Gemal 2003, fig. 5,1 (dr.).

## 3196. Mosaic pavement with Greek invocation of Christ

Letters in red tesserae on white background.

Meas.: letters ca. 7 cm.

Findspot: This short text is in the upper middle lozenge of the central carpet, cf.

no. 3195 fig. 3. Pres. loc.: In situ.

XE BOH

[--]+++

[--]

X(ριστ)έ, |βοή|[θι?] +++|[--]

Christ, help ...



fig. 3196

Comm.: l.3: "vestiges de deux lettres, non identifiables sinon qu'ils conduisent à écarter sigma et omicron: je préfère donc lire  $\beta$ οή[ $\theta$ ι], comme en A [=no. 3195], plutôt que  $\beta$ οή[ $\theta$ ησον]" (ed. pr.); Puech believes to see more (106 n.14): "Une bonne partie de l'ovale du théta est visible en négatif, suivi probablement de deux tessères en négatif alignées pour un iota, puis sont visibles plusieurs tessères rouges de trois lettres difficilement identifiables; seraient possibles le haut de kappa et le jambage droit de lambda suivi d'un léger arc de cercles pour sigma ou encore stigma." He reads therefore: ...  $\beta$ οή $\theta$ ι Κλ( $\alpha$ υδιαν $\tilde{\omega}$ ) [κ( $\alpha$ ι) Ἰμ( $\alpha$ ννουέλ)].

Bibl.: A. Chambon - A. Strus - F. Alpi, RB 99, 1992, 439 fig. 2 pl. 17b (ed. pr.). – SEG 42, 1422; É. Puech, RB 113, 2006, 106f.; SEG 56, 1892; Madden, Corpus 56ff. no. 71. – Cf. A. Chambon - A. Strus, ESI 12, 1993, 84 (=HA 99, 76 [Hebr.]); R. Milman Baron, SCI 13, 1994, 150 no. 16C; A. Strus, Khirbet Fattir – Bet Gemal, 2003, 196; L. Di Segni - S. Gibson, BAIAS 25, 2007, 138ff.

Photo: A. Strus, Khirbet Fattir - Bet Gemal, 2003, fig. 5,1 (dr.).

## LXXIII. Bethar (Bethther, Bettir, mod. Kh. el-Yahud)

#### Introduction

The siege of Bethar/Bethther/Bettir (Kh. el-Yahud, near the modern village of Battir) by Roman troops represented the last stage of the Bar Kochba war. The town is situated about 11 km southwest of Jerusalem and was continuously occupied from the Iron Age to the 2 c. AD.¹ It has a fine spring, allowing cultivation of the fields in the vicinity. Its importance increased after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70. Early in the reign to Hadrian Jewish institutions moved to the city, presumably because of its proximity to Jerusalem, which lay in ruins.² The Roman road from Jerusalem to Beit Guvrin and continuing to Gaza passes north of the site through the Valley of Rephaim.³ To the west, north and east of the site there are deep valleys. On the south a saddle connects it with the hill on top of which the Roman siege camps are still visible from the air.

#### **Literary Sources**

Josh 15 (LXX): Βαιθηρ; 1 Chron 6,44 (MS A, LXX): Βαιθθηρ.<sup>4</sup>

Mishnah Ta'anith 4,6: "On the ninth of Av, it was decreed that our fathers should not enter the Land, the Temple was destroyed the first and second time, Beitar was captured and the city [of Jerusalem] was plowed under."<sup>5</sup>

Eusebius, HE 4,6,3: ἀκμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἔτους ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου τῆς ἡγεμονίας κατὰ Βηθθηρα (πολίχνη τις ἦν ὀχυρωτάτη, τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οὐ σφόδρα πόρρω διεστῶσα) τῆς τε ἔξωθεν πολιορκίας χρονίου γενομένης λιμῷ τε καὶ δίψει τῶν νεωτεροποιῶν εἰς ἔσχατον ὀλέθρου περιελαθέντων καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἀπονοίας αὐτοῖς αἰτίου τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκτίσαντος δίκην.

Transl. K. Lake (Loeb ed.): "The war reached its height in the eighteenth year of the reign of Hadrian in Beththera, which was a strong citadel not very far from Jerusalem; the siege lasted a long time before the rebels were driven to final destruction by famine and thirst and the instigator of their madness paid the penalty he deserved."

<sup>1</sup> A. Oppenheimer, Between Rome and Babylon, 2005, 313-9.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 315f.

<sup>3</sup> B. Isaac - A. Oppenheimer, in: Isaac, Near East 228 with n.28.

<sup>4</sup> Also Esd 5,17. Cf. Oppenheimer (n.1) 305f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv I 1939, 18-21 (Hebr.), for a collection of Talmudic sources related to Beitar, and Oppenheimer (n.1).

Hieronymus, In Zachariam 2,8,18f.: in hoc mense, et a Nabuchodonosor, et multa post saecula a Tito et Vespasiano, templum Ierosolymis incensum est atque destructum, capta urbs Bether, ad quam multa milia confugerant Iudaeorum, aratum templum in ignominiam gentis oppressae, a Turannio Rufo.

"In this month was the temple in Jerusalem set on fire and destroyed by Nabuchodonosor and, many years afterwards, by Titus and Vespasian, and (in this month) the town of Bether was taken, where many thousands of Jews had fled; and the temple was plowed by Turannius Rufus to the disgrace of the subjugated people."

## Archaeological Remains

As already noted, the site was continuously occupied from the Iron Age to the 2 c. AD. Fortifications dating to the revolt of 67-70 as well as to the Bar Kochba war have been found here.

The site was first identified as such by Guérin, Judée 2, 387-95.6 For excavations at Bethar: D. Ussishkin, Tel Aviv 20, 1993, 66-97; for the Roman siege works around Bethar: D. Kennedy - D. Riley, Rome's Desert Frontier from the Air, 1990, 100ff.; NEAEHL 5, 2008, 1604f. with references on 1605. For further bibliography: TIR 86f.; Oppenheimer (n.1) 307 n.21. Cf. also Bagatti, Judaea 27f.; G. Reeg, Die Ortsnamen Israels nach der rabbinischen Literatur, 1989, 126.

Kennedy and Riley (pp. 103f.) give the measurements of the Roman camps. "The size of the two largest camps (A and B) would suggest accommodation for some 6000 and 1800 men respectively. If they are contemporary with the addition of further troops in Camps C, D, E and F, the total siege force may have been some 10-12,000 troops, but it is not certain that C, E and F are really temporary Roman camps. That many were legionaries is likely, and the units may be those on the rock-cut inscription near the spring, naming detachments of legions *V Macedonica* and *XI Claudia* whose parent units, normally permanently stationed in Moesia Inferior, had evidently all contributed men to the Roman forces putting down the revolt."

ΒI

<sup>6</sup> Surveys of the site: W. Carroll, AASOR 5, 1923/4, 77-103; M. Kochavi, in: id. ed., Judaea, Samaria and the Golan: Archaeological Survey 1967-1968, 1972, 241 (Hebr.).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. S. Applebaum, Prologomena to the study of the second Jewish revolt (A.D. 132-135), 1976, 45. For the inscription which presumably mentions vexillations of the two legions based there, see no. 3198 below.

## **Inscriptions**

# 3197. Greek mosaic pavement of a church(?), mentioning various donors

Mosaic floor; four inscriptions in roughly square tablets.

Meas.: h 4.65, w 4 m (mosaic pavement).

Findspot: Bethther (Bittir), 100 m west of the railway station, 1.5 m deep.

- (a) (palm branch) ΥΠΕΡΣΩΤΗ
  ΡΙΑΣ[ΑΝΤΙ
  ΛΗΩΨΕΩΣ
  ΑΛΥΠΙΟΥΤΟΥ
  ΦΙΛΧΡ]ΤΩΝ
  ΔΙΑΦΕΡΤΩΝ
- (b) ΗΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΣΓΑ ΛΟΓΑΤΩΕΡ ΓΩΝΤΟΥΤΟ ΥΠΕΡΣΩΤΗ ΡΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ
- (c) ΕΠΙΤΟΥΘΕΩ
  ΦΙΛΗΣΤΑΤ
  ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥΠΡ
  ΒΥΤΕΡΕΓΕ
  ΝΗΤΩΤΑ
  ΩΔΑΙ (palm branch)



fig. 3197.1 (a)



fig. 3197.2 (b)



fig. 3197.3 (c)

(d) ΣΠΟΥΔΗ
ΕΙΟΥΛΙΑΝ
ΝΟΥΠΙΣΤΙ
ΚΟΥΕΓΗΝΕΤΟ
ΜΗΝΙΜΑΡΤΙ
ΟΥΕΝΔΕ (palm branch)



fig. 3197.4 (d)

- (a) ὑπὲρ σωτη|ρίας (καὶ) ἀντι|λή μψεως | Ἀλυπίου τοῦ | φιλ(ο)χρ(ίστου) (καὶ) τῶν | διαφερ(όν)των
- (b) ήποίησεν | Άντῶνις Γα|λογᾶ τὼ ἔρ|γων τοῦτο | ὑπὲρ σωτη|ρ(ίας) Γεωργίου
- (c) ἐπὶ τοῦ θεω|φιληστάτ(ου) | Γεωργίου πρ(εσ)|βυτέρ(ου) ἐγέ|νητω τὰ | ὧδαι
- (d) σπουδῆ | Εἰουλιαν|νοῦ πιστι|κοῦ ἐγήνετο | μηνὶ Μαρτί|ου ἐνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε'
- (a) For the salvation and succor of Alypius, the Christ-loving, and (his) relatives.
- (b) Antonis, son of Galogas, made this work for the salvation of Georgius.
- (c) This was made here under the most god-loving priest Georgius.
- (d) By the zeal of Iuliannus, the steward, (this) was made in the month of March, indiction 5.

Comm.: Date: Gatier calls a date "postérieure à la fin du VIIe s." evident, Vincent opted for the 6-8 c. AD, Bagatti for the 6 c. AD. The building was most probably a church, but other possibilities, e.g. a monastery, cannot be excluded. However, there is no reason to think of a "hypogée familiale" (Leclercq) or "Grabkapelle" (Kaufmann).

(a) For διαφέροντες in the sense of relatives, kinsfolk, see Lampe s.v. διαφέρω 3 c 1; cf., for instance, CIIP I 848 (Beth Safafa): ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας κ(αὶ)

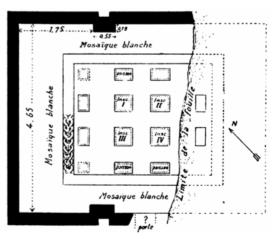


fig. 3197.5

ἀντηλήμψ<ε>ως Σαμουήλου κ(αὶ) τῶν αὐτοῦ δι<α>φερόντων; SEG 27, 1019 (Nebo): ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Φιλαδέλφου σχ(ολαστικοῦ) κ(αὶ) Γοθυ σχ(ολαστικοῦ) κ(αὶ) πάντων τῶν αὐτοῖς δι(α)φερόντων; 37, 1523 (Nahariya): [ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας] Λεοντίου πρε(σβυτέρου) (καὶ) περ(ιοδευτοῦ) (καὶ) πάντον τῆν διαφερ(όντων) αὐτ(οῦ); 29, 1591 (Apamea Syr.): ὑπὲρ μνή[μ]ης [... καὶ] Συμεωνίου τῆν Δορρο[θέου (?)] καὶ πάντον τῶν διαφερ[όντων] αὐ<τ>οῦ; 51, 2073 (Madaba): ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτ(οῦ) καὶ τῶν διαφερόντ(ων) αὐτοῦ.

- (b) " $\Gamma \alpha \lambda o \gamma \tilde{\alpha}$  semble être un nom propre du même thème que  $M \alpha \lambda \omega \chi \tilde{\alpha}$  trouvé dans une inscription de Syrie (Wadd., 2608)" (Vincent; cf. Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 71). Vincent, Leclercq and everybody else took this for the signature of the mosaicist, but Donderer 1989 remarked: "Die ausdrückliche Nennung des Objekts und der Widmung sprechen eindeutig gegen eine Interpretation als Mosaizistensignatur. Es handelt sich vielmehr um eine Stifterinschrift" (cf. Donderer 2008; but Hachlili, AMP opts again for the signature); on  $\tilde{\epsilon} \rho \gamma o \nu$  as mosaic cf. CIIP III 2452, 2543 etc. (Baumann understood "das Gebäude"). Georgius is most likely the priest mentioned in (c).
- (c) τὰ ὧδαι: Vincent has a long and sometimes curious discussion, but finally hits on the correct solution: τὰ ὧδε; cf. Gignac I 193.
- (d) Πιστικοῦ edd., corr. Feissel 1980; cf. Bagatti. On πιστικοί in general, see Gatier 1994, 42f.; Di Segni 315.

Bibl.: L. Vincent, RB 19, 1910, 257f. nos. 1-4 (drs., ph.) (ed. pr.). – P.-M. Séjourné, CRAI 1909, 951, 975ff. (dr.); A. Heisenberg, BZ 19, 1910, 661; C. Kaufmann, Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik, 1917, 407 fig. 238; M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 2, 1933, 142f. no. 13 (repr. in: id., Art in Ancient Palestine, 1981, 289 no. 13); H. Leclercq, DACL 12, 1935, 324ff.; SEG 8, 230; Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 26; Meimaris, Sacred Names 189 no. 931 (c); Ovadiah, MPI 180; M. Donderer, Die Mosaizisten der Antike und ihre wirtschaftliche und soziale Stellung, 1989, 123 (c); L. Di Segni, in: Humphrey, Near East 315; Bagatti, Judaea 27f.; Madden, Corpus 40f. no. 44, 214 fig. 9. – Cf. J. Strzygowski, ByzZ 19, 1910, 661; Nea Sion 1910, 463f.; BE 1912 p. 67; F. Bleckmann, ZDPV 36, 1913, 239; D. Feissel, BCH 104, 1980, 498 n.55 (SEG 30, 1685; BE 1981, 625); P.-L. Gatier, Villages du Proche-Orient protobyzantin, 1994; R. Hachlili, ZDPV 113, 1997, 105; Baumann, Spätantike Stifter 296; J. Moralee, For Salvation's Sake, 2004, 171 no. 315; A. Ovadiah, in: M. Fano Santi ed., Studi di archeologia in onore di Gustavo Traversari 2, 2004, 694; Feissel, Chroniques 261 no. 831; M. Donderer, Die Mosaizisten der Antike II 2008, 147 no. C 1; Hachlili, AMP 247; P.-L. Gatier, in: Proche-Orient 16.

Photo: M. Bouché-Leclercq, CRAI 1909, 976 (dr.); L. Vincent, RB 19, 1910, 255 (dr.).

WA

#### 3198. Building inscription of vexillarii of the legio V Macedonica and XI Claudia

Rectangular table with a frame cut into the rock on the left-hand side of the entrance to a water channel. The first lines of the inscription are almost completely effaced.

Meas.: h 35, w 50 cm.

Findspot: Seen on 9 August 1874 by Clermont-Ganneau, probably after having been seen by several other visitors who had failed to describe it.

(hedera) SVM[--]
[--]MARTI[--]V[--]
[--]ETVICTOR[--]
CENTVR[--]VEXIL[--]
LEGVMACETXICL
[--]



fig. 3198.1

[--]SVM[--|--]MARTI[--]V[--|--] et Victor[--] | centur[--] vexil[lat(io)/lar(ii)] | leg(ionum) V Mac(edonicae) et XI Cl(audiae) | [--]

...SVM...MARTI...V... and Victor..., centur... the unit of the detached soldiers or the detached soldiers of the legions V Macedonica and XI Claudia ... (have built this).

Comm.: The place where the inscription was found is crucial for its interpretation. The inscription is connected to the work done by a vexillatio or vexillarii of the legio V Macedonica and XI Claudia. Such vexillations were very often under the command of one centurion or more. Therefore most editors or commentators take Victor to be the name of a centurion. However, nowhere in a building inscription or a dedication do we find a centurion, acting as a commander, mentioned solely by his cognomen, rather than by both nomen gentile and cognomen. Furthermore, the rank is then always given as an abbreviation: > or O. Hence CENTVR cannot mean here centurio or centuriones - an interpretation which led Cagnat (apud Clermont-Ganneau, ARP) to interpret VICTOR as referring to the goddess



fig. 3198.2



fig. 3198.3

Victoria, mentioned here together with other gods and godesses to whom several *centuriones* had made a joint dedication. This interpretation must therefore be rejected. Consequently no more information than the mere presence of *vexillarii* of the two legions on this spot can be gleaned from this fragmentary inscription (for a more detailed argumentation see Eck).

On what occasion could the *vexillarii* of the two legions have been present near Bethar? The legio V Macedonica was part of Vespasian's army between 67 and 70 AD, but the legio XI Claudia was not. Several scholars proposed dating the inscription to the Bar Kochba revolt (see Ritterling 1699; Isaac). This conjecture is quite likely in view of the findspot, namely near Bethar, the famous last stronghold of Bar Kochba. The building raised by the *vexillarii* may well have been the water channel which provided water to the troops participating in the siege of Bethar.

Bibl.: Krafft, Topographie, 267 no. 8 (with a defective dr. of ll.4f. only); J. Germer-Durand, Cosmos n.s. 23, 1892, 292f. (edd. prr.). – Id. RB 3, 1894, 613f. (dr.); AE 1894, 166; Clermont-Ganneau, EAO 1, 1895, 141f.; AE 1896, 53; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP I 463-9; CIL 3, 13586=14155.2; E. Zickermann, ZDPV 29, 1906, 51-72 at 55; Schürer I,1, 688, 693ff.; W. Carroll, AASOR 5, 1923/4, 77-103 at 84f.; E. Ritterling, RE 12, 1329-1837 at 1578; F.-M. Abel, RB 35, 1926, 421-4 at 424; R. De Vaux - A. Steve, Fouilles à Qaryet el-'Enab Abu Gosh, Palestine, 1950, 46; J. Meyshan, PEQ 90, 1958, 19-23 at 21; B. Lifshitz, BIES 23, 1959, 53-67 at 62 (Hebr.); Schürer II,1, 548, 551; M. Gracey, The Roman Army in Syria, Judaea and Arabia, 1981, 208; P. Schäfer, Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand, 1981, 130; A. Oppenheimer, Immanuel 14, 1982, 58-76 at 71; Keel - Küchler 739f.; Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 26; H. Kuhnen, Palästina in griechisch-römischer Zeit, 1990, 158; Isaac, Limits 433; Bagatti, Judaea 27f.; W. Eck, ZPE 193, 2015, 268ff.

Photo: IAA Mandate archive; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP 464f. (dr.).

WE

## 3199. Greek votive foot dedicated by Patrici(u)s (?)

Meas.: h 4, w (bottom) 10, d 9 cm; inscription: w 8.5 cm; letters 0.6-2 cm.

Findspot: "Nel Settembre del 1958 l'antiquario di Gerusalemme M. Beidun venne a profferirci un piede votivo portatogli da un suo abituale fornitore dei dintorni di Gerusalemme. Questi asseriva di averlo trovato a Bettir dove sono le rovine dell' antica Bether ... Il piede fu aquisato ed esposto nel Museo della Flagellazione" (ed. pr.). Pres. loc.: SBF Museum, Jerusalem. Autopsy: 4 June 2014 (WE).

ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΣ

Πατρίκις

Patrici(u)s. fig. 3199.1





fig. 3199.2 fig. 3199.3

Comm.: Relating to no. 3198, Bagatti (ed. pr.) speculates: "Ora niente si oppone a pensare che un soldato, considerata l'asperità della guerra, abbia appeso un voto a qualche divinità per fare un felice ritorno in patria. Non molto distante da Bettir è una sorgente detta Ain Hanniya, sormontato da una nicchia con capitelli corinzi, che conservava, evidentemente, nel periodo romano una divinità."

Bibl.: B. Bagatti, Oriens Antiquus 9, 1970, 113f., pl. 8 (ed. pr.). – Id., Giudea e Neghev 26; id., Judaea 27f.; G. Loche, in: G. Bottini - L. Chrupcała - J. Patrich eds., Knowledge and Wisdom, 2014, 371-89 at 374f., 382, 385.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; WE.

WA

3200, canceled

# LXXIV. Bir el-Qutt

#### 3201.-3204. Monastery of St. Theodorus

The most complete Georgian monastic complex was discovered during the excavations carried out in 1952-53 by V. Corbo at the site of Bir el-Qutt, in the vicinity of Bethlehem, near Shepherds Field. Similarly to other rural coenobitic monasteries of Byzantine times, placed along the road connecting Jerusalem and Bethlehem, the Bir el-Qutt complex contained a number of buildings surrounding a central courtyard. It includes a chapel with burial crypts, a refectory, various household rooms, water cisterns and agricultural installations, oil and wine presses. The large spaces of the monastery were decorated with mosaic pavements, either in white or with geometrical or floral patterns. Mosaics were preserved in the chapel, the refectory, the courtyard and the porticos. Four mosaic inscriptions in Georgian asomtavruli script were incorporated into the floors, and are the first Georgian epigraphic finds discovered in the Holy Land. According to the inscriptions, the monastery was dedicated to St. Theodorus and was built by Abba Antonius. Since its discovery, the Bir el-Qutt complex was identified with a coenobium built by Peter the Iberian and Ioanne the Laz, known from the sources (see Tsereteli 1960; Nutsubidze 1966; Chachanidze 1977; Lordkipanidze - Muskhelishvili 1988; Mgaloblishvili 2007). According to this hypothesis, the monastery was built between the years 429 and 444 by Peter and his companions. However, the analysis of epigraphic, numismatic and ceramic finds shows that the establishment of the coenobium should be dated to the years 532-552. No remains of earlier structures were discovered during the excavations, and no sign of restoration of the inscriptions can be traced. All the inscriptions were inlayed in the mosaic floors of the complex at the same time, already during the construction phase. The abandonment of the monastery should be dated to the 8 c. It seems that the identification of the Bir el-Qutt complex with the "desert monastery" of Peter the Iberian relying only on the interpretation of historical sources should be rejected. Together with inscriptions discovered in Umm Leisun and Nazareth as well as in Bolnisi and Jvari in Georgia, the Bir el-Qutt inscriptions are among the earliest examples of Georgian writing. The style of the characters, orthographic norms and abbreviations used in the inscriptions testify to the existence of a well-established writing tradition already in the 6 c.

Bibl.: V. Corbo, Gli scavi di Kh. Siyar El-Ghanam (Campo dei pastori) e i monastri dei dintorni, 1955, 112-34; G. Tsereteli, The Most Ancient Georgian Inscription from Palestine, 1960, 58-73 (Georg./Russ./Engl.); Sh. Nutsubidze, in: Critical Essays, 1966, 80-103 (Georgian); V. Chachanidze, Petr Iver i arkheologicheskie raskopki gruzinskogo monastiria v Ierusalime [Peter the Iberian and the Archaeological Excavations of Georgian Monastery near Jerusalem],

1977 (French summary 205-20, Engl. summary 221-33); R. Cohen, EAEHL 3, 1977, 876-85; M. Lordkipanidze - D. Mouskhelishvili, Ocherki istorii Gruzii [Studies of Georgian History] II 1988, 519f.; Kloner, Survey of Jerusalem, 2000, 98 (Engl.), 151 (Hebr.); T. Mgaloblishvili, ARAM 19, 2007, 527-39; Ribak, Religious Communities 143f.; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 96f.

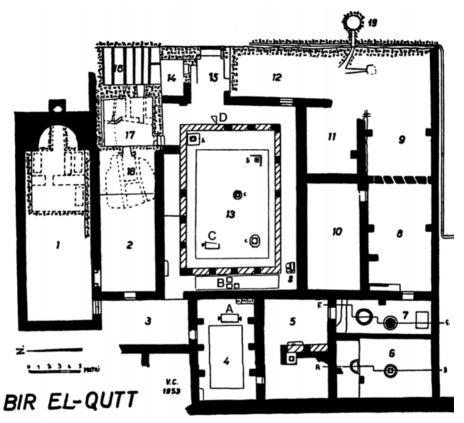


fig. 3201.A Ground plan, V. Corbo, Gli scavi di Kh. Siyar El-Ghanam (Campo dei pastori) e i monasteri dei dintorni, 1955, 112 fig. 1

#### 3201. Georgian dedicatory inscription of Abbot Antonius, 6. c. CE

Mosaic inscription of five lines set in a tabula ansata, placed on the floor of the monastery's refectory. Letters and frame are made of black tesserae on the white background. Excellent state of preservation; the inscription forms the integral part of the mosaic pavement which is decorated with geometric patterns; no traces of later additions or fixing can be seen. Round Georgian uncial script (asomtavruli), abbreviations marked with a horizontal stroke.

Meas.: h 82, w 212 cm; letters 9.5-11 cm.

Findspot: Refectory hall; see introduction to nos. 3201-3204 fig. A, no. 4A.

Pres. loc.: SBF Museum, Jerusalem.



fig. 3201.1 (on display in SBF Museum)

ႸႤႼႤႥႬႨႧႣႵჼჁႱႨႧႣႣႣႻ ႤႳႾႤႡႨႧႣႼႻႨႣႨႱႣႧჼႤჽႱႨႧႣ ႸჼႬႣႬႲႳႬႨႣႡႣჽႣႣႨႳႱႨႣႻႳ ႻႱႾႻႤႪႨႣႻႨႱႱႤႴႨႱႣჽႣႣႻႣ ႻႣႣႤႣႣჽႨႳႱႨႣჽႱႨႣႻႤႬ

შეწევნითა ქ(რისტ)ცඁსითა და მ|ეოხებითა წმიდისა თ(ეოდორ)ეჲსითა | შ(ეიწყალე)ნ ანტონი აბაჲ და იოსია მო|მსხმელი ამის სეფისაჲ და მა|მა დედაჲ იოსიაჲსი ამენ

Translit.: šetsevnit'a k(rist)eisita da m|eoxebit'a tsmidisa t'(eodor)eisit'a | š(eitsq'ale)n antoni abai da iosia mo|mskhmeli amis sepisai ma|ma dedai iosiaisi amen

By the help of Christ, and with the intercession of St. Theodorus, (Lord) have mercy on Abba Antonius and on Iosiah who laid this mosaic and on Iosiah's father and mother. Amen.



fig. 3201.2 (with tabula ansata, photograph taken ca. 1953)

Comm.: According to Tarchnišvili, the monastery was dedicated to St. Theodorus Tyron, a holy martyr whose cult was very popular in the Christian Orient. A church or monastery dedicated to St. Theodorus existed also in Jerusalem, where his memory was commemorated five times a year. His name is also mentioned in no. 3203. The editor also proposed to identify the founder of the monastery with Abbot Antonius, known from the Vita Marthae: a Jerusalemite monk of Georgian origin who brought to St. Simeon the Stylite the Younger the relicts of the True Cross in the year 552 CE, and later stayed in Syria, where he became a Bishop of Seleucia. According to the text, he spent some twenty years in the Holy Land. Therefore, if the identification of Abba Antonius is correct, the establishment of the monastery can be dated to the years 532-552. The name of the mosaicist, nous, is clearly a Georgian version of Hebrew Iosiah. It is not attested elsewhere in the ancient Georgian nomenclature. The nature of his work, unknown in the ancient Kartli kingdom (Eastern Georgia), is described as "decorating by small stones," using for the small stones the word bogo, probably of Syriac origin.

Bibl.: M. Tarchnišvili, in: V. Corbo, Gli scavi di Kh. Siyar El-Ghanam (Campo dei pastori) e i monasteri dei dintorni, 1955, 135-9 at 135ff. no. A (ed. pr.). - RB 61, 1954, 568-82 at 575; G. Tsereteli, The Most Ancient Georgian Inscription from Palestine, 1960, 58-73 (Georg./Russ./ Engl.); P. Spijkerman, SBF 12, 1961/2, 323-33 at 323f.; L. Matsulevich, Vizantiiskii Vremennik 44, 1961, 138-48 (Russ.); Sh. Nutsubidze, in: Critical Essays, 1966, 80-103 (Georgian); Bagatti, Nazaret 149, 151; id., Church 297; R. Cohen, EAEHL 3, 1977, 876-85 at 879; V. Chachanidze, Petr Iver i arkheologicheskie raskopki gruzinskogo monastiria v Ierusalime [Peter the Iberian and the Archaeological Excavations of Georgian Monastery near Jerusalem], 1977 (French summary 205-20, Engl. summary 221-33); Bagatti, Chiesa II 154 fig. 5, 208; M. Piccirillo, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Jerusalem. Museum, 1983, 61f.; Meimaris, Sacred Names 51 no. 293, 64 no. 400, 131 no. 696, 237 no. 1186; Ovadiah, MPI 44f.; M. Lordkipanidze - D. Mouskhelishvili, Ocherki istorii Gruzii [Studies of Georgian History] II 1988, 519f.; I. Dalmais, Le monde de la Bible 66, 1990, 45ff.; R. Hachlili, ZDPV 113, 1997, 92-122 at 99, 104ff.; G. Gagoshidze, Academia 5A, 2003, 43 (Georgian); A. Ovadiah, in: M. Fano Santi ed., Studi di archeologia in onore di Gustavo Traversari II, 2004, 694; T. Mgaloblishvili, ARAM 19, 2007, 527-39 at 527; M. Donderer, Die Mosaizisten der Antike II 2008, 87 no. b 3 pl. 21,2; Hachlili, AMP 247; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 96; H. Fähnrich, Die ältesten georgischen Inschriften, 2013, 177-80; Madden, Corpus 41f. no. 47; J. Seligman, Atiqot 83, 2015, 145-79 at 171f.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; V. Corbo, Gli scavi di Kh. Siyar El-Ghanam (Campo dei pastori) e i monasteri dei dintorni, 1955 ph. 104.

YΤ

#### 3202. Georgian dedicatory inscription of Bakur and Gri-Ormizd, 6 c. CE

Mosaic inscription of ten lines, black letters on white field, placed in the western portico of the monastery courtyard. The text is arranged in three squares, each set in a frame made of black tesserae. The two upper squares, separated from each

other by a simple guilloche, contain four lines each. The lines are divided by rows of pinkish tesserae. The third square with two lines of text is placed to the right of the second, lower square. Possibly, a fourth inscribed square is missing. Fair state of preservation, except for some minor damage in the lower lines. Round Georgian uncial script (asomtavruli).

Meas.: h 103, w 46 cm; letters 7-9 cm.

Findspot: Western portico of the courtyard; see introduction to nos. 3201-3204 fig. A, no. 13B.

Pres. loc.: SBF Museum, Jerusalem.

ႣႠႻႳႷႻ ႤႳႷႪႬႨႻ ႠႧႬႨႡႠ ႩႳႷႰႣႠ

ႢႰႨႳႰႻ ႨъႣႣႠႻ ႠႸႳႡႬႨ ႻႠႧႬႨႵ<sup>~</sup>ባ



fig. 3202.1

9[--]Ⴈ[--]ƙ ℧<del>ል</del>ባƙ

და ძუძ|ეულნი მ|ათნი ბა|კურ და | გრი ორმ|იზდ და ნ|აშობნი | მათნი ქ(რისტ)ე | შ [ე]ი[წყალე]ნ | ამენ

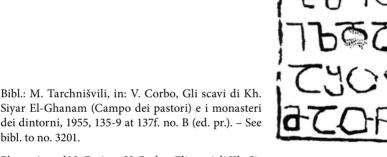


fig. 3202.2

Translit.: da dzoudz|eulni m|at'ni ba|kur da | gri orm|izd da n|ašobni | mat'ni k(rist)e | š(e)i(tsq'ale)n | amen

And their alumni Bakur and Gri-Ormizd and their children. Christ, have mercy. Amen.

Comm.: Both individuals mentioned have theophoric names of Persian origin. Persian names remained an integral part of the Georgian nomenclature also after Christianization. It was proposed to identify Bakur with a king of Kartli, the grandfather of Peter the Iberian. Gri-Ormizd is possibly a double name, the first part of which can be an abbreviation of Gregorius.



Siyar El-Ghanam (Campo dei pastori) e i monasteri dei dintorni, 1955, 135-9 at 137f. no. B (ed. pr.). - See bibl. to no. 3201.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; V. Corbo, Gli scavi di Kh. Siyar El-Ghanam (Campo dei pastori) e i monasteri dei dintorni, 1955, pl. 38 ph. 120; G. Tsereteli, The Most Ancient Georgian Inscription from Palestine, 1960, pl. 5 (dr.).



ΥT

#### 3203. Georgian dedicatory inscription of Maruan and Bursen, 6 c. CE

Mosaic inscription of four lines set in tabula ansata, placed in the western part of the monastery courtyard. The letters, the lines between the rows as well as the frame are made of black tesserae on a white background. The third line is damaged at the center, where possibly four to five letters are missing; of the fourth line only one letter is preserved. Round Georgian uncial script (asomtavruli).

Meas.: w 132 cm, letters 9-11.5 cm.

Findspot: In the courtyard; see introduction to nos. 3201-3204 fig. A, no. 13C.

Pres. loc.: SBF Museum, Jerusalem.

ႼႻႨႣႠႳႧႤႳႣႳႰ ႤႻႠႰႳႷႠႬႣႠႡႳ ႷႰႦႬ[--]ႤႬႠႻႨ [--]Ⴄ[--]



fig. 3203.1

წმიდაო თეოდორ|ე მარ(ჳ)ან და ბო|(ჳ)რზნ[--]ენ ამი | (შეიწყალ)ე(?) [--]

Translit.: tsmidao t'eodor|e mar(u)an da bu|rzn... en ami- | (šeitsq'al)e(?) ...

St. Theodorus, Maruan and Bursen ... have mercy (?).

Comm.: Maruan and Bursen are names of Persian origin. It has been suggested to identify Maruan with Peter the Iberian, known as Murvanos before taking his monastic vows (Vita P.I., Georgian



fig. 3203.2

version), and Bursen with his father. This identification is problematic, even if the mosaic was layed *in memoria*: it is much more likely that the well-known church leader was referred to by his monastic name, rather than by the name given him on his birth.

Bibl.: M. Tarchnišvili, in: V. Corbo, Gli scavi di Kh. Siyar El-Ghanam (Campo dei pastori) e i monasteri dei dintorni, 1955, 135-9 at 138 no. C (ed. pr.). – See bibl. to no. 3201.

Photo: V. Corbo , Gli scavi di Kh. Siyar El-Ghanam e i monasteri dei dintorni, 1955, pl. 35 ph. 107; G. Tsereteli, The Most Ancient Georgian Inscription from Palestine, 1960 pl. 4 (dr.).

ΥT

#### 3204. Fragmentary Georgian inscription, 6 c. CE

Mosaic inscription, letters made of red tesserae on white field, placed in the monastery courtyard near the entrance to the church. The inscription is seriously damaged: the first line is missing, the second and third lines contain only the beginning of words. Georgian unicial script (asomtavruli). It might have been a dedicatory inscription.

Meas.: letters 5-9.8 cm.

Findspot: Eastern portico of the courtyard; see introduction to nos. 3201-3204 fig. A, no. 13D.

Pres. loc.: SBF Museum, Jerusalem

[--] Ъ[--] --][ CO[--] MCO[--]

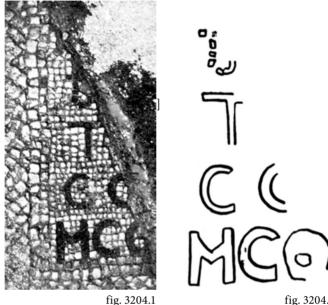


fig. 3204.2

 $[--]|\delta[--]|O[--]|MCO[--]$ 

Translit.: [--]|z[--]|i[--]|co[--]|mco[--]

Comm.: The fourth and fifth lines start with signs not taken from the Georgian script - possibly a date. The text is too fragmentary to propose a reading, even in light of the other inscriptions on the site.

Bibl.: M. Tarchnišvili, in: V. Corbo ed., Gli scavi di Kh. Siyar El-Ghanam (Campo dei pastori) e i monasteri dei dintorni, 1955, 135-9 at 138f. no. D (ed. pr.). - See bibl. to no. 3201.

Photo: V. Corbo, Gli scavi di Kh. Siyar El-Ghanam e i monasteri dei dintorni, 1955, pl. 38 ph. 118; G. Tsereteli, The Most Ancient Georgian Inscription from Palestine, 1960 pl. 4 (dr.).

#### LXXV. Deir Dosi

#### 3205.-3206. Monastery of Theodosius

The ruins at Deir Dosi were identified with the monastery established at the site of the cave in which Theodosius the Cenobiarch had settled. The attribution is generally accepted by scholars. A central church with crypt and two smaller ones as well as cells, storerooms, cisterns and an open paved area had been identified in the main complex which was enclosed by a wall. To the south was an additonal complex around a central courtyard. Today, the ancient remains are partly overbuilt by the modern monastery of St. Theodosius established at the end of the 19 c.

Bibl.: C. Schick - K. Marti, ZDPV 3, 1880, 34-7 no. 22; C. Schick, PEQ 31, 1899, 36f.; E. Weigand, BZ 23, 1914, 167-216; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 106f. no. 224.

#### 3205. Greek mosaic inscription with invocation

Inscription in a mosaic frame; blue letters on white background, the lines divided by a row of red tesserae; frame in red – blue – white – blue – red. Meas.: h 60, w 137 cm (frame); h (lines) 13.5 cm.

Findspot: Monastery of St. Theodosius (Deir Dosi), "östlich oberhalb der bekannten Höhle der Magier, also jedenfalls im Fußboden der Kirche, die sich einst über der Höhle erhob" (Alt).

ΚΕΙΥΧΕΑΝΑΠ ΑΥΣΟΝΤΑΣ ΨΥΧΑΣΤΩΝ [...]ΛΩΝΣΟΥ



fig. 3205

κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)έ, ἀνάπ|αυσον τὰς | ψυχὰς τῶν | [δού]λων σου

Lord Jesus Christ, repose the souls of your servants.

Comm.: "The convent has known two main building periods: c. AD 460 and in the second quarter of the sixth century" (Avi-Yonah). – l.4: Meimaris 51 gives no brackets.

Bibl.: A. Alt, PJb 21, 1925, 14 (ed. pr.). – M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 2, 1933, 152f. no. 55 pl. 16,4 (repr. in: id., Art in Ancient Palestine, 1981, 299f., pl. 46,4); SEG 8, 316; Meimaris, Sacred Names 43 no. 227 (l.1), 51 no. 295, 64 no. 402 (l.1). – Cf. Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 107.

Photo: Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 107 fig. 224,2.

WA

#### 3206. Nomen sacrum

Block from the church; a large cross in a circle, in the upper corners the nomen sacrum (the inscription was perhaps continued in the lower corners of the block).

 $+\Sigma \overline{X}\Sigma$ 

Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς

Jesus Christ.



fig. 3206

Bibl.: Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 106f. (ed. pr.).

Photo: Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christianity II 107 fig. 224,3.

### LXXVI. Bir el-Qattar

#### 3207. Record of several inscriptions in a cave

Patrich 1995 describes the building of a monastery in the so called "Sabas' Cave" as follows: "The cave was transformed into a chapel by Sabas when the monastery was established. On the rock wall, to the right of the lower entrance of the tunnel, one can discern the remains of a molded Corinthian capital ... Seemingly, here was a plastered rock surface upon which was written the story of the holiness of the cave. The inscription was flanked on both sides by molded pilasters with capitals. Access to the inscription was almost certainly from the porch on top of the church ... Drawings of crosses and a few indecipherable inscriptions, painted in red paint on the rock, have also been preserved nearby. These inscriptions are the work of pilgrims or of the monks themselves." Patrich 1991 was more cautious: "possibly this surface contained an inscription which could be seen from the porch on top of the church." It is not quite clear how much of the text which recorded "the story of the holiness of the cave" was seen by Patrich.

Bibl.: J. Patrich, SFB 41, 1991, 443; id., Sabas. Leader of Palestinian Monasticism 1995, 151.

# LXXVII. Zanoua (mod. Kh. Zanu')

#### 3208. Burial cave with one or more Greek letters

A burial cave in Area 12-1 from the late Roman or early Byzantine period; "the remains of an ornamental circle (diam. 0.55 m) could be traced on the south wall of the burial chamber, and below it a Greek letter alpha (height 7 cm); there may have been additional letters" (Dagan - Avganim).

Bibl.: Y. Dagan - A. Avganim, ESI 17, 1998, 127 (=HA 105, 117 [Hebr.]).

# LXXVIII. Hyrcania (Castellion, mod. Kh. el-Mird)

#### 3209. Christian Palestinian Aramaic inscription naming Jesus Christ

Christian Palestinian Aramaic inscription in black ink on a fragment of wall plaster. Findspot: In a cave in the vicinity of the Castellion Monastery (Kh. el-Mird).

Translit.: mr' ysws mšyh'

Lord Jesus Christ.

Comm.: The Castellion Monastery was built on the ruins of Hyrcania to the southeast of Jerusalem. Milik speculates that the inscription originally came from the wall of a church or chapel, presumably relating to the monastery. The three words might have been part of a longer text or of a collage of short graffiti.

Bibl.: J. Milik, Biblica 42, 1961, 21-7 at 25 (ed. pr.). – M. Bar-Asher, Palestinian Syriac, 1975, 120 no. 142 (Hebr.); Beyer, Aramäische Texte 404 no. ccMI 2; A. Desreumaux, Semitica 37, 1987, 95-107 at 100; R. Hoyland, in: M. Macdonald ed., The Development of Arabic as a Written Language, 2010, 29-45 at 37 no. 9; M. Bar-Asher, in: Leshonit Rishonim. Studies in the Language of the Bible, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and Aramaic, 2012, 322-33 at 327 (Hebr.). – Cf. C. Müller-Kessler, Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen 1, 1991, 12.

Photo: M. Bar-Asher, Palestinian Syriac 1975, 120 no. 142 (dr.).

RH

#### 3210. Two fragments of a monumental Aramaic funerary inscription, 2-1 c. BCE

Two fragments of a monumental stone inscription, incised in Jewish script by a professional hand.

Meas.: (a) h 13.5, w 6.7, d 5 cm; letters 1.7 cm; (b) h 27.5, w 17, d 9.5 cm; letters 1.7 cm.

Findspot: Chance surface find.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1970-313/1-2. Autopsy: 29 June 2014 (WE).

(a) [--]מנפא[--] [--]חבל[--] [--]א דכל[--] [--]+++[--] (b) [--]++++ למרת יא[--] [--]++++לנפשנא קדם הר[--]



fig. 3210.2 (b)



fig. 3210.1 (a)



fig. 3210.3 (a)

- (a) 1.2: ... alas! ... 1.3: ... that any ...
- (b) 1.2: ... to Madame/the mistress of ... 1.3: ... to/for ourselves, before ...

Comm.: The two stone fragments do not join, but their common findspot and similar script suggest they were part of one text. From the few words that can be translated, this inscription seems to have been a funerary monument. The text had at least four lines; the shape of the sentences, or the name of any person mentioned, cannot be reconstructed. According to Yardeni, Textbook, the first legible letter in fragment (b) could be *yod* or the bottom of an *alef*; the penultimate letter in 1.2 could be zayin or yod; and the penultimate letter in 1.3 could be either he or het. The importance of this fragmentary text lies in its early date. According to Naveh, "the



fig. 3210.4 (b)

script resembles that of the Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hasmonean period," therefore 2-1 c. BCE, probably (but not certainly) before 30 BCE, judging esp. from the extended diagonal middle hasta of the *alef*, and the shapes of the *yod*, *lamed* and *mem*. Jewish funerary inscriptions from the late Second Temple period are usually found in caves, and were written informally, by the family; this is the first Jewish monumental inscription to be found from that period. The word of lament אול הבל is common in Aramaic funerary texts from Palmyra, see D. Hillers - E. Cussini, Palmyrene Aramaic Texts, 1996, 362 (s.v. "ḥbl").

Bibl.: J. Naveh, Atiqot 7, 1974, 7\*f. (ES), 56f. (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – MPAT 136, 209 no. 37; Beyer, Aramäische Texte 330 no. I 4; Millard, Pergament und Papyrus 83ff.; Yardeni, Textbook A 341, B 117; E. Baltrusch, Historia 50, 2001, 163-79 at 172.

Photo: IAA; AY (dr.).

#### 3211. Burial cave with Saints' names in a painting

Oval burial cave, "aufgemauerte Senkgräber" (Mader 1937, 30); its walls are covered with figures, which were vandalized deliberately. Originally there were 36 paintings; 27 were preserved when Mader first saw them. "An attempt to restore the monastery in 1923 by monks of Mar Saba was defeated by the bedouin" (Murphy-O'Connor, who relates p. 348 that the frescoes were repainted in 1925); the result of this is documented by a photograph in Hirschfeld (with an inscription not mentioned by Mader; this "banner inscription" high above the frescoes, visible on fig. 8 below, presents a 20 c. addition: τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς σταυρωθέντ(α) δεῦτε πάντες | ὑμνήσομεν); cf. also Wright 13: "the figures have been continually painted over and it is now no longer possible to detect any trace of work other than modern."

The names of the saints are attached to the paintings.  $\delta$   $\Hat{a}$   $\gamma$  is always to the left of the head and the personal name to its right. Inscriptions (a)-(e) are located on the west wall; (f)-(o) on the south wall; (p)-( $\alpha$ ) on the east wall; ( $\beta$ )-( $\gamma$ ) on the north wall. The numbers on Mader's drawing correspond to the order presented below. There is an enormous number of graffiti on the walls, most of them in Greek, and a few in Arabic. Most of them are in some way related to one of the larger figures; (c1) means a graffito relating to figure (c) Thal... etc.

Findspot: "Burial cave"; this cave was most probably part of a necropolis for the monks of the monastery. Mader believes that the monastery was not used after 638, and notes that the holy Georgius of Choziba [inscription (o)] died in 625.

#### West wall

- (a) ΟΑΓΙ[..] ¦ ΕΥΘΥΜΙΟΣ
- (b)  $[--]O\Sigma \mid [--]\Sigma IO\Sigma$
- (c) [--] ¦ ΘΑΛ[--]
- (d)  $OA\Gamma[...] \mid MAPT\Upsilon PIO\Sigma$
- (e)  $OA\Gamma IO\Sigma \mid [--]O\Sigma$

# 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 13 14 15 WESTWAND - SUDWAND -

#### South wall

- (f)  $OA\Gamma IO\Sigma \mid \Lambda AZAPO\Sigma$
- (g)  $OA\Gamma IO\Sigma \mid [.]A\Sigma I\Lambda EIO\Sigma$
- (h)  $OA\Gamma IO\Sigma \mid [..]\Sigma ENIO\Sigma$
- (i) ΟΑΓΙΟΣ ¦ ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΣ
- (j) ΟΑΓΙΟΣ ¦ ΣΥΜΕΩΝ
- (k)  $OA\Gamma IO\Sigma \mid [--]O\Sigma$
- (1) ΟΑΓΙΟΣ ¦ ΠΑΛΑΔΙΟΣ
- (m) ΟΑΓΙΟΣ ¦ ΙΩΑΝΝΕΣ
- (n)  $OA\Gamma IO\Sigma \mid \Theta EOKT I\Sigma TO\Sigma$
- (o) OA $\Gamma$ IO[.] |  $\Gamma$ E $\Omega$ [.] $\Gamma$ IO $\Sigma$  OXOZEBIT[..]



fig. 3211.1

#### East wall

- (p) ΟΑΓΙΟΣ ¦ ΑΒΡΑΜΙΟΣ
- (q) OAΓΙ[..] | MAPΚΙΑ[...]
- (r) O[...]O $\Sigma$  | ΘΕΟΚΤΙ $\Sigma$ ΤΟ $\Sigma$
- (s) OA $\Gamma$ IO $\Sigma$  | [--]
- (t)  $OA\Gamma IO\Sigma \mid [--]$
- (u)  $OA\Gamma IO\Sigma \mid MAKAPIO\Sigma$
- (v) ΟΑΓΙΟΣ ¦ ΜΩΙΣΗΣ
- (w)  $OA\Gamma IO\Sigma \mid \Theta EO\Delta O\Sigma I[..]$
- (x)  $[--] \mid \Pi A \Upsilon \Lambda [..]$
- (y)  $OA\Gamma IO\Sigma \mid \Sigma TE\Phi A[...]$
- (z)  $OA\Gamma IO\Sigma \mid I\Sigma I\Delta\Omega[...]$
- ( $\alpha$ ) [--] | APKA $\Delta$ IO $\Sigma$

#### North wall

- (β) ΟΑΓΙΟΣ | [--]
- (γ) [..]ΓΙΟΣ ¦ ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ

#### Graffiti above or next to the main figures

- (c1) ΦΕΓΑΛΑΣ
- (d1) ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΣ
- (d2) ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ
- (d3)  $\Pi\Lambda$ ATON(?) ANAXOPE[...]
- (d4) "Weiter unten mehrere unleserliche Namen, einmal mit dem Epitheton MONAXO $\Sigma$ " (Mader 1937, 55)
- (m1) ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ
- $(n1) \Delta AM[--]$
- (ο1) ΧΑΡΙΣΟΝ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ ΚΟΙΝΟΒΙΑΡΧΗΣ
- (p1)  $\Gamma E\Omega P[--]$
- (p2) ANNA $\Sigma$
- (q1) ΚΗΡΙΛΛΟΣ

#### West wall

- (a) ὁ ἄγι[ος] Εὐθύμιος
- (b) [ὁ ἄγι]ος [--]σιος
- (c) [ὁ ἄγιος] Θαλ[--]
- (d) ὁ ἅγ[ιος] Μαρτύριος
- (e) ὁ ἅγιος [--]ος

#### South wall

- (f) ὁ ἄγιος Λάζαρος
- (g) ὁ ἄγιος [B]ασιλεῖος



fig. 3211.2 (a, b)



fig. 3211.3 (f-i)

- (h) ὁ ἄγιος [Άρ]σένιος
- (i) ὁ ἄγιος Τιμόθεος
- (j) ὁ ἄγιος Συμέων
- (k) ὁ ἄγιος [--]ος
- (1) ὁ ἄγιος Παλάδιος
- (m) ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννες
- (n) ὁ ἄγιος Θεόκτιστος
- (ο) ὁ ἄγιο[ς] Γεώ[ρ]γιος ὁ Χοζεβίτ[ης]

#### East wall

- (p) ὁ ἄγιος Άβράμιος
- (q) ὁ ἄγι[ος] Μαρκια[νός]
- (r) ὁ [ἄγι]ος Θεόκτιστος
- (s) ὁ ἄγιος [--]
- (t) δ ἄγιος [--]
- (u) ὁ ἄγιος Μακάριος
- (v) ὁ ἅγιος Μωισῆς
- (w) ὁ ἄγιος Θεοδόσι[ος]
- (x) [ὁ ἄγιος] Παῦλ[ος]
- (y) ὁ ἄγιος Στέφα[νος]
- (z) ὁ ἄγιος Ἰσίδω[ρος]
- (α) [ὁ ἄγιος] Άρκάδιος

#### North wall

- (β) ὁ ἄγιος [Ἰωάννης]
- (γ) [ὁ ἅ]γιος Ξενοφῶν

Graffiti above or next to the main figures

- (c1) ΦΕΓΑΛΑΣ
- (d1) Άγαπητός
- (d2) Άθανάσιος μοναχός
- (d3) Πλάτον(?) ἀναχορε[τής]
- (d4) "Weiter unten mehrere unleserliche Namen, einmal mit dem Epitheton MONAXOΣ" (Mader 1937, 55)



- (n1) Δαμ[ιανός?]
- (ο1) ΧΑΡΙΣΟΝ μοναχός κοινοβιάρχης
- (p1) Γεώρ[γιος]
- (p2) ANNA $\Sigma$ (?)
- (q1) Κήριλλος



fig. 3211.4 (m-q)



fig. 3211.5 (p-r)

#### West wall

- (a) The holy Euthymius.
- (b) The holy ...sius.
- (c) The holy Thal...
- (d) The holy Martyrius.
- (e) The holy ...us.

#### South wall

- (f) The holy Lazarus.
- (g) The holy Basilius.
- (h) The holy Arsenius.
- (i) The holy Timotheus.
- (j) The holy Symeon.
- (k) The holy ...us.
- (1) The holy Paladius.
- (m) The holy Ioannes.
- (n) The holy Theoctistus.
- (o) The holy Georgius of Choziba.

#### East wall

- (p) The holy Abramius.
- (q) The holy Marcianus.
- (r) The holy Theoctistus.
- (s) *The holy* ...
- (t) The holy ...
- (u) The holy Macarius.
- (v) The holy Moses.
- (w) The holy Theodosius.
- (x) The holy Paulus.
- (y) The holy Stephanus.
- (z) The holy Isidorus.
- ( $\alpha$ ) The holy Arcadius.

#### North wall

- $(\beta)$  The holy Ioannes.
- $(\gamma)$  The holy Xenophon.

#### Graffiti above or next to the main figures

- (d1) Agapetus.
- (d2) The monk Athanasius.
- (d3) Platon(?) anachorite.
- (d4) ... monk ...
- (m1) Diodorus.
- (n1) Damianus(?).
- (o1) ... monk, head of a religious community.



fig. 3211.6 (w-z)

- (p1) Georgius.
- (p2) Annas(?).
- (q1) Cyrillus.



fig. 3211.8

Comm.: Mader 1937 comments very fully on the depicted saints. – (a) the famous anchorite; (b) Athanasius? Gelasius? (c) Thalassius? Thalilaeus? (d) a famous pupil of Euthymius; (f) Lazarus, resurrected by Jesus? (g) of Cappadocia; (h) of Egypt, one of the role models of Euthymius; (i) Timotheus ἐν Συμβόλοις? (j) Symeon Salus? (l) the author of the Historia Lausiaca; (m) Johannes Silentiarius or Johannes Chozebita; (n) a pupil of Euthymius; (o) ἄγιος Mader 1928, 42; (p) a pupil of St. Sabas; (q) founder of the Marcianus-monastery, Bethlehem; (r) Bishop of Caesarea Mari-



fig. 3211.7  $(\beta, \gamma)$ 

tima in the 3 c. AD? (u) the Egyptian monk, died ca. 390 AD; (v) the Ethiopian monk; (w) the founder of the monastery Deir Dosi; (x) Hieronymus' invention; (z) 'I $\sigma$ i $\delta$ o[ $\rho$ o $\varsigma$ ], Mader 1928, 44; Isidorus of Pelusion; ( $\alpha$ )-( $\gamma$ ) Father Xenophon and his two sons.

Bibl.: A. Mader, HL 72, 1928, 36ff.; id., OC 34, 1937, 30-56 ([c1]-[q1] only here) (edd. prr.). – Saller, Discoveries 73f.; G. Wright, Biblica 42, 1961, 1ff.; J. Patrich, Archaeological Survey in Judea and Samaria. Map of Deir Mar Saba (109/7), 1994, 76-82 no. 70 (Hebr.), 59\*f. (ES). – Cf. Hirschfeld, Judean Desert Monasteries 143 fig. 73; Murphy-O'Connor, Holy Land 345.

Photo: P. Mauritius Gisler (dr.); A. Mader (ph.); IAA.

#### 3212. Greek invocation in a burial cave

Stone, "cut off at the top, the bottom and on the right side" (Mader). Chiseled surface; the text looks almost like a graffito.

Meas.: h 26, w 35 cm.

Findspot: In the burial cave of no. 3211.

ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΗΚΥΕ ΤΟΥΛΟΝΣΟΥΜΝΧΑ +ΑΡΑΩΤΗΣ (cross)



fig. 3212

μνήσθητη, κύ(ρι)ε,| τ<ου δ>ούλον σου ΜΝΧΑ|+ΑΡΑΩΤΗΣ

Remember, lord, your servants ...

Bibl.: A. Mader, JPOS 9, 1929, 127 (ed. pr.). – R. Cohen, EAEHL 3, 1977, 882f.; J. Patrich, Archaeological Survey in Judea and Samaria. Map of Deir Mar Saba (109/7), 1994, 76-82 no. 70 (Hebr.) 59\*f.

Photo: A. Mader, JPOS 29, 1929 pl. 1 fig. 2.

# 3213. Lamp with Greek names of Father Sabas, Superior Zacharias and Deacon Sisinius

Lamp made of bronze with openings for eleven wicks. The lower part bearing the inscription (c) is formed as a cross; the upper part is formed as a circle [with inscription (b) running around its edge] with a cross in its middle; on the arms of the cross there are letters (a).

Pres. loc.: Museum of the Greek Patriarchate, Jerusalem.



(a)  $\Phi\Omega\Sigma$  $Z\Omega H$  fig. 3213

- (b) (cross)  $\overline{\text{KE}}$ ΦΥΛΑΞΟΝΤΟΥΣΔΙΑΙΑΚΟΝΟΥΝΤΑΣΜΕΤΑΤΟΝΑΛΟΓΟΝ ΤΟΥΣΠΙ+ΕΟΥΤΟΥΑΜΒΑΣΑΒΑ
- (c) (cross) ΥΠΕΡΣΩΤΗΡΗ ΑΣΚΑΙΑΝΤΗΛΙΜ ΨΕΟΣΖΑΧΑΡΗΟΥΤΟΥΣΙΓΟΥ ΜΕΝΟΥ∫ΣΙΣΙΝΙΟΥΤΟΥΔΙΑΚΩΝΟΥ
- (a) φῶς | ζωή
- (b) κ(ύρι)ε, φύλαξον τοὺς δια $\{IA\}$ κονοῦντας μετὰ τδν ἀλόγον τοῦ Σπιλέου τοῦ ἀμβᾶ Σάβα
- (c) ὑπὲρ σωτηρή|ας καὶ ἀντηλίμ|ψεος Ζαχαρήου τοῦ Σ ἱγου|μένου (καὶ) Σισινίου τοῦ διακώνου

- (a) Light. Life.
- (b) Lord, preserve those ministering together with the beasts of burden (of the monastery) of the cave of the Father Sabas.
- (c) For the salvation and the succor of the ... Superior Zacharias and the Deacon Sisinius.

Comm.: (b) It is not impossible to understand διακονεΐν as "serving as deacon." On ἄλογα and prayers on behalf of them, cf. D. Feissel, BCH 118, 1994, 286 who quotes, inter alia, L. Robert, Collection Froehner I, 1936, 61 (Asia Minor): κύριε, βοήθι Στρατονίκου κὲ τον ἀλόγον αὐτοῦ; Ο. Dalton, Early Christian Antiquities in the British Museum, 1901, 105 no. 533 (said to come from Antarados): κύριε, βοήθι Νισίου διακ<όν>ου κὲ τῦς ἀλόγυς αὐτοῦ. Cf. also CIIP II 1153 (Caesarea): [σ]ῶσον τὰ ἄλογα. Feissel remarks that Preisigke, NB s.v. knows only the meaning "horse"; cf. Sophocles s.v. 2: "beast of burden, commonly horse." Sabas founded the Cave Monastery (Σπήλαιον) in the year 508 (cf. in general Patrich, Sabas 146ff., who notes on 148: "The proximity of Kastellion and the Cave led to close relations between them"). On camels as property of the Great Laura, see Cyril, v. Sabae 86, ed. Schwartz, p. 181 (καμήλους ἐμισθώσατο Σαρακηνικὰς παρακομίσαι βουλόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς νεκρὰς θαλάσσης τὸν ἀπὸ Μαχαιρούντων ήγορασθέντα σῖτον); for a prayer on behalf of the camels, see ibid.: ὁ δὲ τῆς καμήλου δεσπότης Σαρακηνὸς ὢν ἔκραζεν λέγων άββᾶ Σάβα, αἱ εὐχαί σου βοηθήσουσι τῆι καμήλωι μου. That Castellion itself had a stable and beasts of burden is mentioned in v. Sabae 36 p. 123: τά τε τῆς λαύρας καὶ τοῦ Καστελλίου ἄλογα ἀναλωμάτων πεφορτωμένα λαβὼν ἄπεισι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖσε. There are fencing walls all around the cave (Patrich, Sabas 149 with 150 fig. 65; 1991, 437), and we hear of shepherds (not belonging to the monastery) in the surroundings: at least there was plenty of space to keep animals in the vicinity of the cave. – Di Segni collected some examples of the spelling  $\dot{\alpha}\mu\beta\ddot{\alpha}\varsigma=\dot{\alpha}\beta\beta\ddot{\alpha}\varsigma$  (cf. nos. 3318, 3796), and "Father Sabas" makes sense (cf. v. Sabae 26 p. 109: κύριε ὁ θεὸς τοῦ ἀββᾶ μου Σάβα; 44 p. 134: ἄπελθε πρὸς τὸν ἀββᾶν ἡμῶν Σάβαν), especially at this place. If this is the correct reading, there are two not very different possibilities: τοῦ Σπιλέου τοῦ ἀμβᾶ Σάβα is either the official name of the monastery (cf. below, where the monastery is called "Mar George of the Cave"), or it denotes that the cave depended on the monastery Mar Saba.

(c) ll.3f.: τοῦ ὁσίου | ἡγουμένου Meimaris, who has only one other example of ὅσιος for the superior of a monastery (no. 3291; some of the others are ὁσιότατοι). One cannot explain the single sigma, perhaps τοῦ Σ(πιλαίου) ἱγουμένου? Zacharias is a common name, but cf. v. Sabae 60 p. 161: καὶ διετάξατο περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ μοναστηρίων, ὥστε μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν Εὐθαλίου Νέσταβον καὶ Ζαχαρίαν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν διαδέξασθαι (in 518 AD); 69 p. 171, and especially The Life of Stephen of Mar Sabas, transl. by J. Lamoreaux, 1999, ch. 9,1 (in the year 749 AD): "After this, Abba Zechariah, the uncle of this pure Stephen, stayed with him for fifteen years in the cell. He then was appointed abbot over the monasteries of Castellion and Mar George of the Cave."

Bibl.: A. Konstantinidou, Ἡ παρά τήν Νεκράν Θάλασσαν Μονή τῶν Καστελλίων, 1931 (non vidi) (ed. pr.). – V. Tzaferis, Museum of the Greek Orthodox Patriachate in Jerusalem, 1985, 74 (ph.); Meimaris, Sacred Names 171f. no. 867 (c); 244 no. 1223 (c ll.2f.). – Cf. J. Patrich, SBF 41, 1991, 429ff.; id., Sabas, 1995.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WA

#### 3214. Sundial with Greek letters

Sundial with hour lines; engraved cross below the Ω. Meas.: h 30, w 38, d 38 cm; cross: h 14 cm.

Findspot: At the site of the Castellion monastery.

 $[..] \Delta E \Omega Z H \Theta I$ 

[ΒΓ] ΔΕ ΓΖΗ ΘΙ

2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10.

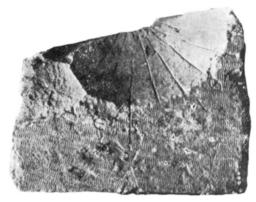


fig. 3214.1

Comm.: Mader 1937, 57: "Die Sonnenuhr hat wohl in erster Linie zur Regelung der kirchlichen Tagzeiten im Kastellion-Kloster gedient"; see also Patrich 233. – Cf. Mader 1929, 123ff. on other sundials found in Palestine.

Bibl.: A. Mader, JPOS 9, 1929, 123f.; id., OC 34, 1937, 56f. (edd. prr.). – Bagatti, Chiesa II 225, 243 no. 5; Keel - Küchler 589 fig. 386; Y. Hirschfeld, Le Monde de la Bible 68, 1991, 11 fig. 7; id., Judean Desert Monasteries 82; J. Patrich, Sabas, 1995, 235 fig. 76.

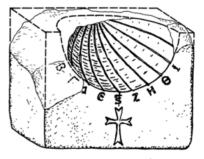


fig. 3214.2

Photo: A. Mader, JPOS 29, 1929 pl. 1 fig. 1; Hirschfeld, Judean Desert Monasteries 82 fig. 35 (dr.).

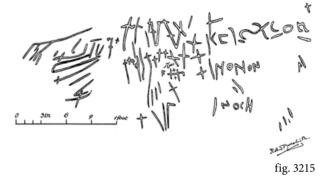
# LXXIX. Tell Zakariye

#### 3215. Greek scratched rock inscriptions

Rude crosses and some letters scratched into the limestone.

Findspot: Cave system, Cave F 1, above the entrance to FG (marked on Macalister's map as "graffiti").

ΚΣΙΣΧΣΟΠ INONON INOΣΗ



K(ύριο)ς I(ησοῦ)ς X(ριστὸ)ς OΠ|INONON|INOΣH

Lord Iesus Christ ...

Comm.: l.1: Macalister 1900 read  $I\Sigma X\Sigma$ , corr. Bliss - Macalister, Thiersch, Taylor; ll.2f.: "Macalister read an iota before each of these words, but on the basis of his drawing of the graffiti, it would seem more likely that these are simply vertical scratchings of no importance" (Taylor 170 n.48). "INONON has a cabalistic ring, suggestive of Gnosticism ... I suspect, however, that several letters have been lost by the wear of the soft limestone" (Macalister 1900). Taylor suggested the accusative of the personal name  $N\acute{o}\nu o\varsigma$ .

Bibl.: R. Macalister, PEQ 32, 1900, 48f. (ed. pr.). – Bliss - Macalister 220 fig. 82; Lidzbarski, Ephemeris 1, 1902, 180; H. Thiersch, AA, 1908, 354; H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1925, 1495f.; Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 117f., fig. 21; Taylor, Christians and Holy Places 170; Bagatti, Judaea 122 fig. 2; I. Taxel, Khirbet es-Suyyagh. A Byzantine Monastery in the Judaean Shephelah, 2009, 218.

Photo: R. Macalister, PEQ 32, 1900 pl. after p. 48 (dr.).

# LXXX. Kh. el-Khan (Ḥ. Ḥanot)

#### 3216. Greek mosaic inscription mentioning the Abbot Theodorus

Church of the basilical type; the place was identified by Shenav 269f. as the place where David and Goliath had battled. A church and a monastery may have been built to accommodate pilgrims, but Di Segni thought of a road station on the Jerusalem-Eleutheropolis road (much used by pilgrims). The inscription has black letters on white ground.

Meas.: h 0.36, w ca. 4 m; letters 6-7 cm.

Findspot: At the eastern edge of the excavated nave, in front of the bema.

(cross) ΕΠΙΤΟΥΕΥΛΑΒΕΣΤΑΤΟΥΚΑΙΘΕΟΦΙΛĴΘ+[--]ΟΥΠΡΕΣΒĴΚΑΙ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΕΓ+[...]ΟΤΟΠΑΝΕΡΓΟΝΤΗΣΠΡΟΣΘΙΚΗΣ ΤΗΣΚΟΝΧΗΣΚΑΙΖΩΓΡΑΦΙΑΣΚΑΙΠΛΑΚΟΣΕ[..]+++ΠΕΡΜ[--]+ Ί ΈΡΑΤΙΟΥ ΣΥΝΤΟΥΔΙΑΚΟΝ[ΕΚΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΝΜΗΑΠΡΙΛ] Ί ΝΔΙ Ι Β





fig. 3216.1

fig. 3216.2







fig. 3216.4

ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου καὶ θεοφιλ(εστάτου) Θε[οδώρ]ου πρεσβ(υτέρου) καὶ ἡγουμένου ἐγέ[νετ]ο τὸ πᾶν ἔργον τῆς προσθίκης | τῆς κόνχης καὶ ζωγραφίας καὶ πλακόσε[ως] τοῦ πέρμ[ατος το]ῦ ἱερατίου σὺν τοῦ διακον(ικοῦ) ἐκ θεμελίων, μη(νὶ) ᾿Απριλ(ίω), ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιβ΄

Under the most pious and God-loving priest and Abbot Theodorus the whole work of the addition to the apse and the painting and the marble panelling on the platform of the presbytery together with the diaconicon were made from the foundations. Month of April, indiction 12.



Comm.: Di Segni opts for a date in the late 6 c. AD, viz. 594 or 609; the archaeological data does not allow us to determine to which stage of the building the inscription belongs: to its foundation or to a later renovation (but see l.2: ἐκ θεμελίων)? The originally published drawing shows larger and sligthly different lacunae than the photograph.

l.1: The problem with the text lies in the series of genitives; SEG proposed προσθ[ήκης κ(αὶ)], which would have made the problem much easier, but according to the photograph ΠΡΟΣΘΙΚΗΣ seems correct. On προσθήκη, see CIIP III 2318: ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων καμάτων ἐψ[ή]φωσαν τὴν προσθήκην τῆς ἐκλησίας ὥλης κ(αὶ) τοῦ ἡερα|-[τ]ήου (with discussion and parallels). προσθήκη means certainly an addition, and Di Segni understands it in this case as the nave, which is called here "an addition to the apse," a rather curious expression.

1.2: τοῦ πέρματος Di Segni; [τῆς] πέρματος Feissel, Chroniques: τὸ πέρμα seems unattested and Di Segni derived it from πέρας meaning "end, boundary," i.e. "back wall" of the church; but, as Feissel (BE) rightly remarks: "L'explication de πέρμα par la racine de πέρας n'est pas possible." Feissel thinks of ἡ πέλμα, the sole of a shoe or foot, the ground area (LSJ), but cf. Lampe s.v. (τὸ) πέλμα: "1. floor of theatre ...; arena of circus ... 2. ground"; IG 12,6, 2, 930 (Samos): ἐγένετο τὸ ἔργον τοῦ τύχου (i.e. τοίχου) τούτου σὺν ὅλου τοῦ πέλματος καὶ τοῦ ἐμβάτου. If this is correct, πλάκωσις τοῦ πέρματος belongs together and refers to the floor of the ἱερατεῖον ([το]ῦ ἱερατίου: the traces allow for supplementing an article here). Note σύν with a genitive, as in the Samian inscription (and in many others of this time). According to this interpretation the inscription refers to three distinct parts of the building: a προσθήκη τῆς κόνχης, which was erected and adorned with paintings (on its wall?); the πλάκωσις τοῦ πέρματος and the erection of a diaconicon.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, in: G. Bottini - ead. - L. Chrupcała eds., One Land - Many Cultures, 2003, 273ff. (ed. pr.). - SEG 53, 1845. - Cf. ESI 5, 1986, 45; S. Gibson - F. Vitto - L. Di Segni, SBF 48, 1998, 332; SEG 48, 1889; E. Shenhav, in: G. Bottini - L. Di Segni - L. Chrupcała eds., One Land - Many Cultures, 2003, 271; Feissel, Chroniques 237 no. 760; BE 2005, 537; Ribak, Religious Communities 169f.; I. Taxel, BAIAS 26, 2008, 63f.; Madden, Corpus 96 no. 131.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; E. Shenhav, in: G. Bottini - L. Di Segni - L. Chrupcala eds., One Land - Many Cultures, 2003, 273 (dr.).

# LXXXI. Bethlehem (Bet Lehem)

#### Introduction

The name Bethlehem (Hebr. Bet Lehem; LXX Βηθλέεμ; Βαιθλέεμ; Aramaic Bêt lehem) combines the Hebrew words bayit, "house," and lehem, "bread," and thus means "house of bread/food." Some claim that it is connected with the verb root lhm "to fight", whence it would mean "house of war/fighting." That seems less likely. It has also been suggested that there is a connection with the name of the Mesopotamian goddess, Lahmu, the mother of Anšar (sky) and Kišar (earth) in the Babylonian creation myth, Enuma Elish, but this is generally rejected.

The ancient town is without doubt to be identified with the modern city, 5 km south of Jerusalem, 9 km south of the old city, standing at an elevation of 790 m on the east ridge of the watershed. It is situated east of the road from Jerusalem to Hebron and lies on the border of the well-watered and fertile region and of the dry district which extends toward the Judaean desert. The site itself does not possess any springs, and water therefore has to be collected in cisterns and other containers (2 Sam 23,15). Eusebius describes it as follows in his Onomasticon: "Of the tribe of Judah. Six m. from Ailia on the southern side, on the Hebron road, where the tombs of Jesse [David's father] and David [himself] are shown. Bethlehem is also called the son of Ephratha, as in Chronicles 4,4." The location is also specified in the fourth-century Itinerarium Burdigalense. The author was there in 333 and mentions the basilica before it was actually dedicated.

<sup>1</sup> An extensive description of the town in the 1860's will be found in Guérin, Judée 1 ch. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. Onom. 42,19: Βηθλεέμ (Gen 35,19): φυλῆς Ἰούδα, Αἰλίας ἄποθεν σημείοις ἐπὶ τὰ νότια περὶ τὴν φέρουσαν εἰς Χεβρὼν ὁδόν, ἔνθα τὸ μνῆμα Ἰεσσαὶ καὶ Δαυὶδ δείκνυται. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Βηθλεὲμ καὶ ὁ υίὸς τοῦ Ἐφραθᾶ, ὡς ἐν Παραλειπομέναις. See also 82,10; 172,4f. No attempt is made in this introduction to give a full list of references and bibliography. See F.-M. Abel, Géographie de la Palestine 2, 3rd ed. 1967, 276; TIR 83; NEAEHL 1, 1993, 203-10; H. Cazelles in: Anchor Bible Dictionary 1, 1992, 712-5 s.v. Bethlehem. See also: Encyclopedia of the Bible and its Reception 3, 2011, online, s.v. Bethlehem. For the evidence of Eusebius and his ideology: P. Walker, Holy City, Holy Places?, 1990, 71-84.

<sup>3</sup> It. Burd. 598,47 (ed. Cuntz): item ab Hierusalem euntibus Bethleem milia quattuor super strata in parte dextra est monumentum, ubi Rachel posita est, uxor Iacob. Inde milia duo a parte sinistra est Bethleem, ubi natus est dominus Iesus Christus; ibi basilica facta est iussu Constantini. For this source, see now G. Bowman, in L. Levine ed., Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity and Islam, 1999, 163-87; J. Elsner, JRS 90, 2000, 181-95.

Excavations have uncovered remains of the lower Pleistocene.<sup>4</sup> On the neighbouring site of Beth Shur pottery of the third millennium BC has been found.<sup>5</sup>

It has been suggested that the first reference to the town, Bit Lahmi, may be in one of the Amarna letters of the 14 c. In the Bible it is first mentioned in connection with the road to Ephratah, the road along which Rachel was buried (Gen 35,19; 48,7). It gained prominence as David's birthplace and the town where he was anointed by Samuel (1 Sam 16,1; 4). When David established himself afterward in Jerusalem there was a Philistine garrison in Bethlehem (2 Sam 23,13-17; 1 Chron 11,15-19). Then Rehoboam fortified it (2 Chron 11,6), and Ezra (2,21) reports that 128 Bethlehemites returned from Exile in the 6 c. BC, an indication that it was no more than a modest village at the time. One influential passage is Mic 5,2: "But you, Bethlehem in Ephratah, small as you are to be among Judah's clans, out of you shall come forth a governor for Israel ..." This has often been interpreted as a prediction that the Messiah would come from Bethlehem. The least it shows is that it was small at the time. There are various additional references of less importance.

Next, however, it is associated with Jesus' birth, in the Gospels, <sup>10</sup> and, in the 2 c., by Justin Martyr, <sup>11</sup> who says that Jesus was born in a cave near Bethlehem. <sup>12</sup> Tertullian (ca. 160-ca. 225) relates that in his days no Jews remain there as a conse-

<sup>4</sup> NEAEHL 1, 1993, 203f.; additional bibliography: NEAEHL 5, 2008, 2089.

<sup>5</sup> S. Saller, SBF 13, 1963, 325; J. Hennessy, ADAJ 11, 1966, 19-40.

<sup>6</sup> Amarna letter EA 202, ll.15ff.: J. Pritchard ed., Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament, 3rd ed. 1969, 489; N. Na'aman, Canaan in the Second Millennium BCE 2, 2005, 176.

<sup>7</sup> Also: 1 Chron 2,51; 2,54; 4,4; Judg 17,7; 19,1-12; Ruth 1,19; 1,22; 2,3. Justin Martyr, Dialogus 78,8. For the name, Cazelles (n.2).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Neh 7,26: "The men of Bethlehem and Netophah, one hundred and eighty-eight."

<sup>9</sup> The Ascension of Isaiah 2,7ff.: "And when Isaiah the son of Amos saw the lawlessness which was being committed in Jerusalem and the worship of the Devil and his wantonness, he withdrew from Jerusalem and settled in Bethlehem of Judah. 8 And there was also much lawlessness there, therefore he withdrew from Bethlehem and settled on a mountain in a desert place ... 12 And after this, while they were in the desert, there was a certain man in Samaria named Belchira who was of the family of Zedekiah, the son of Chenaanah, a false prophet whose dwelling was in Bethlehem." Also: The Book of Jubilees 32: "And Rachel died there and she was buried in the land of Ephrath, the same is Bethlehem, and Jacob built a pillar on the grave of Rachel, on the road above her grave." The Ascension of Isaiah is one of the pseudepigrapha, probably compilated by a Christian author, sometime in the 1-3 c. AD.

<sup>10</sup> Mt 2; Lk 2,1-7; Jn 7,42.

<sup>11</sup> Iust. Mart. apol. dial. 34,2: κώμη δέ τίς ἐστιν ἐν τῆ χώρα Ἰουδαίων, ἀπέχουσα σταδίους τριάκοντα πέντε Ἰεροσολύμων, ἐν ἦ ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὡς καὶ μαθεῖν δύνασθε ἐκ τῶν ἀπογραφῶν τῶν γενομένων ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου, τοῦ ὑμετέρου ἐν Ἰουδαία πρώτου γενομένου ἐπιτρόπου.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. 78,5f.; Protoevangelium Iacobi 17f. For these sources, see J. Taylor, Christians and the Holy Places, 1993, 97-102.

quence of the general prohibition for Jews to stay in the vicinity of Jerusalem.<sup>13</sup> In the middle of the 3 c. Origen also mentions that Jesus was born in a cave, this one in Bethlehem.<sup>14</sup> In 395 Jerome mentions that there was a "grove sacred to Thammuz, i.e. Adonis, and in the cave where the infant Messiah once cried, the lover of Venus was bemoaned."<sup>15</sup> The building and dedication of the first Church of the Nativity initiated and financed by Constantine and Helena in 326, dedicated in 339, is first recorded by Eusebius and the Itinerarium Burdigalense.<sup>16</sup> Originally an octagon, east of the basilica, was built over the cave associated with the nativity. West of the basilica was a court enclosed by four porticoes.

Talmudic sources refer to Bethlehem,<sup>17</sup> although no Jews lived in Bethlehem following the Bar Kochba revolt, as stated emphatically by Tertullian. The Talmudic sources that refer to the town therefore are concerned with Biblical matters.<sup>18</sup> However, there is one with historical content relevant to the 2 c. AD:<sup>19</sup>

"For these things I weep: Hadrian – may his bones be pulverized – set up three guards, one in Emmaus, one in Kefar Leqatia, and the third in Bethel [Bethlehem] in Judah. He sent forth a proclamation, saying, 'Wherever a Jew is located, let him come out, because the king wants to assure him." <sup>20</sup>

The background here may be as follows: Bethlehem is situated on the Jerusalem – Hebron road, marked by milestones of AD 130. It may also represent the northern boundary of the most intense fighting during the Bar Kochba revolt, as indicated by the distribution of subterranean hideouts that date, at least most of them, to the

<sup>13</sup> Tert. adversus Iudaeos 13: animaduertimus autem nunc neminem de genere Israel in ciuitate Bethleem remansisse exinde, quo interdictum est, ne in confinio regionis istius demoretur quisquam Iudaeorum, – ut hoc quoque esset adimpletum, id est prophetae ...

<sup>14</sup> Orig. Contra Celsum 1,51, discussion by Taylor (n.12) 103f.

<sup>15</sup> Hier. epist. 58: Bethleem nunc nostram et augustissimum orbis locum, de quo psalmista canit: ueritas de terra orta est, lucus inumbrabat Thamuz, id est Adonidis, et in specu, ubi quondam Christus paruulus uagiit, Veneris amasius plangebatur. This topic has been much discussed. See P. Welten, ZDPV 99, 1983, 189-203; Taylor (n.12) 96-9. For the cave, see the next note.

<sup>16</sup> Eus. v. Constantini 43,1; cf. A. Cameron - S. Hall, Eusebius, Life of Constantine, 1999, 291f.: "she immediately consecrated to the God she adored two shrines, one by the cave of his birth, the other on the mountain of the ascension ... embellishing the sacred cave there." For the Itinerarium Burdigalense, see above, n.3.

<sup>17</sup> We are grateful to Y. Shahar for his generous assistance.

<sup>18</sup> E.g. M.Berakhot 9,5, referring to Boaz and Ruth.

<sup>19</sup> Midrash Lamentations Rabbah I 55. For discussion of the source and its implications see A. Oppenheimer, Cathedra 26, 1982, 25 (Hebr.).

<sup>20</sup> Translation: J. Neusner, The Components of the Rabbinic Documents IV 1997. The reading "Beth El" is based on the first printed ed., the reading Bethlehem, as preferred by the Buber ed., p. 82, is based on MS Rome and is convincing for various reasons. To mention just one of them: There were two Bethlehems, one in Judah, the other in the Galilee and it is therefore usual in the sources to indicate which is meant. There was only one Bethle and the addition "in Judah" is therefore redundant in this case.

period of the revolt, by the spread of coinage, and by the locations listed in Talmudic sources.<sup>21</sup>

It has been suggested, and is widely accepted, that Kefar Leqitaya may be identified with Beit Liqya. <sup>22</sup> It must be admitted that the site would be as appropriate for the purpose described as the other two, but, apart from a very vague resemblance in name, there is no real evidence in support of the identification, as pointed out by Abel, among others. <sup>23</sup> It is, in any event, possible to suggest that there is a reference here to three garrisons placed during the Bar Kochba revolt at key locations on the roads to Jerusalem from the South (Bethlehem), West (Emmaus) and North (Kefar Leqatia/Leqitaya=Beit Liqya?).

Following the construction of the Constantinian church in Bethlehem the next significant development in Bethlehem was initiated by Jerome, who took up residence there in 384, joined shortly afterward by Paula and Eustochium. Together they made Bethlehem a monastic centre, establishing monasteries and a hostel situated at the roadside.<sup>24</sup> Probably in the same years (381-384) the pilgrim usually named Egeria visited Bethlehem and vicinity. Her description is lost, but abstracts from later authors are assumed to have been based on her work.<sup>25</sup>

At an uncertain date after one of the Samaritan Revolts in the 6 c., Justinian ordered the damaged Constantinian church to be pulled down and replaced by a larger one, which is the basilica in its actual shape. <sup>26</sup> There was no longer an octagon over the cave, but the location was included in the main building. Justin-

<sup>21</sup> See the maps in A. Kloner - Y. Tepper, The Hiding Complexes in the Judean Shephelah, 1987, 77f. (Hebr.). The subterranean hideouts are found in this region to the south of Nahal Refaim. For assessment and references, see B. Isaac - A. Oppenheimer, JJS 36, 1985, 33-60 repr. in Isaac, Near East 220-56 esp. 230-3, 243ff.

<sup>22</sup> A. Neubauer, La géographie du Talmud, 1868, 115, who saw the name Kefr Lukyeh on van de Velde's map; also Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II 131.

<sup>23</sup> Abel (n.2) 292 s.v. Caphar Leqitia. Abel offers other suggestions no less speculative.

<sup>24</sup> Hier. epist. 108,14,4: "iuxta viam." Cf. E. Hunt, Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire AD 312-460, 1984 ch. 7 and 8. For Jerome's epist. 108, see S. Weingarten, The Saints's Saints: Hagiography and Geography in Jerome, 2005 ch. 4, A. Cain, Jerome's Epitaph on Paula, 2013. See also Hier. epist. 30; 33; 39.

<sup>25</sup> See J. Wilkinson, Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land, rev. ed. 1981, 174, 185; Beda 7 (ed. CCSL 17, pp. 264f. and the Appendix, pp. 93-103). For further bibliography on Egeria, J. Elsner, JRS 90, 2000, 181-95 at n.11.

<sup>26</sup> Eutychius of Alexandria, Ann. 159 (PG 111, 1070 [Latin transl. of the Arabic text]): Jussit etiam imperator legatum ecclesiam Bethleemiticam quae parva fuit diruere, aliamque amplam, magnam et pulchram fabricare; adeo ut non esset Hierosolymis templum ipsa pulchrius... 160: dirutaque ecclesia Bethleemitica eamdem eo quo iam se habet modo aedificavit. See: W. Harvey et al., The Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, 1910; H. Vincent - F.-M. Abel, Bethléem, 1914; W. Harvey, Structural Survey of the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem, 1935; B. Bagatti, Gli antichi edifici sacri di Betlemme, 1952; id., SBF 18, 1968, 181-237, focusing on the caves and catabombs; NEAEHL 1, 1993, 205-10.

ian is reported also to have restored the town wall and built the monastery of the Abbot John.  $^{27}$ 

Another Christian tradition that may be mentioned here concerns the tomb of David, located in Jerusalem according to Josephus, BJ 1,61, but assigned to Bethlehem by Christian authors.<sup>28</sup>

#### **Archaeological Exploration**

During the building of the present church by Justinian, most of the Constantinian structure was demolished, but excavations in 1934 uncovered the mosaic floor of the fourth-century church and many of the foundations of the walls.<sup>29</sup>

In 1904 stone drums of an aqueduct were discovered which are marked by Latin inscriptions indicating work by Roman army units (see below, nos. 3230-3261).<sup>30</sup> The aqueduct has now been shown to be originally Herodian.<sup>31</sup> It served also a bath house at Ramat Rahel and another in Jerusalem on the eastern slope of Mt. Zion. Stamped bricks have been found here as well.

In 1894 Byzantine tombs were found north of the church. See below, nos. 3263-3266.

Finally, in 1925 a subterranean crypt was discovered in the foundations of the Church of Saint Nicholas at Beit Jalla, a village that is now part of Bethlehem.<sup>32</sup>

ΒI

<sup>27</sup> Proc. aed. 5,9,12f.: ἐν Βηθλεὲμ τὸ τεῖχος ἀνενέωσε, τὰ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ἰωάννου ἐν Βηθλεέμ ...

<sup>28</sup> It. Burd. 598 in AD 333/4 also mentions the tombs of Jesse and Solomon and three others. "Their names are written in Hebrew characters low down on the wall as you go down into the vault" (cf. above n.3). Eus. Onom. 42,10, above, n.2; Hier. epist. 46,13 mentions a mausoleum; the Piacenza Pilgrim (Antoninus Placentinus) 29 (CCSL 175, p. 144) says in the 570's that a church had been built over the tomb, half a mile from Bethlehem: Continuo medium miliarium a Bethlem in suburbia Dauid ibi iacet in corpore, simul et Salomon filius ipsius, duo monumenta. Quae basilica ad sanctum Dauid appellatur. The children killed by Herod are also buried there, it is said. Also: Adamnanus 2,4 (CCSL 175, p. 207). Egeria may also have made reference to the tombs, if Bede 7 (CCSL 175, p. 96) is based on Egeria: In valle etiam, que in Bethleem est, sunt memorie regum Iuda. She may also have mentioned the tomb of the innocents: Bede 9 (CCSL 175, p. 97): ibidem [sc. in the church in Bethlehem] requiescunt pueri pro Christo ab Erode interfecti. There were alternative sites identified with the tomb of the innocents: e.g. Epiphanius the Monk found it west of Jerusalem: H. Donner, ZDPV 87, 1971, 42-91 esp. 71.

<sup>29</sup> Harvey, Structural Survey (n.26) esp. 17-22, 25-30, and cf. the other works cited in n.26.

<sup>30</sup> F.-M. Abel, RB 35, 1926, 284-8; L. Vetrali, SBF 13, 1967, 149-61 figs. 1-5. For the bath on Mt. Zion, cf. D. Barag, BJ 167, 1967, 266.

<sup>31</sup> D. Amit - S. Gibson, in: C. Ohlig - T. Tsuk eds., Cura Aquarum in Israel II 2014, 9-41; cf. W. Eck, ibid. 207-14.

<sup>32</sup> NEAEHL 1, 1993, 210.

#### **Inscriptions**

#### A. Res sacrae

#### 3217.-3227. Church of Nativity complex

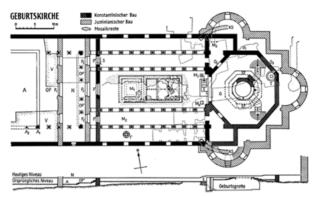


fig. 3217.A Ground plan, G. Kroll, Auf den Spuren Jesu, 1988, 52 fig. 30

#### 3217. Greek mosaic inscription for "Jesus Christ, son of God, Savior"

"A fret pattern enclosed five small square panels on each [side of a stairway], which contain geometric patterns. The central panel of the northern square contains the monogram IX $\Theta \Upsilon \Sigma$ . This is the only mosaic inscription yet discovered in the Church" (Harvey). The square panel was designed to measure 100x100 tesserae. Meas.: 74x74 cm (i.e. 2.5 square Roman feet).

Findspot: North-eastern corner of the central nave, to the left of the old entrance to the grotto. "At the east end of the nave on either side of the steps leading to the octagon there was a small square panel: ... and the panel on the north side" had the inscription on it (Crowfoot); see nos. 3217-3227 fig. A, no. M3.

Pres. loc.: In situ. Autopsy: 3 April 2015 (WA).

ΙΧΘΥ  $\Sigma$ 

Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός), θ(εοῦ) υ(ἱός), σ(ωτήρ)

Jesus Christ, son of God, Savior.



fig. 3217

Comm.: The mosaic belongs to the first half of the 5 c. (Brandenburg 97 with ref.; it had been a later adornment of the Constantinian basilica). Brandenburg 74ff. (97ff. on this mosaic) discusses extensively the purpose of such markers whereas Krautheimer wanted the inscription to mark the place of the altar. Brandenburg rightly rejects the suggestion (as he does that of an "Oblationstisch"): "Die Akrostichis neben dem Aufgang zum Sanctuarium, das ja eine Herrenmemoria war, könnte den signa Christi am Eingang der Kirchenräume und im Altarraum einer ganzen Reihe anderer Kirchenräume entsprechen ... Sie bezeichnen die Heiligkeit des Ortes, leihen ihm Schutz und weisen auf den hin, der dort verehrt wird." Pullan believes that the asymmetry (i.e. the inscription being on only one side of the church) "seems to signal apotropaically the threshold to the shrine below, marking it off from the nave," taking his cue from remarks by Kitzinger, who used the  $IX\Theta\Upsilon\Sigma$ -formula to the same purpose (Kitzinger also pointed to the apotropaic use of the so-called "Heraklesknoten" in these two mosaics); on the apotropaic use of the  $IX\Theta\Upsilon\Sigma$ -formula, cf. already Dölger 1910, 248ff.

Bibl.: W. Harvey, Structural Survey of the Church of the Nativity Bethlehem, 1935, 22 figs. 97f., 100 (ed. pr.). – E. Richmond, QDAP 5, 1936, 78; F. Dölger, JAC 5, 1936, 81f., 84ff. pl. 3; L. Vincent, RB 45, 1936, 567f.; W. Harvey, PEQ 68, 1936, 30, 33; SEG 8, 236; A. Rücker, OC 35, 1938, 232; W. Harvey - J. Harvey, Archaeologia 87, 1938, 9; E. Loukianoff, O EΛAIΩN, 1939, 21ff.; R. Hamilton, A Guide to Bethlehem, 1939, 71; J. Crowfoot, Early Churches in Palestine, 1941, 26, 120; R. Hamilton, The Church of the Nativity, 1947, 93ff., fig. 19; S. Saller - B. Bagatti, The Town of Nebo, 1949, 83 pl. 36,1; Bagatti, Betlemme 43, 52f.; Ovadiah, Corpus 33ff. no. 22a; E. Kitzinger, in: P. Granfield - J. Jungmann eds., Kyriakon II, 1970, 642ff., fig. 4 (ph.); Bagatti, Church 178; id., Chiesa II 117; Keel-Küchler 633; Meimaris, Sacred Names 21 no. 53, 42 no. 224, 50f. no. 288, 61 no. 377, 70 no. 450; Ben Pechat, L'architecture baptismale II 38; Ovadiah, MPI 21 no. 19 pl. 17; G. Kroll, Auf den Spuren Jesu, 1988, 41ff.; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 100; Madden, Corpus 37f. no. 38, 214 fig. 8. – Cf. F. Dölger,  $IX\ThetaY\Sigma I$  1910; R. Krautheimer, RivAC 11, 1934, 319 n.44; J. Breasted - R. Engberg, AJSL 51, 1935, 258; H. Brandenburg, RQ 64, 1969, 97ff.; W. Pullan, in: S. Wilson - M. Desjardins eds., Text and Artifact in the Religions of the Mediterranean Antiquity, 2000, 313.

Photo: W. Harvey - J. Harvey, Archaeologia 87, 1938 pl. 5.

WA

#### 3218. For the memory of donors whose names the Lord knows

Baptismal font, probably once part of a baptistery (but not necessarily of this church; Vincent 1914 thought that it belonged originally in the south-west corner of the church, near the cistern of the Armenian conventus). An octagonal block of red marble with a quatrefoil basin which lies in it. On one of the sides is the inscription in a tabula ansata above a large cross.

Meas.: h (of baptistery) 95, w (of baptistery) 175, w (of each of the eight sides) 68, h (tabula) 24, w (tabula) 48 cm.

Findspot: Southern aisle; see nos. 3217-3227 fig. A, no. T.

Pres. loc.: See findspot.



fig. 3218.1

(cross) ΥΠΕΡΜΝΗΜΗΣΚΑΙΑ ΝΑΠΑΥΣΕΩΣΚΑΙΑΦΕ ΣΕΩΣΑΜΑΡΤΙΩΝΩΝΟ ΚΣΓΗΝΟΣΚΙΤΑΟΝ[--]

ύπὲρ μνήμης καὶ ἀ|ναπαύσεως καὶ ἀφέ|σεως ἁμαρτίων, ὧν ὁ | κ(ύριο)ς γηνόσκι τὰ ὀν[όματα]

For the memory and the rest and the remission of sins of those whose names the Lord knows.

Comm.: The inscription is evidently much later than the first stages of the church; it might belong to Justinian's rebuilding, but would he (or any emperor) have allowed private (if anonymous) persons to install a baptismal font in "his" church? – ll.2f.: ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτίων, mostly, but not necessarily without an article. – l.4: Perhaps an abbreviation mark above the last letter. For the formula, cf. CIIP II 1152.



fig. 3218.2

Bibl.: M. de Vogüé, Les églises de Terre-Sainte, 1860, 2f. pl. 5; Guérin, Judée I 133f. (edd. prr.). – Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea 85; J. Germer-Durand, RB 2, 1893, 211f.; H. Leclercq, DACL 2, 1910, 836f., fig. 1550; L. Vincent - F.-M. Abel, Bethléem, Le Sanctuaire de la Nativité, 1914, 92f., fig. 36f.; R. Hamilton, A Guide to Bethlehem, 1939, 67; Bagatti, Betlemme 49f.; id., Chiesa II 135, 198, 201 fig. 24; Meimaris, Sacred Names 64 no. 398 (l.3f.). – Cf. A. Alt, ZDPV 46, 1923, 57f.; Ben Pechat, L'architecture baptismale II 34-9, III pls. 27-33; ead., SBF 39, 1989, 168f., 179f., 184, 186f., fig.1 pl. 32f., fig. 14f.; S. Ristow, Frühchristliche Baptisterien, 1998, 268 no. 765; Di Segni, Aqueducts 43 no. 7.

Photo: S. Leatherbury/Manar al-Athar.

#### 3219. Latin graffito

A circle of several stones was found. Vincent calls it: "le couronnement du lucernaire"; Bagatti speaks of a "muro circolare." On one of the blocks a *chi-rho* is incised with a graffito to the right.

Findspot: In the center of the crossing of the Church of Nativity, underneath the modern floor; for a detailed description see Harvey 26, Rücker 234 and L. Vincent, RB 45, 1936, 562 with pls. II and VIII.

(cross) XP TE+TRA+++[--]



fig. 3219

Comm.: What the letters mean remains obscure. In Bagatti's words: "Sono resti indubbi del primo periodo cristiano." However, his comparison of the form of the XP with the dated examples from Rome is methodically doubtful.

Bibl.: W. Harvey, Structural Survey of the Church of the Nativity Bethlehem, 1935, 25 fig. 106 (ed. pr.). – L. Vincent, RB 46, 1937, 93-121 at 116f.; A. Rücker, OC 35, 1938, 224-38 at 234; Bagatti, Betlemme 38.

Photo: L. Vincent, RB 46, 1937, 117 fig. 17 (dr.).

WE

#### 3220. Greek invocation by Zosimus, Theodosia and Calla

Meas.: h 15, w 20 cm.

Findspot: "Passato il foro si trovano due grossi, ma bassi piloni di pietra ben scalpellata. Al destro pilone, entrando, si vede incisa in una pietra la seguente iscrizione" (Bagatti).

(cross) ΚΕΟΘΕΟΣΜΝΗΘΙΤΩΝ ΔΟΥΛΩΝΣΟΥΖΩΣΙΜΟΥΚΕ ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΑΣΚΕΚΑΛΛΗΣ

κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θεός, μνήθι τῶν | δούλων σου Ζωσίμου κὲ | Θεοδοσίας κὲ Κάλλης

Lord God, remember your servants Zosimus and Theodosia and Calla.

Comm.: l.1: For the loss of sigma in μνή(σ)θι, cf. SEG 38, 920.3 (Solunt); Gignac I 130 on the loss of medial sigma before a dental stop. – l.3: Bagatti translates "e Kallis." LGPN 4 quotes CIRB 444: [Κ]οσοῦ ἀριέους καὶ γυνὴ Κάλλη, χαίρετε.

Bibl.: Bagatti, Betlemme 154 (ed. pr.).

WA

#### 3221. Greek graffiti in a grotto

"L'intonaco reca molti graffiti tre dei quali, esistenti nella parete di ovest ..." (ed. pr.). Inscription (a) is above (b). The third one mentioned by Bagatti is no. 3222.

Findspot: The so-called "bath of Jesus"; a circular rock-hewn cave underneath the Franciscan convent next to the Church of Nativity at the center of whose floor a large oval receptacle has been hollowed out; it is believed to be the place of Jesus' first bathing.

(a) (cross)  $\overline{KE}[..]H\Sigma\Theta[..]IO\Upsilon ON[--]$   $TO\Upsilon\DeltaO\Upsilon\LambdaO\Upsilon\SigmaO\Upsilon$ (b)  $\Phi I\Lambda I\Pi O\Sigma$ 



fig. 3221.1 (a and b)

- (a) κ(ύρι)ε, [μν]ήσθ[ητ]ι ΟΥΟΝ[--] | τοῦ δούλου σου
- (b) Φίλιπος
- (a) Lord, remember ... your servant.
- (b) Philipus.

TOYOLOY LOVEN

fig. 3221.2 (a)

Comm.: (a) l.1:  $\mu(\nu \eta) \sigma \theta \eta(\tau \iota)$  μου ... Bagatti, which does not fit the traces recorded by himself; only Testa added: "e poi Κυριε (ε)λ(ε)ισον"; (b) The line before the *phi* belongs perhaps to a letter too. Gignac I 154: "contiguous identical



fig. 3221.3 (b)

consonants (are) very frequently represented by a single letter through the Roman and Byzantine periods."

Bibl.: Bagatti, Betlemme 152f. (ed. pr.). – Testa, Simbolismo 82; Bagatti, Church 115 fig. 28 (ph.). Photo: Bagatti, Betlemme, pl. 53 fig. 109 (ph.), 153 figs. 39,1 and 39,3 (dr.).

#### 3222. Graffito with Greek invocation

Findspot: See no. 3221.

 $[--]\Lambda I\Sigma ON\Pi IN[--]$ 

[κύριε, έ]λίσον Πιν[--]

MICOHLIN

fig. 3222

Lord, have mercy on Pin...

Comm.: SEG 7, 325 (Tyros): ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου [τ]οῦ κτήτορος, υἱοῦ Κλαυδίου Πίνου, ἐπιμελομένου [Ναρ]κίσσου τοῦ [...]αί[α] τοῦ αὐτοῦ Πίνου; CIIP I 883 (Jerusalem): Θήκι διαφέρουσα Εὐθυμίου δ(ια)κό(νου) Πιν|δίρη.

Bibl.: Bagatti, Betlemme 152f. (ed. pr.).

Photo: Bagatti, Betlemme 153 fig. 39,2 (dr.).

WA

#### 3223. Greek graffito of Georgius(?)

This graffito looks already very much like a Byzantine monogram; the letters at the beginning and end are clear, but not the ligature in the middle.

Meas.: h ca. 20, w ca. 5 cm; letters ca. 5 cm.

Findspot: Descending the steps to the grotto of the "bath of Jesus" (cf. no. 3221); crosses are over and under the graffito, made perhaps by the same hand.

Comm.: "Le prime due lettere, l'ultima in basso e l'iota a destra sono chiare e ci viene alla mente il nome  $\Gamma \epsilon \omega \rho \gamma i \omega$  però le lettere riunite del centro hanno ben visibile anche un K. Perciò si può pensare che esse alludano alla solita formula  $K(\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\epsilon)$ ,  $\beta o(\acute{\eta})\theta\epsilon\iota$   $\Gamma \epsilon \omega (\rho\gamma)i\omega$  [Lord, help George!]. Il B sarebbe rovesciato per simmetria ovvero questa forma potrebbe essere stata suggerita dalla posizione in cui sta nel muro."

Bibl.: Bagatti, Betlemme 152f. (ed. pr.).

Photo: Bagatti, Betlemme 153 fig. 39,5 (dr.).



fig. 3223

WA

#### 3224. Cross with Alpha and Omega

Cross, letters under the arms, perhaps with what seems likely to be roots going down into the ground (cf. Testa: "una Croce-pianta cosmica, radicata sulla terra"; but the photograph shows a cross standing on a small semicircle crowning the mound. This feature reminds us of the crosses standing on the hill of Golgotha). Meas.: h ca. 25, w ca. 10 cm; letters ca. 5 cm.

Findspot: "Scolpito su una pietra nell' entrata del 'Lavacro di Gesù" (Testa; cf. no. 3221). "I graffiti s'estendono anche alle pareti della chiesa e all'entrata. Così, per es. a sinistra entrando si trova la croce con A et  $\Omega$ " (Bagatti).

A (cross)  $\Omega$ 

Alpha. Omega.

Bibl.: Bagatti, Betlemme 152 (ed. pr.). – Testa, Simbolismo 288ff. no. 18.

Photo: Testa, Simbolismo, pl. 29 fig. 6; Bagatti, Betlemme, 153 fig. 39,4 (dr.).



fig. 3224.2

fig. 3224.1

WA

#### 3225. Fragment of a Greek chancel screen

Meas.: h 19, d 6 cm; letters 2-2.3 cm.

Findspot: In the caves below the basilica, reused "nel muro di est della grotta grande" (Bagatti).

Pres. loc.: In a wall near the cenotaph of St. Jerome.

[..]EPMNHMH $\Sigma$ M[--]

[ὑπ]ὲρ μνήμης Μ[--]

EPMNHMHCH

fig. 3225

For the memory of M...

Bibl.: B. Bagatti, SBF 18, 1968, 208f. (ed. pr.). - Id., Church 242 fig. 116.

Photo: B. Bagatti, SBF 18, 1968, 209 fig. 22 (dr.).

#### 3226. Christograms and other Greek graffiti

"Riusata nel muro della grotta centrale è pure una pietra ... che conservava il vecchio intonaco. ... La parete di cm 42 è rotta e conserva l'intonaco in cui sono vari graffiti, incisi in modo fine. L'intonaco di calce bianca è alto da mm. 2 a 6, secondi i posti ... I graffiti, quindi, vanno datati nel periodo che corre dal VI secolo fino al XV. Vi si scorgono delle croci e delle lettere."

Meas.: h 34, w 31, d 24 cm (block).

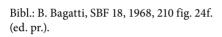


Photo: B. Bagatti, SBF 18, 1968, 210 fig. 25.

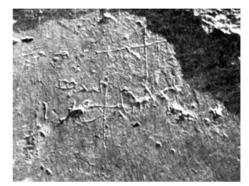


fig. 3226

WA

### 3227. Marble plaque with Armenian inscription

Fragment of a marble plaque; original top and lateral edges preserved, broken at the bottom; three lines of text and remains of a fourth are extant.

Meas.: h 16, w 44, d 7 cm; letters 3.2 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: In one of the grottos underneath the Church of Nativity.



fig. 3227

++ԸՆԲԵԻ+ճՄԱ+ԱՆԻՎ+ ՉԷԲՈՅԻ++Ղ++++ԲԷԹՂԵԻՄ ԴՀԲՍՄ[--] [--]++[--]

```
Translit.: ++ənbew+čma+aniv+

č'ēboyi++ł+++bēt'leim

dhbsm[--]

[--]++[--]
```

Comm.: Bagatti had not been able to provide a reading of the text ("un iscrizione in lingua armena ... Non conoscendo questa lingua ho fornito il calce e la foto ad alcuni studiosi, ma finora non ho avuta una traduzione. Per un ricordo pubblico la fotografia nella speranza che qualcuno la traduca."). The poor quality of the published photograph in combination with the condition of the stone's surface does not allow for a proper reading. Some letters are illegible, the identification of others remains tentative. Therefore no intelligible text could be constituted and Bagatti's assumption that this may be an epitaph ("sembra appartenere ad una pietra tombale") can not be verified. T. Greenwood (personal communication) observed that the script seems to work with many ligatures which might argue for a medieval date. – 1.2: The line above 3 could be an abbreviation mark, therefore possibly genitive YI=Yisowsi "of Jesus"? At the end of the line perhaps Bēt'leim=Bethlehem. However, in the NT only Bet'leem, Bet'leem, Bedleem, Bedlem, Bedlem, Bet'leem can be found as spellings of the city's name (cf. B. Künzle, Das altarmenische Evangelium II 1984, 139f.), i.e. no form ending on -im; alternatively the last letters could be genitive singular of the personal pronoun im "my/of me."

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Bibl.: B. Bagatti, SBF 18, 1968, 181-237 at 209f. (ed. pr.).
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Photo: B. Bagatti, SBF 18, 1968, 209 fig. 23.

DKö

#### 3228. Greek mosaic mentioning Sergius and Stephanus

Only the right part of the medallion is preserved; lines divided by rows of red tesserae. On the left-hand side some letters have been lost since the discovery of the mosaic.

Meas.: ø 1.84 (outer circle), 1.4 m (inner circle); space between lines: 9.5-10.5 cm; letters 9.5-10 cm.

Findspot: North of the Franciscan monastery, Bethlehem, "on the slope of the hill about 731.00 m above sea level" (Saller 153 with 154 fig. 1, no. 3). A chapel, whose floor is made of a white mosaic decorated with flowers, was excavated in 1962; see Saller 157 fig. 4 for a general view of the area with the mosaic in situ.

Pres. loc.: SBF Museum, Jerusalem, inner court. Autopsy: 5 October 2009 (WA/WE); 7 October 2013 (WE/DK).

[--]++∫

[--]+ΧΙΕΠΙΣ

 $[--]A\Sigma\Theta[..]OOI$ 

[--]ΥΣΟΓΔΟ

[--]AITΩN

[--]ΟΝΚ∫ΘΕΟ

[--]**AKOTH**Σ

[--]+ΥΠΕΡ

 $[--]\Delta\Omega PO\Upsilon + K \Gamma H$ 

[--]Κ[ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥΚ[ΣΤΕ

[--]+ΑΘΗΤΩΝΑΥΤ

[--]+ΗΟΔΕΑΝΑΓΙ

[.]ΟΣΚΩΝΕΥΞΕ

ΤΑΙΜΟΥΙ



fig. 3228

[--]++∫|[-- ἀ]ρχιεπισ|[κόπου --]ΑΣΘ[..]ΟΟΙ|[-- ἔτο]υς ὀγδο|[-- κ]αὶ τῶν | [--]ΟΝ κ(αὶ) Θεο|[-- δι]ακό(νου) τῆς | [--]+. ὑπὲρ | [--]δώρου ++ κ(αὶ) Η|[--] κ(αὶ) Σεργίου κ(αὶ) Στε|[φάνου --] μαθητῶν αὐτ|[--]+Η. ὁ δὲ ἀναγι|[ν]όσκων εὔξε|ται ΜΟΥΙ

... archbishop ... eighth year ... deacon ... on behalf of ...dorus ... and ... and Sergius and Stephanus ... disciples of ... but the reader will pray ...

Comm.: Saller 158ff. can be compared with an observation made by V. Corbo, viz. that the letter forms are comparable to CIIP I 875 (beginning of 7 c. AD). – l.1: Only one tessera of the first letter remains. – l.3: The name of the archbishop may have ended in [--]as and if the general date is right, Zacharias (609-30 AD), presents himself; otherwise we should look for a verb: κατεσκευάσθη had become quite unusual by this time, and ἐστεγάσθη can be found mostly with ἐψηφώθη καὶ ἐστεγάσθη (vel sim.), which would be much too long (and would require an object, [τ]ὸ οἰ[κτήριον]?). – ll.5f.: Deacons can be εὐλαβέστατοι and even θεοφιλέστατοι, but two qualifying adjectives are quite improbable. – l.6: First letter either omicron or omega. – l.7: Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations 59 quotes CIIP I 861 for exactly the same abbreviation (6 c. AD). For the nature of the remark, cf. C. Asdracha, AD 49/50A, 1994/5, 320f. no. 147: Ἐλευσίου ὑποδιακόν[ου] τῆς [ἐνθάδε ἀγί(ας) τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ ἐκκλησίας]; D. Feissel, Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du IIIe au VIe siècle, 1983, no. 141 (Thessalonike): [Ἰ]ωάννη [ὑ]ποδιακώνω τῆς ἐνθάδε ἀγί(ας) τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ ἐκ[κ]λησία[ς]; ibid. 235 (Philippoi): κοιμητήριον τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων

πρεσβ(υτέρων) ... τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας Φιλιππησίων; ΙΚ 32 (Strobilos), 111: Στεφάνου διακόνου τῆς ἐνθάδε ἁγιοτάτης ἐκλισί[ας]; CIG 9268 (Laodikeia Comb.): διακόνου τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγίας ἐκλησίας; ΕΑ 11, 1988, 155 no. 116 (Perge): Ζωσίμ[ω διακόνω] τῆς κατὰ Πέργην [ἐκκλησίας]. – 1.9: Saller 164: "Delta and Omega seem quite certain and they suggested to Father B. Bagatti the name Isidore; the two letters which follow the name are difficult to read, but again Father B. Bagatti thinks he can make out Pi and Rho which he considers the abbreviated form of the Greek word for 'priest'. ... it has been suggested that Isidore may have been not only a priest but also the hegoumenos or abbot of the monastery," i.e. κ(αὶ) ἡ[[γουμένου]. – 1.11: Saller believes that Isidorus, Sergius and Stephanus "were martyred at the spot where the chapel was built" (Saller 166). This is certainly wrong and inconsistent, since we know that Stephanus died just outside Jerusalem (ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, Acts 7,58). Sergius and Stephanus – both of them usually with the epitheton ἄγιος – are found regularly together, Meimaris, Sacred Names 134 nos. 707; 709-12 (otherwise, Sergius is mostly coupled with Bacchus, Meimaris, Sacred Names 117 nos. 627-631). Probably we have at least four names: ὑπὲρ [σωτηρίας vel sim.] κ(αὶ) H[--] is evidently impossible; therefore we have to read: ὑπὲρ [τοῦ --]δώρου ++ καὶ H[--] κ(αὶ) Σεργίου κ(αὶ) Στε|[φάνου --]. - ll.12ff.: "He who reads, rightly admires my holy place," suggested by L. Cignelli apud Saller 166. Cf. IK 19 (Sestos), 16: τὸν κύριόν (cross) σοι, ὁ ἀναγ<ι>νώσκων, εὔχου ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. RECAM ΙΙ 186: [Κ] ύριόν σε ὁ ἀνα[γινώσ]κων εὖξε ὑπὲρ [τελευτήσ]αντος(?), "let him pray to thee, lord, on behalf of the dead man" (Mitchell). Robert, Hellenica 2, 156 (Limnai/ Lycaonia): ὁ ἀναγινώσκων εὔξαστε ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ. G. Lefebvre, Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte, 1907, 44 no. 231: πάντες ὁ ἀναγινώσκων ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα, εὔξασθαι ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, but see especially no. 3756 this vol.: ὁ εἰσερχόμενος εὐξάσθω ὑπὲρ Προβατίου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου. – l.14: μου ἱ(ερόν) Cignelli apud Saller.

Bibl.: S. Saller, SBF 22, 1972, 153ff. fig. 8f. (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, Sacred Names 167 no. 820 (l.7), 218 no. 1081 (l.2); R. Schick, The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule, 1995, 268; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 102; Madden, Corpus 38f. no. 39.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WA

### 3229. Greek inscription quoting LXX Ps 117,19f.

Mosaic pavement in colors, inscription in a frame.

Findspot: Near a necropolis, identifying a church at this place. "La mosaïque ... est d'ailleurs orientée de manière à se lire en entrant dans l'église et en allant de l'ouest à est" (Lagrange). "In una costruzione della periferia di Betlemme detta dei 'Pozzi di David'" (Bagatti, Chiesa II 166). Horning: "Unterhalb des Davidbrunnens auf

¾ der Nordseite des wadi el-hrobbe bei einer Grabanlage." – Séjourné identified the church with attendant necropolis (nos. 3266-3267) as belonging to the men's monastery founded by Hieronymus' Paula.

Pres. loc.: "Attualmente il mosaico è rinterrato e da parecchio tempo, essendo stato il terreno ridotto a coltivazione, sicchè non si possono dare dei particolari tecnici" (Bagatti, Betlemme 249).

ΑΝΥΞΑΤΕΜΟΙΠΥΛΑΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗΣΕΙΣΕΛ ΘΩΝΕΝΑΥΤΑΙΣΕΞΟ ΜΟΛΟΓΗΣΟΜΑΙΤΩ $\overline{\mathrm{K}\Omega}$  ΑΥΤΗΗΠΥΛΗΤΟΥ (cross)  $\overline{\mathrm{KY}}$ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΙΕΙΣΕΛΕΥ ΣΟΝΤΑΙΕΝΑΥΤΗ

(cross) (cross) A (cross)  $\Omega$  (cross) (cross)

ANYEATE MOI ПУЛАС  $\Delta$ IKAIOCYNHC EICEЛ  $\Theta\Omega$ N EN AYTAIC EEO MOЛОГНСОМАІ  $T\Omega$   $\overline{K\Omega}$  AYTH H ПУЛН ТОУ  $\overline{KY}$   $\Delta$ IKAIOI EICEЛЕУ CONTAI EN AYTH X X A X  $\Omega$  X X

fig. 3229

ἀνύξατέ μοι πύλας | δικαιοσύνης, εἰσελ|θὼν ἐν αὐταῖς ἐξο|μολογήσομαι τῷ κ(υρί)ῳ. | αὕτη ἡ πύλη τοῦ | κ(υρίο)υ, δίκαιοι εἰσελεύ|σονται ἐν αὐτῆ. | Α  $\Omega$ 

Open to me the gates of righteousness: I will go into them, and I will praise the Lord: This gate of the Lord, into which the righteous shall enter. (King James Version)

Comm.: Mosaic and inscription are typical of Late Antiquity. For the frequent use of this quotation in churches, especially at the entrance, see Jalabert, Małunowicz, Feissel, Vriezen, Felle. Vriezen notes that there are only two instances where 117,19 and 20 are quoted together. He refers to this psalm's liturgical use in late antique Jerusalem (251 nn.17-19). – l.1: ἀνοίξατε Avi-Yonah, SEG et al. – l.8: "La dernière ligne ne me parait écrite que pour remplir le cartouche. On croirait lire des X grecs: en réalité leur position symétrique me fait penser que ce sont simplement des croix" (Lagrange).

Bibl.: M.-J. Lagrange, RB 4, 1895, 625f. (ed. pr.). – M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 2, 1933, 150 no. 33 (repr. in: id., Art in Ancient Palestine 1981, 297 no. 33); H. Leclercq, DACL 13, 1937, 862f.; SEG 8, 235; B. Bagatti, SBF 3, 1952/3, 114 no. 2; id., Chiesa II 166f.; Meimaris, Sacred Names 32 no. 141; Felle, Biblia epigraphica 111 no. 160; Thiel 2007, 132; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 18f.; Madden, Corpus 63 no. 79. – Cf. P.-M. Séjourné, RB 4, 1895, 442f.; R. Horning, ZDPV 32, 1909, 132; L. Jalabert, DACL 3, 1914, 1736 no. 76; Bagatti, Betlemme 249; L. Małunowicz, in: E. Livingstone ed., Studia evangelica VII, 1982, 334 no. 13; D. Feissel, in: C. Mondésert ed., Le monde ancien et la Bible, 1984, 225f.; Ovadiah, Corpus Suppl. 3, 130f.; K. Vriezen, in: L. Rutgers - P. van der Horst - H. Havelaar - L. Teugels eds., The Use of Sacred Books in the Ancient World, 1998, 248-51.

Photo: Bagatti, Betlemme 249 (dr.).

#### 3230. Greek letter on stone reliquary

Reliquary in the form of a sarcophagus, made of earthenware ("terre cuite"). Three compartments, one round, two rectangular. Broken on one side, only three sides left; the inscription on side (c).

Findspot: "Le reliquaire acheté à Bethléem, sans provenance ni contexte précisé si ce n'est une origine probable de Bethléem même ou de sa région," Comte.

Pres. loc.: SBF Museum, Jerusalem (Comte).

(cross) A [.]

 $A[\Omega]$ 

Alpha. Omega.

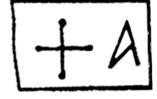


fig. 3230

Comm.: Suppl. Comte. The decoration accords with a date in the 5-7 c. AD (Comte). *Alpha* and *Omega* are quite usual on reliquaries.

Bibl.: Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 38 fig. 5,4, 44 (ed. pr.). - M. Comte, Reliquaires 105, 132.

Photo: M. Comte, Reliquaires 132 fig. 34c (dr.).

WA

## B. Inscriptions of public character and in architectural context

## 3231.-3262. Inscriptions on the stone drums of the high level aqueduct of Jerusalem

The "high level" aqueduct is one of the water conduits leading to Jerusalem. It begins at the "top of the middle pool at Solomon's Pools" near Bethlehem and ends not far from Jaffa gate, in Jerusalem. The pool of Hezekiah was "its ultimate destination." The date of the original construction had been disputed for a long time, but a new and thorough discussion by D. Amit and S. Gibson (Water to Jerusalem. The Route and Date of the Upper and Lower Level Aqueducts, in: C. Ohlig - T. Tsuk eds., Cura Aquarum in Israel II, 2014, 9-42) has convincingly shown that the aqueduct was built by King Herod. The new chronology shows that the stone drums with plug-and-socket joints found in the conduit of the aqueduct, were not part of a new construction or a total reconstruction of the aqueduct by the *legio X Fretensis*, as had been assumed for a long time. It is unlikely that the existing aqueduct was destroyed during the siege of Jerusalem in 70 AD. Therefore, Amit and

Gibson were right to believe that the aqueduct was in continuous use; only repairs were necessary. The stone drums with the Latin inscriptions fit perfectly into such a scenario.

32 stone drums have so far been found. The stones are fitted with a plug on one side and a socket on the other, which attached them to each other. They bear inscriptions on their upper surface: the sign  $\Im$  for a *centuria* of the Roman army and the name of the commander of the *centuria*, a centurion; in most cases only the cognomen of the centurion is mentioned, sometimes the nomen gentile is mentioned as well.

These inscriptions are not building inscriptions of the aqueduct, as has been generally assumed; they only attest the *centuria* which fabricated the stone drums in a quarry. The character of the inscriptions is comparable to that of the stamps on tiles, which in Jerusalem, for example, are signed by the *legio X Fretensis* and prepared for a variety of buildings. Therefore, the stone drums attest only that it was necessary to repare parts of the aqueduct damaged by the water pressure, but the inscriptions do *not* attest to a total rebuilding of the upper level aqueduct by the *legio X Fretensis* (see W. Eck, Das Heer und die Infrastruktur von Städten in der römischen Kaiserzeit – das Beispiel Iudaea/Syria Palaestina, in: Cura Aquarum in Israel II 207-14).

The drums or siphons were made of hard limestone. For the form, see the photographs. For each stone the diameter of the male plug on one side of the stone and the diameter of the female socket on the other side are given, insofar as the stones are accessible nowadays. Below, the drums are presented in alphabetical order, according to the names of the centurions. Only one of the more than 30 centurions mentioned in the inscriptions is possibly known from another source (see no. 3241).

## 3231. Limestone water pipe produced by the *centuria* of Antonius Longus/Longinus

Meas.: stone: h 93, w 78, d 61 cm; inner  $\emptyset$  39,  $\emptyset$  of the plug 60,  $\emptyset$  of the socket joint 74 cm; letters ca. 5 cm; length of the inscription ca. 40 cm.

Findspot: This stone and no. 3259 were found joined together near Rachel's Tomb not far from nos. 3244, 3246, 3249.

Pres. loc.: American Colony Hotel, Jerusalem, in the courtyard. Autopsy: 10 October 2012.

#### **DANTLON**

(centuria) Ant(oni) Lon(gi/gini)

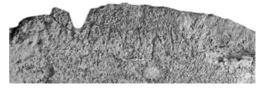


fig. 3231.1

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Antonius Longus or Longinus.

# MOJTHA

fig. 3231.2

Comm.: The centurion was probably mentioned by both nomen and cognomen (see Di Segni).

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, EO 5, 1901/2, 139ff. at 140 (ed. pr.). – Vincent - Abel, Jérusalem nouvelle 4, 890; L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 149-61 at 158f. no. 19; Di Segni, Aqueducts 45 no. 19.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; Di Segni, Aqueducts 42 fig. 3,19 (dr.).



fig. 3231.3

WE

## 3232. Limestone water pipe produced by the *centuria* of Capito (or: Capitolinus, Capitoninus)

Findspot: In 1962 near Rachel's Tomb.

[--]CAPIT

[(centuria)] Capit(onis/olini/onini)



fig. 3232.1

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Capito/Capitolinus/Capitoninus.

Comm.: CAPIT is in all likelyhood an abbreviation of a cognomen. Capito is the most frequently attested cognomen beginning with CAPIT, but Capitolinus and Capitoninus are also possible.



fig 2222

Bibl.: L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 149-61 at 153f. no. 4 (ed. pr.). – Di Segni, Aqueducts 42 no. 4.

Photo: L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 151f., fig. 3,4 (dr.), fig. 4,4 (ph.).

#### 3233. Limestone water pipe produced by the centuria of Clarus

Findspot: In 1962 near Rachel's Tomb.

**OCLARI** 

(centuria) Clari



fig. 3233.1

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Clarus.

Comm.: The centurion is mentioned by his cognomen only.

Bibl.: L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 149-61 at 153 no. 3 (ed. pr.). – Di Segni, Aqueducts 41f. no. 3.

Photo: L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 151f., fig. 3,3 (dr.), 4,3 (ph.).



fig. 3233.2

WE

### 3234. Limestone water pipe produced by the *centuria* of Clodius Saturninus (?)

Fragment of a limestone water pipe; part of the inscription is perhaps missing on the right-hand side.

Findspot: Near Rachel's Tomb.

OCLOSAT[--]

(centuria) Clo(dii?) Sat(urnini) *or* Sat[ur(nini)?] *or* Sat[urnini?]

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Clodius(?) Saturninus(?).



Comm.: The restoration of CLO as Clodius is plausible since the abbreviation is frequently attested; the same is true of SAT for Saturninus.

fig. 3234.2 (problematic

dr. by Vetrali)

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, EO 4, 1900/1, 134ff. (ph.); C. Clermont-Ganneau, CRAI 1900, 683-7 at 685 (edd. prr.). – Id., PEQ 33, 1901, 109-23 at 120; id., RAO 4, 1901, 206-10 at 208; id., RB 10, 1901, 106-9 at 107; CIL 3, 14383b; Germer-Durand, Musée palestinien 21f.; Vincent - Abel, Jérusalem nouvelle 4, 890; L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 149-61 at 157 no. 10; Di Segni, Aqueducts 44 no. 10.

Photo: L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 151 fig. 3,10 (dr.); Germer-Durand, Musée palestinien 22 fig. 35.

WE

## 3235. Limestone water pipe produced by the *centuria* of Manius(?) Domninus (or: Domnio)

Meas.: letters 7.5 cm; length of inscription 40 cm (Di Segni).

Findspot: Area of Bethlehem (see Dadon - Zelinger for Israel grid coordinates).

**OM'DOMN** 

(centuria) M(ani?) Domn(ini/ionis)



fig. 3235

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Manius(?) Domninus/Domnio.

Comm.: The reading remains doubtful; if M'DOMN is correct, the manner of reference to a centurion is unusual, for we have no other inscriptions on the stone pipes in which a centurion is mentioned by both praenomen and cognomen. If the small stroke after M is meaningful, then the praenomen would be *Mani* and not *Marci*, as given in previous editions. DOMN as a cognomen should be understood as Domninus or perhaps Domnio. Domnus is the name of a god venerated in the Danubian provinces. Di Segnis's idea that Domnus is "a common *cognomen* especially of new citizens. The lack of *nomen* also points in the same direction" is unsupported.

Bibl.: M. Dadon - Y. Zelinger, Atiqot 32, 1997, 83-6 (Hebr.), 40\*f. (ES) (ed. pr.). – AE 1997, 1560; Di Segni, Aqueducts 42 fig. 3,29 (dr.), 47 no. 30; AE 2002, 1560f.

Photo: M. Dadon - Y. Zelinger, Atiqot 32, 1997, 84 fig. 2 (dr.).

#### 3236. Limestone water pipe produced by the *centuria* of Flavius Aurelianus

Findspot: Seen first by Scholz near Rachel's Tomb. Cf. Berggren: "... mitten auf dem Wege [from Bethlehem to Jerusalem] fand ich auf zwei, ein wenig von einander liegenden Steintrümmern folgende Überreste einer alten Inschrift: TITI.... ELAVREL"; for the first part TITI, cf. no. 3245. No photograph exists.

**DELAVREL** 

(centuria) 'F'l(avi) Aurel(iani)

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Flavius Aurelianus.

Comm.: Since  $\Im$ , the sign for *centuria*, is written before EL AVREL (as transmitted by Scholz), EL represents a nomen gentile; in all publications EL is understood to be an abbreviation of *(A)el(ii)* (see last Di Segni) with the following cognomen *Aurel(iani)*. However, an abbreviation of the gentile Aelius is unlikely to be EL. Much more probable is an abbreviated FL=Fl(avi), misread as EL. Fl. is a very common abbreviation of Flavius.

Bibl.: Scholz, Reise 162 (ed. pr.). – Berggren, Reisen 133; CIL 3, 115 and p. 1214; C. Clermont-Ganneau, CRAI 1900, 682-7 at 687; id., PEQ 33, 1901, 109-23 at 121; id., RAO 4, 1901, 206-10 at 209; J. Germer-Durand, EO 5, 1902, 139-41 at 141; L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 149-61 at 159 no. 24; Di Segni, Aqueducts 46 no. 24b.

WE

#### 3237. Limestone water pipe produced by the *centuria* of Flavius ...

Limestone water pipe, only partly preserved; at the end a part of the inscription is broken away.

Meas.: side with inscription: h 49-54, w 74 cm; letters 3.5-5 cm.

Findspot: Near Rachel's Tomb, close to the pipe with inscription no. 3248. Pres. loc.: Notre Dame de France, Jerusalem; in the entrance hall to the guesthouse, on the right-hand side. Autopsy: 11 October 2013.

OFLAVIA+SE+[--]

(centuria) Flavi A+SE+[--]



fig. 3237.1

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Flavius ...

Comm.: The reading of the name must remain uncertain. One expects a name in the genitive; therefore Flavi seems very likely. Not all the following letters can be safely read. After Flavi there is an A, followed by an unclear sign, followed

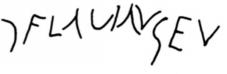


fig. 3237.2

by SE and a letter which can be read either as M or A. Together, however, they do not yield a known Latin cognomen.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, EO 4, 1900/1, 199ff. at 201 (ph.) (ed. pr.). – L. Vincent, RB 11, 1902, 274-81 at 280; Germer-Durand, Musée palestinien 21f., fig. 35 (ph., right); Vincent - Abel, Jérusalem nouvelle 4, 890; L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 149-61 at 157f. no. 14; Di Segni, Aqueducts 44f. no. 14.

Photo: DK; L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 151 fig. 3,14 (dr.).

WE

#### 3238. Limestone water pipe produced by the *centuria* of Herennius Verus

Limestone water pipe, damaged on the right-hand side.

Meas.: stone: w ca. 98, d ca. 39 cm; letters ca. 13-17 cm; length of inscription ca. 88 cm (according to scale given in Dadon - Zelinger, fig. 4).

Findspot: Discovered in the Muslim girls' school near Rachel's Tomb.

**OHEREVERI** 

(centuria) Here(nni) Veri

MERGYEN

fig. 3238

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Herennius Verus.

Comm.: Cf. another stone with the same name in no. 3239.

Bibl.: M. Dadon - Y. Zelinger, Atiqot 32, 1997, 83-6 fig. 4 (dr.) (Hebr.), 40\*f. (ES) (ed. pr.). - AE 1997, 1561; Di Segni, Aqueducts 47 no. 29; AE 2002, 1560e; BE 2005, 527.

Photo: Di Segni, Aqueducts 42 fig. 3,30 (dr.).

WE

#### 3239. Limestone water pipe produced by the *centuria* of Herennius Verus

Findspot: According to Di Segni, in secondary use as the top of the well in the convent of the Sisters of St. Vincent, in the courtyard of the French Hospital in Bethlehem (cf. Clermont-Ganneau, RB 10).

Pres. loc.: "L'anello recante quest'iscrizione si trova attualmente nel cortile dell'ospedale francese, a Betlemme." (Vetrali).

O VEPH VERI

(centuria) 'Here'(nni) | Veri

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Herennius Verus.



fig. 3239.1

Comm.: Until Di Segni's publication the text was interpreted as a bilingual inscription with Greek in the first line and Latin in the second. This was unlikely from the start. The publication of another stone pipe on which O HERE VERI must be read (see no. 3238), makes it clear that on this stone too, the name of the centurion Herennius Verus should be read. This centuria produced at least two drums for the conduit.



fig. 3239.2

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, EO 4, 1900/1, 134ff.; C. Clermont-Ganneau, CRAI 1900, 683-7 at 685f. (edd. prr.). – Id., PEQ 33, 1901, 109-23 at 120; id., RAO 4, 1901, 206-10 at 208; id., RB 10, 1901, 106-9 at 107f.; CIL 3, 14383f; Vincent - Abel, Jérusalem nouvelle 4, 890; L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 149-61 at 157 no. 12; Di Segni, Aqueducts 44 no. 12; AE 2002, ad 1560e; SEG 52, 1660; BE 2005, 527.

Photo: L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 151 fig. 3,12 (dr.), 155 fig. 5,12 (ph.).

WE

### 3240. Limestone water pipe produced by the centuria of Iunius Maturus

Meas.: stone: h 100, w 94, d ca. 53 cm; inner ø 38, ø of the plug 58, ø of the socket joint 81 cm; length of the inscription 65 cm; letters 6 cm.

Findspot: In the early 1960s near Rachel's Tomb.

Pres. loc.: In the garden of Kibbutz Kfar Etzion. Autopsy: 10 October 2012.

#### **OIVNIMATVRI**

(centuria) Iuni Maturi

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Iunius Maturus.



fig. 3240.1

fig. 3240.2

Comm.: The centurion is mentioned by both his nomen gentile and cognomen.



Bibl.: L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 149-61 at 149-53 no. 1 (ed. pr.). – Di Segni, Aqueducts 41 no. 1.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 151 fig. 3,1 (dr.).

WE

## 3241. Limestone water pipe produced by the *centuria* of Lorius Clemens (or: Clementinus, Clementianus, Clementillus)

Limestone water pipe, split in two parts; to the left and right of the inscription part of the surface is broken off.

Meas.: stone: h 88, w 93, d 59 cm; inner  $\emptyset$  39.5 cm; length of the inscription ca. 43 cm; letters 4-6 cm.

Findspot: Near Rachel's Tomb. Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem (inner courtyard), IAA inv. no. 1943-30. Autopsy: last time on 3 February 2013 (DK).

[.]LORICLEMENT[--]



fig. 3241.1

[(centuria)] Lori Clement[is/ini/iani/illi]

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Lorius Clemens/Clementinus/Clementillus.

Comm.: The deciphering and reading of this inscription done in the context of the other texts on limestone pipes, leads us to expect the centuria sign  $\Im$ , probably missing in this case. Furthermore, the shape of the first sign, read



fig. 3241.2

by all former editors as a C, seems to be a most unusual form for this letter; it does not resemble the following C of Clement[--], but rather the following L in view of the vertical stroke and the angular stroke going down to the right-hand side. The second letter is an O; after this follows perhaps an R as suggested by a vertical stroke ending in a loop at the top; from the latter a diagonal stroke runs down to the edge of the left-hand part of the pipe. After the gap, on the right-hand side, there is another vertical stroke; it is unclear whether a seemingly short diagonal stroke belongs to this letter or not. LORI could be the genitive of the nomen gentile Lorius, which is attested several times (CIL 1, 2903f.; AE 1975, 52), inter alia in an inscription from Jerusalem: M(anio) Lor(eio) or Lor(io) N[--] vixit an[n(os) --] M(anius) L[or(eius)--] or L[or(ius --]; the dedicant very likely belonged to the Roman army (see CIIP I 744). If the reading is correct, it is tempting to see a connection between the person in the present inscription and the M(anius) L[or(eius/ius)--] in CIIP I 744. The following cognomen, understood by all editors as Clemen[tis] can also be restored as Clement[ini], Clement[inii] or Clement[iili].

Almost all former editors have taken the first letters to mean either *consule* or *consulare*, i.e. a consular date or a reference to the governor of Syria Palaestina. These speculations are patently wrong seeing that all other inscriptions refer to centuries of the army, set apart from each other by the name of a centurion.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, EO 4, 1900/1, 134ff.; C. Clermont-Ganneau, CRAI 1900, 683-7 at 684f. (edd. prr.). – Id., PEQ 33, 1901, 109-23 at 119f.; id., RAO 4, 1901, 206-10 at 207; id., RB 10, 1901, 106-9 at 107; CIL 3, 14383a; C. Wilson, PEQ 37, 1905, 75ff.; Germer-Durand, Musée palestinien 21f., fig. 35 (ph., bottom left); G. Smith, Jerusalem, 1907, 128f.; Vincent - Abel, Jérusalem nouvelle 4, 890; R. Kallner, BIES 13, 1946/7, 133-40 at 138 (Hebr.), VII (ES); L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 149-61 at 156f. no. 9; Di Segni, Aqueducts 43f. no. 9.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; Di Segni, Aqueducts 42 fig. 3,9 (dr.).

#### 3242. Limestone water pipe produced by the centuria of Natalis

Meas.: length of inscription 45 cm; letters 6 cm (Di Segni).

Findspot: The stone was first noticed in 1904 by J. Dickson near Rachel's Tomb together with no. 3257, and the inscriptions on both stones were discovered on the following day by J. Hanauer.

Pres. loc.: Vetrali saw the stone in the Muslim school near Rachel's Tomb. Later it was seen by D. Amit in Salomon Jasser's house in Bethlehem (Di Segni).

**ONATALIS** 

(centuria) Natalis

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Natalis.



fig. 3242

Comm.: The centurion is mentioned only by his cognomen. The same centuria is probably mentioned in no. 3243.

Bibl.: C. Wilson, PEQ 37, 1905, 75ff. (ed. pr.). – L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 149-61 at 159 no. 21; Di Segni, Aqueducts 46 no. 21.

Photo: L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 151 fig. 3,21 (dr.).

WE

#### 3243. Limestone water pipe produced by the *centuria* of Natalis

Limestone water pipe with two inscriptions, one on the upper side of the stone, the other on the lateral side written upside down.

Findspot: In the el-'Aza refugee camp (Di Segni).

- (a) ONATAL[..]
- (b) [.]NATALI[.]
- (a) (centuria) Natal[is]
- (b) [(centuria)] Natali[s]
- (a) and (b) (This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Natalis.



fig. 3243.1 (a)

NNITAL

fig. 3243.2 (b)

Comm.: The same centuria is probably mentioned also in no. 3242. This stone seems to be the only pipe with two identical inscriptions on two different sides. Perhaps the stonecutter realised that he had chiseled the first one on the wrong side.

Bibl.: Di Segni, Aqueducts 46f. no. 26a-b (ed. pr.). - AE 2002, 1560b.

Photo: Di Segni, Aqueducts 42 figs. 3,26a and b (dr.).

WE

## 3244. Limestone water pipe produced by the *centuria* of Pomponius (or: Pomponianus)

Limestone water pipe, whose upper surface bears an inscription broken into three pieces. It is not clear whether letters are missing after POMPONI or not.

Meas.: stone: h 90, w 92, d 69 cm; inner ø 39-40, ø of the plug 60, ø of the socket joint 60 cm; letters 5-8 cm.

Findspot: Near Rachel's Tomb, together with nos. 3231, 3246, 3249, 3259. Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem (in the garden, next to no. 3257), IAA inv. no. 1943-31. Autopsy: last time 15 October 2013.

OPOMPONI[--]?



fig. 3244.1

(centuria) Pomponi *or* Pomponi[ani]

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Pomponius or Pomponianus.



fig. 3244.2

Comm.: Since the surface after POMPONI suffered much damage, it is not clear, if part of the inscription is missing. Therefore, the name of the centurion could be read either as the nomen gentile Pomponius or as the cognomen Pomponianus.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, EO 5, 1901/2, 139ff. (ed. pr.). – L. Vincent, RB 11, 1902, 274-81 at 280; Germer-Durand, Musée palestinien 21f., fig. 36 (ph., left); Vincent - Abel, Jérusalem nouvelle 4, 890; L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 149-61 at 158 no. 15; Di Segni, Aqueducts 45 no. 15.

Photo: DK; Di Segni, Aqueducts 42 fig. 3,15 (dr.).

## 3245. Limestone water pipe produced by the *centuria* of Potitus(?) or Titius(?) or Titinius(?)

Findspot: Near Rachel's Tomb.

[--]TITI *or* TITI[--]

[(centuria) ?Po]titi or Titi[i] or Titi[nii?]

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Potitus(?) or Titius(?) or Titinius(?).

Comm.: Berggren writes about two inscriptions: "... mitten auf dem Wege fand ich auf zwei, ein wenig von einander liegenden Steintrümmern folgende Überreste einer alten Inschrift: TITI...ELAVREL," but Scholz, who published his report in 1822, talks only about the second inscription (no. 3236). Berggren does not say whether the stone with TITI on it was fragmentary or preserved completely. Titi alone could only refer to the genitive of the praenomen Titus. However, on none of the drums of the Jerusalem aqueduct a centurion is ever referred to by his praenomen. Therefore TITI is probably only a fragment. If the stone is broken on the right side and the inscription begins with Titi, then TITI[--] could be the beginning of the nomen gentile Titius; but one could also think of the gentile Titinius and connect this piece with nos. 3252 and 3253, where the centuria Titinii is mentioned. Perhaps this centuria produced several stone pipes. On the other hand, if the stone is preserved on the right side, the name must be the remains of a cognomen. There are some cognomina ending in the genitive with -titi: Petitus, Repetitus, Expetitus, Mentitus, Potitus, Sortitus, Sustitus. The most likely restoration would be [Poltiti.

Bibl.: J. Berggren, Reisen 133 (ed. pr.). – CIL 3, 115 and p. 1214; C. Clermont-Ganneau, CRAI 1900, 683-7 at 687; id., PEQ 33, 1901, 109-23 at 121; id., RAO 4, 1901, 206-10 at 209; J. Germer-Durand, EO 5, 1902, 139-41 at 141; L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 149-61 at 159 no. 24; Di Segni, Aqueducts 46 no. 24a.

WE

### 3246. Limestone water pipe produced by the *centuria* of Quartus

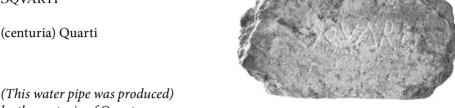
Meas.: stone: h 88, w 90, d 48 cm; inner ø ca. 38, ø of the socket joint 60 cm; letters 6.5-9 cm.

Findspot: Near Rachel's Tomb, together with nos. 3231, 3244, 3249, 3259.

Pres. loc.: Notre Dame de France, Jerusalem; in the chapel of the guesthouse, where it is used as a baptismal font. Autopsy: 11 October 2012, 11 October 2013.

#### **JOVARTI**

(centuria) Quarti



by the centuria of Quartus.

fig. 3246

Comm.: The centurion Quartus is mentioned only by his cognomen. Di Segni gives the name (without autopsy) as QVART. For another pipe with the same name, see no. 3247.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, EO 5, 1901/2, 139ff. (ed. pr.). - L. Vincent, RB 11, 1902, 274-81 at 280; Germer-Durand, Musée palestinien 21f., fig. 36 (ph., right); Vincent - Abel, Jérusalem nouvelle 4, 890; L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 149-61 at 158 no. 17; Di Segni, Aqueducts 45 no. 17.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WE

## 3247. Limestone water pipe produced by the *centuria* of Quartus

Limestone water pipe; the inscription is written near the edge of the stone.

Findspot: "Bethlehem. - Sur un fragment provenant de l'aqueduc. D'après une copie succinte qui a été envoyée en 1877 à M. Arsène Darmesteter, et qu'il m'a communiquée à cette époque" (ed. pr.).

#### **JOVARTI**

(centuria) Quarti

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Quartus.

Comm.: See the commentary to no. 3246.



fig. 3247

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, CRAI 1900, 683-7 at 686 (ed. pr.). – Id., PEQ 33, 1901, 109-23 at 121; id., RAO 4, 1901, 206-10 at 209; CIL 3, 14383c; Germer-Durand, Musée palestinien 21f.; Vincent - Abel, Jérusalem nouvelle 4, 890; L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 149-61 at 159 no. 23; Di Segni, Aqueducts 46 no. 23.

Photo: Germer-Durand, Musée palestinien 22 fig. 36.

WE

### 3248. Limestone water pipe produced by the centuria of Severus

Meas.: stone: h 93, w 94, d 44.5 cm; inner ø 37.5 cm; letters 2.2-4 cm.

Findspot: Near Rachel's Tomb.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem (inner courtyard), IAA Inv. no. 1943-29. Autopsy: last time 14 March 2010.

#### **OSEVERI**

(centuria) Severi



(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Severus.

fig. 3248.1

Comm.: The centurion is mentioned by his cognomen. For another pipe produced by a centuria led by a Severus, cf. no. 3249.



fig. 3248.2

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, EO 4, 1900/1, 134ff.; C. Clermont-Ganneau, CRAI 1900, 683-7 at 685 (edd. prr.). – Id., PEQ 33, 1901, 109-23 at 120; id., RAO 4, 1901, 206-10 at 208; id., RB 10, 1901, 106-9 at 108; CIL 3, 14383d; Germer-Durand, Musée palestinien 21; Vincent - Abel, Jérusalem nouvelle 4, 890; L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 149-61 at 157 no. 11; Di Segni, Aqueducts 44 no. 11.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; Di Segni, Aqueducts 42 fig. 3,11 (dr.).

WE

#### 3249. Limestone water pipe produced by the *centuria* of Severus

Meas.: stone: h 101, w 104, d 57 cm; inner ø 37-41, ø of the plug 57, ø of the socket joint 61.5 cm; letters 8.5-9 cm.

Findspot: Near Rachel's Tomb, together with nos. 3231, 3244, 3246, 3259.

Pres. loc.: Notre Dame de France, Jerusalem; main entrance to the guesthouse. Autopsy: 11 October 2012. 11 October 2013.

#### OSEVERI

(centuria) Severi

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Severus.

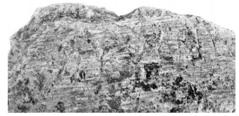


fig. 3249.1

Comm.: The letters are carelessly incised. This is a second stone pipe produced by a centuria of a centurion named Severus (cf. no. 3248). However, since the cognomen Severus is very common, one cannot be sure that the stone was made by the same centuria.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, EO 5, 1901/2, 139ff. (ed. pr.). – L. Vincent, RB 11, 1902, 274-81 at 280; Germer-Durand, Musée palestinien 21; Vincent - Abel, Jérusalem nouvelle 4, 890; L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 149-61 at 158 no. 16; Di Segni, Aqueducts 45 no. 16.

fig. 3249.2

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WE

## 3250. Limestone water pipe produced by the *centuria* of Sturenius(?) or Sturenus(?)

Limestone water pipe. The letters are very unclear.

Meas.: stone: h 97, w 72, d 65 cm; inner ø 39, ø of the plug 56, ø of the socket joint 79 cm; length of the inscription ca. 43 cm; letters 8.5-12 cm.

Findspot: Near Rachel's Tomb in 1962, "al ciglio della strada presso il bivio di divisione delle strade che conducono rispettivamente a Betlemme e a Hebron" (Vetrali).

Pres. loc.: Har Giloh Field School, archaeological garden. Autopsy: 10 October 2012.

**OSTVRENI** 

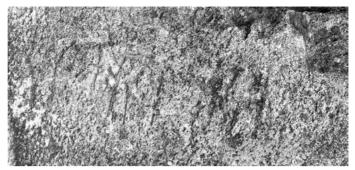


fig. 3250.1

(centuria) Stureni(?)

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Sturenius(?) or Sturenus(?).

Comm.: The reading of the letters remains unclear. At the beginning there is probably the sign for *centuria*, followed by a mirror image of this sign, normally to be read as an S. This is followed by a T and a V, not seen by former editors. The other letters are written half a line



fig. 3250.2

lower: RENI. These letters do not give us the expected known nomen or cognomen. The reading Streni as a "vulgar spelling of the cognomen Strenuus" (Di Segni) is ruled out by what one sees on the stone.

Bibl.: L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 149-61 at 154 no. 5 (ed. pr.). – Di Segni, Aqueducts 42 no. 5. Photo: WE; L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 151 fig. 3,5 (dr.).

WE

## 3251. Limestone water pipe produced by the centuria of Tatius/Tatianus

Limestone water pipe, no centuria sign is visible.

Findspot: In the el-'Aza refugee camp (Di Segni).

[.]TATI[--]

[(centuria)] Tati[--]

TAT

fig. 3251

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Tati...

Comm.: If the preserved letters contain the beginning of a centurion's name it is either a nomen gentile like Tatius and Tatinius or a cognomen like Tatianus and Tatiaenus; Tatius and Tatianus are most likely.

Bibl.: Di Segni, Aqueducts 47 no. 28 (ed. pr.). - AE 2002, 1560d.

Photo: Di Segni, Aqueducts 42 fig. 3,28 (dr.).

WE.

### 3252. Limestone water pipe produced by the centuria of Titinius

Limestone water pipe with deeply incised letters.

Meas.: stone: h 94, w 90, d 68 cm; inner ø 40, ø of the plug 58, ø of the socket joint 60.5 cm; length of the inscription 59 cm; letters 6.5-10.5 cm, sign for centuria 17 cm.

Findspot: Near Rachel's Tomb in 1899.

Pres. loc.: Notre Dame de France, Jerusalem; seen at the side entrance to the guesthouse from HaTsanhanim Street. Autopsy: 11 October 2012; 11 October 2013.

#### IINITITC

(centuria) Titinii

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Titinius.



fig. 3252.1



fig. 3252.2

Comm.: Titinius (not Titinnius) is a common nomen gentile. After the I following the N, a P, also visible on the photograph, rather than a second I, seems to have been engraved. The stonecutter, believing that he had omitted the second I, started adding it and stopped short when he had realized his mistake. No. 3253 is a second pipe produced by the same *centuria*.



fig. 3252.3

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, EO 4, 1900/1, 136; C. Clermont-Ganneau, CRAI 1900, 683-7 at 684 n.2 (edd. prr.). – Id., PEQ 33, 1901, 118-22 at 119 n.3; id., RAO 4, 1901, 206-9 at 207 n.2; id., RB 10, 1901, 106-9 at 108; CIL 3, 14383e; Germer-Durand, Musée palestinien 21f., fig. 35 (ph.); Vincent - Abel, Jérusalem nouvelle 4, 890; L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 149-61 at 156 no. 8; Di Segni, Aqueducts 43 no. 8; W. Eck, in: C. Ohlig - T. Tsuk eds., Cura Aquarum in Israel II 2014, 207-14 at 211 (ph.).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; WE; L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 151 fig. 3,8 (dr.).

WE

### 3253. Limestone water pipe produced by the centuria of Titinius

Limestone water pipe, probably with deeply incised letters, cf. no. 3252.

Findspot: "Au cours des travaux d'élargissement de la rue de la Nativité, en face de la fabrique de cigarettes Sansour" (ed. pr.), i.e. near Rachel's Tomb.

Pres. loc.: "Questo anello attualmente si trova nel giardino della scuola del Dott. Free, al monte Oliveto [i.e. the Near East School of Archeology, directed in 1962 by Dr. J. Free, Prof. of Archaeology at Wheaton College, IL]" (Vetrali).

#### HINITITC

(centuria) Titinii

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Titinius.



fig. 3253

Comm.: "La forma delle lettere sembra manifestare la stessa mano che incise il medesimo nome nella iscrizione che fu scoperta per prima da Germer-Durand" (Vetrali), see no. 3252.

Bibl.: RB 69, 1962, 82f. (ed. pr.). – L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 149-61 at 154f. no. 7; Di Segni, Aqueducts 43 no. 7.

Photo: L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 151 fig. 3,7 (dr.).

WE

## 3254. Limestone water pipe produced by the *centuria* of Tit...

Limestone water pipe, probably broken on the right-hand side.

Findspot: In the el-'Aza refugee camp (Di Segni).

[--]TITC

(centuria)? Tit[--]

1 T | T

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Tit...

Comm.: The name of the centurion cannot be restored safely; *Tit(i)*, restored by Di Segni, is impossible, since a centurion would not have been referred to on a water pipe by a praenomen only. Tit[--] is either part of a nomen gentile or a cognomen. See above nos. 3252 and 3253: *(centuria) Titinii*. It could be a third drum produced by the same centuria.

Bibl.: Di Segni, Aqueducts 47 no. 27 (ed. pr.). - AE 2002, 1560c.

Photo: Di Segni, Aqueducts 42 fig. 3,27 (dr.).

WF.

#### 3255. Limestone water pipe produced by the centuria of Trosius

Meas.: letters 10 cm.

Findspot: Near Rachel's Tomb by de Saulcy in 1850.

**OTROSI** 

(centuria) Trosi(i)

STROSI

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Trosius.

Comm.: De Saulcy, the only one who saw the inscription, read STROSI. A name Strosius does not exist in Latin, but Trosius is quite common. Therefore it can be assumed that De Saulcy misread the sign for *centuria*, which on the pipes often looks like a slender S (see for example nos. 3244 or 3248), and that the centurion was mentioned by his nomen gentile Trosius.

Bibl.: De Saulcy, Voyage Mer Morte I 136 (ed. pr.). – C. Clermont-Ganneau, CRAI 1900, 683-7 at 686; id., PEQ 33, 1901, 109-23 at 121; id., RAO 4, 1901, 206-10 at 208f.; id., RB 10, 1901, 106-9 at 107; L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 149-61 at 159 no. 22; Di Segni, Aqueducts 46 no. 22.

Photo: De Saulcy, Voyage Mer Morte I pl. 42,6 (dr.).

WE

#### 3256. Limestone water pipe produced by the *centuria* of Tullius (or: Tullus)

Limestone water pipe; after TVLLI there seems to have been no further letter.

Findspot: Near Rachel's Tomb in 1962.

Pres. loc.: "L'anello recante questa iscrizione attualmente si trova al monte Oliveto, nel giardino della scuola archeologica del Dott. Free [i.e. the Near East School of Archeology, directed in 1962 by Dr. J. Free, Prof. of Archaeology at Wheaton College, IL]" (Vetrali).

#### LLIVTC

(centuria) Tulli(i) or Tulli.



fig. 3256.1

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Tullius or Tullus.

Comm.: The centurion is mentioned here either by his nomen gentile or by his cognomen.



Bibl.: L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 149-61 at 153 no. 2 (ed. pr.). - Di Segni, Aqueducts 41 no. 2.

Photo: L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 151f., fig. 3,2 (dr.), 4,2 (ph.).

WE

### 3257. Limestone water pipe produced by the *centuria* of Valerius Aemilianus

Limestone water pipe; the inscription on a relatively smoothed surface.

Meas.: stone: h 95, w 95, d 75 cm; inner ø 38-40, ø of the plug 59, ø of the socket joint 60 cm; letters 8-9 cm.

Findspot: The stone was first noticed in 1904 by J. Dickson near Rachel's Tomb together with no. 3242, and the inscriptions on both were discovered on the following day by J. Hanauer.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem (in the garden, next to no. 3244), IAA inv. no. 1968-439. Autopsy: last time 15 October 2013.

O VALERI AEMILI



fig. 3257.1

(centuria) Valeri(i) | Aemili(ani)

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Valerius Aemilianus.

Comm.: The centurion was mentioned with both nomen and cognomen; the latter is without doubt to be restored as Aemilianus rather than as Aemilius.



fig. 3257.2

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, EO 7, 1904, 260 (ed. pr.). – PEQ 36, 1904, 296; C. Wilson, PEQ 37, 1905, 75ff., fig. 2 (ph.); L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 149-61 at 151 fig. 3,20 (dr.), 159 no. 20; Di Segni, Aqueducts 45f. no. 20; W. Eck, in: C. Ohlig - T. Tsuk eds., Cura Aquarum in Israel II 2014, 211.

Photo: DK; Di Segni, Aqueducts 42 fig. 3,20 (dr.).

WE

#### 3258. Limestone water pipe produced by the *centuria* of Vettienus Patr...

Limestone water pipe with carelessly incised letters.

Meas.: stone: h 98, w 91, d 75 cm; inner ø 38, ø of the socket joint 58 cm; letters 4.2-8.5 cm; length of inscription 52 cm.

Pres. loc.: American Colony Hotel, Jerusalem; in the garden of the inner courtyard. Autopsy: 10 October 2012.

#### OVETTIENIPATR

(centuria) Vettieni Patr(--)

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Vettienus Patr...



fig. 3258.1

) VETIENIDATR

fig. 3258.2

Comm.: The centurion is mentioned by his nomen Vettienus; the abbreviated cognomen Patr(--) cannot be completed.

Bibl.: Di Segni, Aqueducts 47 no. 31 (ed. pr.). – AE 2002, 1560g.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; Di Segni, Aqueducts 42 fig. 3,31 (dr.).



fig. 3258.3

WE

#### 3259. Limestone water pipe produced by the *centuria* of Vitalis

Meas.: letters 8 cm.

Findspot: This stone and no. 3231 were found near Rachel's Tomb – joined together – not far from nos. 3244, 3246, 3249.

Pres. loc.: Vetrali saw the stone in the Muslim school near Rachel's Tomb. Later it was seen by D. Amit in the house of Salomon Jasser in Bethlehem (Di Segni).

#### **OVITALIS**

(centuria) Vitalis

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of Vitalis.



fig. 3259.1

Comm.: Vitalis is a very common Roman cognomen.



fig. 3259.2

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, EO 5, 1901/2, 139ff. (ed. pr.). – Vincent - Abel, Jérusalem nouvelle 4, 890; L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 149-61 at 158 no. 18; Di Segni, Aqueducts 45 no. 18.

Photo: L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 151 fig. 3,18 (dr.), 155 fig. 5,18 (ph.).

#### 3260. Limestone water pipe produced by the centuria of V...

Limestone water pipe; the right-hand side of the inscription is broken off.

Findspot: Discovered near the conduit, according to Di Segni.

(This water pipe was produced ) by the centuria of V...

Comm.: Only the initial V of the name of the centurion is preserved, the letter after it can not be identified.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, EO 4, 1900/1, 134ff. (ed. pr.). – L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 149-61 at 157 no. 13; Di Segni, Aqueducts 44 no. 13.

Photo: J. Germer-Durand, EO 4, 1900/1, 136 (dr.).

WE

#### 3261. Limestone water pipe produced by the *centuria* of ...lami... (or: Lami...)

Limestone water pipe, the inscription is damaged on both sides.

Findspot: In the el-'Aza refugee camp (Di Segni).

[--]LAMI++[--] fig. 3261

[(centuria) --]lami++[--] or [(centuria) --] Lami++[--]

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of ...lami... or Lami...

Comm.: The reading remains uncertain. The drawing shows at the beginning a vertical hasta, interpreted by Di Segni as the letter L. Therefore she restores [Fl]a-mi[nii]. If one chooses to follow the interpretation of the sign as L, one could also think of a cognomen: [F]lami[nalis] or Lami[ae]. A (centuria) Lamiae appears in CIL 6, 32666. Since centurions on the water pipes are sometimes also mentioned by two names, the cognomen might have even been preceded by a nomen gentile.

Bibl.: Di Segni, Aqueducts 46 no. 25 (ed. pr.). - AE 2002, 1560a.

Photo: Di Segni, Aqueducts 42 fig. 3,25 (dr.).

#### 3262. Limestone water pipe produced by the *centuria* of ...nus

Limestone water pipe. The inscription was "tracciata con carbone" (Vetrali); most letters can no longer be read.

Findspot: Near Rachel's Tomb in 1962.

+++NI

(centuria) ++ni

(This water pipe was produced) by the centuria of ...nus.

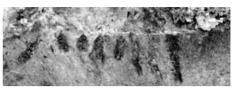


fig. 3262.1

Comm.: There is no need to identify the unknown centurion (--*nus*) with the Titinius in no. 3252.



fig. 3262.

Bibl.: L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 149-61 at 154 no. 6 (ed. pr.). - Di Segni, Aqueducts 42f. no. 6.

Photo: L. Vetrali, SBF 17, 1967, 151 fig. 3,6 (dr.), 155 fig. 5,6 (ph.).

WE

## C. Funerary inscriptions

#### 3263. Poems by St. Jerome at the burial place of St. Paula in Bethlehem

Jerome reports in ep. 108,33f. that after the death of St. Paula in 404 he had two poems written which were inscribed in Bethlehem, one on her tomb and the other one at the entrance to the burial cave: *Incidi elogium sepulcro tuo*, *quod huic volumini subdidi*, *ut quocumque noster sermo pervenerit*, *te laudatam*, *te in Bethleem conditam lector agnoscat*. (I have engraved an inscription on your tomb, which I here annexe that, wherever my sermon may go, the reader may learn that you are praised, and that you are buried at Bethlehem.)

Findspot: Kelly 278: The tomb "was in a deep grotto under the east end of the north aisle of the church [of the Nativity in Bethlehem] linked by a subterranean passage with the Saviour's birth place, and there the visitor today is shown the altar which marks her cenotaph." Hier. ep. 108,33: (a) *Titulus sepulchri*=inscription on the tomb; (b) *in foribus speluncae*=at the entrance of the cave.

(a) Scipio quam genuit, Pauli fudere parentes, | Gracchorum suboles, Agamemnonis inclita proles | hoc iacet in tumulo, Paulam dixere priores. | Eustochiae genetrix, Romani prima senatus | pauperiem Christi et Bethlemitica rura secuta est

- (b) Respicis angustum praecisa rupe sepulchrum: | hospitium Paulae est caelestia regna tenentis. | Fratrem, cognatos, Romam patriamque relinquens, | divitias, subolem Bethlemiti conditur antro. | Hic praesepe tuum, Christe, atque hic mystica magi | munera portantes homini regique deoque
- (a) Within this tomb an offspring of Scipio lies, a daughter of the far-famed house of the Pauli, a scion of the Gracchi, an illustrious descendant of Agamemnon. Her parents called her Paula; she is the mother of Eustochium. As the first woman coming from a Roman senatorial family she followed the poverty of Christ by going to the rural isolation of Bethlehem.
- (b) Do you despise the narrow tomb in the hollowed rock? This is Paula's resting place, she who has now celestial kingdom. She left brother, kin, Rome, her fatherland, her riches and her offsprings; here in Bethlehem in this vault she is put to rest, where, Christ, your manger stood, where the magi brought their offerings to you as human, as king, as god.

Cf. translations of the poems in: Jerome, Letters and Select Works, in: Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, series II, vol. VI; Des heiligen Kirchenvaters Hieronymus ausgewählte Schriften 1, Bibliothek der Kirchenväter, series I, vol. 52, 1914; Saint Jérôme, Lettres, ed. J. Labourt, vol. V 1955; Cain 95-97.

Comm.: The tradition of the text has almost no variants except in the last line. For the other versions of (b) l.6 see the discussion in Cain 483f. who prefers *regique hominique deoque*. But the climax *homo - rex - deus* seems more appropriate.

Paula, born in 347, was a member of an aristocratic Roman family. She married the senator Toxotius with whom she had five children. Widowed at the age of 32, she gradually adopted a monastic way of life. In 382 she met Jerome in Rome and was deeply impressed with his personality. In 385/6 she made a pilgrimage to the East, especially to Egypt and Palestine, where she finally stayed till her death in 404 (26 January). She founded monasteries in Bethlehem, three for women, one for men (Hier. ep. 108,20). After her death she was buried in the Church of Nativity. For her tomb Jerome composed the two poems, included in his epistula 108: an epitaphium with a description of her life. Jerome's poem echoes Horace, carm. 3,30,1: *Exegi monumentum aere perennius*. Paula's relics were transferred to Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome in the 15 c.

(a) The family of Paula's mother Blesilla claimed descendance from the Scipiones and the Gracchi. The lineage Jerome is describing connects Paula on her mother's side with P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus (185/4-129 BC), second son of Aemilius Paullus, the victor over the Macedonian King Perseus, who later on was adopted by a son of Scipio Africanus maior. He was married to Sempronia, a sister of the Sempronii Gracchi. This was an artificial construction; in the 4 c. many senatorial families with a relatively short "aristocratic" genealogy were in the habit of constructing such a family tree. Similarly, the family of Paula's father Rogatus allegedly went back to the house of Agamemnon (see PLRE 1 stemma 23 on p. 1143). Eustochium was one of Paula's daugh-

ters who from the beginning accompanied her to the East; she lived in the monastery with her mother and took care of her during her long illness. Jerome maintains here that Paula was the first woman of high senatorial rank who devoted herself completely to an ascetic and monastic life. However, Jerome himself knew that there were other women in Rome at the time devoted to an ascetic life like her, aside from Marcella, who was also part of the high senatorial society (Prosopographie chrétienne II 1357).

(b) In the poem, written at the entrance to the cave where Paula was buried, Jerome is talking once more about her: she has left everything dear to her at Rome – brother, kinsmen, wealth, even her children – in order to dedicate her life to God in the remoteness of Bethlehem. The last two verses describe the burial place as identical to Christ's birthplace where the magi had presented their gifts to Jesus. For more details see Cain 475-84.

Bibl.: Hieronymus, Epistulae 108 (Epitaphium Sanctae Paulae) ch. 33. – A. Stein, Römische Inschriften in der antiken Literatur, 1931, 56f.; J. Kelly, Jerome, 1975, passim; S. Rebenich, Hieronymus und sein Kreis, 1992, passim; S. Fortner - A. Rottloff, Auf den Spuren der Kaiserin Helena, 2000, 116f., 195; Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire II 2000, 1617-26; Sivan, Palestine 34f.; A. Cain, Jerome's Epitaph on Paula, 2013.

WF.

#### 3264.-3269. Catacombs of "David's well"

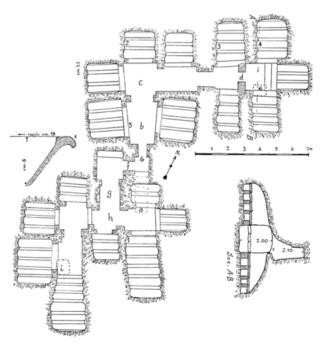


fig. 3264.A Ground plan, Bagatti, Betlemme, 224 fig. 32

#### 3264. Greek funerary inscription for the Deacon Costantinus

Painted inscription, on mortar. Meas.: h 40, w 50 cm; letters 6 cm.

Findspot: Above the entrance to the first chamber; see introduction to nos. 3264-3269 fig. A no. 1.

(cross) ΥΠΕΡΜΝΗ ΜΗΣΚΕΑΝΑ ΠΑΨΌΣΤΟΥΔΙ ΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΚΟΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ

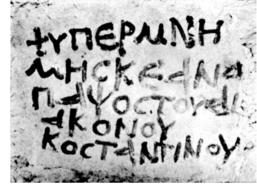


fig. 3264.1

ύπὲρ μνή|μης κὲ ἀνα|πάψος τοῦ δι|ακόνου | Κοσταντίνου

For the memory and the rest of the Deacon Costantinus.

Comm.: "Since the catacomb extended under the church now destroyed, we can assume that the deacon had the care of or officiated at the place" (Bagatti, Church; for the church, cf. no. 3229). Schneider 53 n.1 remarked that this (and the other inscriptions with this formula) were not "Grab-, sondern ... Widmungsinschriften" – which is, of course, generally true. But the environ-



fig. 3264.2

ment makes this quite certainly a funerary inscription (besides: what would have been the offering of Costantinus?). – ll.2f.: Bagatti, Betlemme 250 talks about "la fusione dell'Y e del C" and thinks evidently that ἀναπαύσ(ε)ος was intended, but cf. Jerphanion, MUSJ 13, 1928, 291 no. 66 (Ankyra): ἀναπάψο, Χ(ριστ)έ, τὴν δούλιν σου Ἐφυμίαν ("avec αψ au lieu de αυσ"); BCH 25, 1901, 334 no. 29 (Sungurlu): κοίμησις καὶ ἀνάψις Μαρισις. – l.5: For the missing nu in Constantinus, cf. no. 2809.

Bibl.: P.-M. Séjourné, RB 4, 1895, 442 no. 3 (ed. pr.). – H. Leclercq, DACL 13, 1937, 861; Bagatti, Betlemme 249ff.; id., SBF 18, 1968, 226f., fig. 36; id., Church 337 fig. 202; Meimaris, Sacred

Names 167 no. 821 (ll.3f.). – Cf. A. Schneider, Die Brotvermehrungskirche von et-tabga am Genesarethsee und ihre Mosaiken, 1934, 53ff.

Photo: Bagatti, Betlemme, pl. 53 ph. 111, 227 no. 36.

WA

#### 3265. Greek funerary inscription of Cyrus

Painted inscription. Meas.: h 35, w 48 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 3264-3269 fig. A no. 2.

(cross) ΕΝΘΑΚΙ ΤΕΚΥΡΟΣ (cross) ΣΧΟΛΑΙΚΟΣ ΑΝΕΜΗΠΑΝΕ ΑΙ



fig. 3265.1

ἔνθα κῖ|τε Κῦρος. | Σχολαικὸς | ἀνε(πάη) μη(νὶ) Πανέ(μω) | αι'

Here lies Cyrus. Scholaicus came to rest on Panemos 11th.

Comm.: Bagatti's text is given; the crosses seem to mark the beginning of each epitaph. – l.3: χολαικὸς Germer-Durand; Scholasticus is not a common name, but can still be found; the loss of - $\sigma\tau$ - has to be explained, though there is no space for them. – l.4: ἀ(πέθανε?) Séjourné. The abbreviation is not in Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations, but cf. SEG 38, 1606 (Negev): ἀνε(πάη) ὡ μακάρ(ιος) Στέφ(ανος). – ll.4f.: [--] μη(νὶ) Πανέ|μ(ω) Germer-Durand.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, Cosmos n.s. 30, 1895, 229 (ed. pr.). – P.-M. Séjourné, RB 4, 1895, 442 no. 2; Bagatti, Betlemme 251.

Photo: Bagatti, Betlemme 251 (dr.), pl. 53 ph. 113.

+ ENΘA KI TE KYPOC + CXOΛΑΙΚΟC ANE <sup>H</sup> ΠΑΝΕ AI

fig. 3265.2

#### 3266. Greek funerary inscription of Eugenus (?)

Incised wall inscription.

Meas.: letters 2 cm.

Findspot: At the right side of the entrance, in the first chamber, under the arcosolium; see introduction to nos. 3264-3269 fig. A no. 5.

(cross) ΕΥΓΕΝΟΣ

Εὐγένος

Eugenus.



fig. 3266.1

Comm.: "Ha tutta l'apparenza di essere un graffito di un visitatore," Bagatti, Betlemme 252. Ευγενίου Séjourné, Εὐγένος Bagatti. The *iota* is not quite visible on the photograph,



fig. 3266.2

but there is a space for it between the *nu* and the *omicron*. Gignac I 304: "An unaccented t is ... frequently omitted before a back vowel."

Bibl.: P.-M. Séjourné, RB 4, 1895, 442 (ed. pr.). – H. Leclercq, DACL 13, 1937, 861; Bagatti, Betlemme 252ff., fig. 62 (dr.); id., SBF 18, 1968, 231f.

Photo: B. Bagatti, SBF 18, 1968, 232 fig. 40, 224 fig. 32 (dr.).

WA

# 3267. Greek funerary inscription of Theodorus

Painted inscription.

Meas.: h 24, w 38 cm.

Findspot: In the arcosolium of the north corridor, on the west side; see introduction to nos. 3264-3269 fig. A no. 3.

(cross) EN $\Theta$ AKITE[--] $\Theta$ EO  $\Delta$ OP[--] +[--]POT[--]NO [--]+[--] $\Omega$  A (cross)  $\Omega$ 



fig. 3267.1

ἔνθα κῖτε [--] Θεό|δορ[ος --] | +[--]ΡΟΤ[--]ΝΟ | [--]+[--]Ω | Α Ω

Here lies Theodorus ... Alpha. Omega.

Comm.: Since the text is difficult to read, a combination of Séjourné and Bagatti is given here without pointing out where the one differs from the other. l.l: The painter started with a kappa, but corrected it and still found room for the cross. The lacuna between  $\kappa \tilde{\imath} \tau \epsilon$  and  $\Theta \epsilon \delta |\delta o \rho [o \varsigma]$  is perhaps the result of a defect in the wall; it is too small for a name, hence cannot be read as  $\Theta \epsilon o |\delta \delta \rho [o \upsilon]$ . Germer-Durand read:  $\tilde{\epsilon} \nu \theta \alpha \kappa \tilde{\imath} \tau \epsilon \pi \iota \sigma \tau \delta \varsigma |\Delta o \rho [\delta] \theta \epsilon o [\varsigma] |\Pi P \Omega T [--] E N O [--] |O P [--] \Omega |$  (cross).

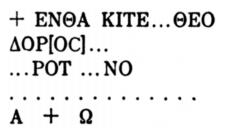


fig. 3267.2

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, Cosmos n.s. 30, 1895, 229 (ed. pr.). – P.-M. Séjourné, RB 4, 1895, 441f. no. 1; Bagatti, Betlemme 253.

Photo: Bagatti, Betlemme 253 (dr.), pl. 53 ph. 112.

WA

#### 3268. Painted Greek acclamation

Painted inscription on a patch of plaster. A large cross, the letters are under the arms of the cross. The cross itself is used to represent *tau* in the text.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 3264-3269 fig. A no. 4.

- (a)  $TO\Upsilon(cross)\Omega N$ IKA
- (b) M[--]MΒΡΙΩ
- (a) τοῦτω ν|ικᾶ
- (b) μ[ηνὶ --]μβρίω
- (a) This triumphs.
- (b) Month of ...ember.



fig. 3268.1

Comm.: (a) There are examples (cf. Peterson 153) for ἐν τούτῳ νίκα and simply τούτῳ νίκα, but Peterson also says: "Gewöhnlich ist: τοῦτο νικᾳ mit Darstellung von Kreuz oder Labarum," and Bagatti already thought that the *omega* was used instead of an *omicron*. (b) μη[νί] Bagatti, but neither his transcription nor his photograph show the *eta*; furthermore the photograph supposes a longer gap between μ[ηνὶ] and the name of the month.

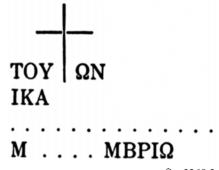


fig. 3268.2

Bibl.: Bagatti, Betlemme 253; id., SBF 3, 1952/3, 140f. no. 55 (edd. prr.).

Photo: Bagatti, Betlemme 253 (dr.); pl. 53 ph. 114.

WA

# 3269. Christograms and other Greek graffiti

Meas.: (a) h: 27 cm.

Findspot: (a) "All'inizio del cimitero, proprio nel banco roccioso in cui si aprono le gallerie," Bagatti, Betlemme 254. (b) "Nella parete est della prima galleria a sinistra entrando (g) parallela all'ingresso. Il segno è preceduto da una croce monogrammata ed ha due asti intorno" Bagatti, SBF 234. (c) "Inciso nel soffitto della galleria (g) presso (h)," Bagatti, SBF 234. (d) "Vicino [scil. near to inscription c] ed è isolato com' è solo il n.4 [=inscription (e)]," Bagatti, SBF 234. (h) "Nell'arcosolio a destra entrando della galleria (b)," Bagatti, SBF 235. The letters (f) and (g) "nel soffitto," Bagatti, SBF 235.

- (a)-(e) XP
- (f) A
- (g)  $I\Delta$
- (h) PH
- (i) "L'ultima lettera della fig. 41 (11) [here fig. 2,11] può essere un B ovvero un segno del millenarismo secondo la descrizione di Rabano Mauro" (Bagatti, SBF 235).
- (j) BPEH(?)
- (k) "La stella a sei punte unita con una grande A e le lettere NHX e sotto con Z" (Bagatti, SBF 235).

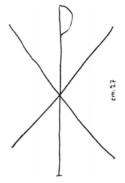


fig. 3269.1 (a)

- (a)-(e) Χρ(ιστός)
- (a)-(e) Christ.



fig. 3269.2 (1=b, 2=c, 3=d, 4=e, 7=f, 8=g, 9=h, 11=i)



fig. 3269.3 (b)



fig. 3269.4 (c)



fig. 3269.5 (e)

Comm.: Bagatti believes that the christogram (a) was used to indicate that this was a Christian cemetery. In addition to these "texts" there are some other graffiti: two staurograms (fig. 2,1 [in front of the christogram] and 5), a six-point star (fig. 2,6 – this could be a roughly sketched christogram too) and several x-signs



fig. 3269.6 (j)



fig. 3269.7 (k)

(one example in fig. 2,10) interpreted by Bagatti as the letter *chi*, which, however, need not have been intended.

Bibl.: Bagatti, Betlemme, 1952, 254 fig. 62 (a); id., SBF 18, 1968, 232ff. (b-k) (edd. prr.).

Photo: Bagatti, Betlemme, 254 fig. 62 (dr.); B. Bagatti, SBF 18, 1968, 233f. figs. 41-44 (ph. and dr.).

WA

#### 3270. Greek letters in a tomb

The main chamber of the tomb is about 13 ft. square; five subsidiary chambers open from the main chamber; four of the square stone slabs that served as doors to these chambers are still preserved. "On the outer face of the sill of each is cut a Greek index-letter corresponding with letters cut on the doors themselves, and showing which door fitted which doorway ... The letters under the doorways are picked out with red paint" (Macalister). Lunar *omega* and (inverted) *sigma*, as well as three-barred *sigma* in the middle.

Findspot: Tomb, "in a vineyard belonging to the American convent, about half a mile east of Rachel's tomb, and a little distance south-east of the house in the vineyard" (Macalister). The tomb was closed with a winged stone door, 2 ft., 6 in. square.

#### $\Sigma \mid A \mid \Sigma \mid \Omega \mid Z$

Comm.: "It will be noticed that these letters are not in alphabetical or numerical order. They may have been chosen at random; if not, I can only guess that they are meant to be read backwards, making what sounds like a not impossible Greek name, Ζώστας" (Macalister, without explaining where he took the tau from). Goodenough concluded: "That the letters are a misspelling, or a dialect spelling, of ζήσεις, 'thou shalt live', is the obvious first thought." Evidently, there is no reason for these letters to form a word; they are used as markers, perhaps even as numbers. The omega could be seen as an epsilon, the threebarred sigma as an attempt at gamma, and the fact that we have an inverted lunar sigma to the left and a three-barred sigma on these stones does not com-

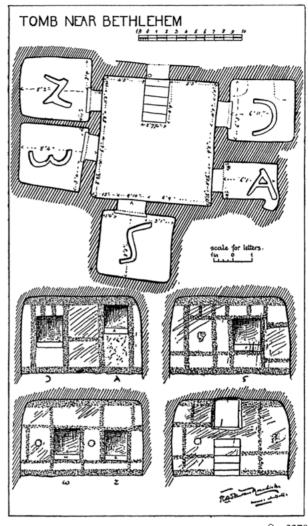


fig. 3270

pel us to make the letters form a word. On the other hand,  $Z\omega\sigma\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$  would be a perfectly respectable Greek name, cf. 3577.

Bibl.: R. Macalister, PEQ 34, 1902, 237ff. (ed. pr.). – Goodenough, Jewish Symbols I 78. Photo: R. Macalister, PEQ 34, 1902, 239 (dr.).

#### 3271. Fragment of a Greek funerary inscription (?)

Broken on all sides, but the first letter of each line seems to be preserved as well as the first line; it is not certain whether or not the inscription ended with the third line. Meas.: h 25.5, w 39, d 6.5 cm; letters 2.3-4.4 cm.

Findspot: Near the Franciscan convent in Bethlehem. Pres. loc.: SBF Museum, Jerusalem. Autopsy: 4 June 2014 (WE).

BΩΩ[--] EΙΕΣΕΝ[--] ΡΟΥΘ[--]

Comm.: Boù[ $\zeta \ \dot{\epsilon}\pi$ ]|eíe $\sigma$ ev | 'Pou $\theta$  Bagatti. He translated and commented: "'Boaz has made (the stela) for Ruth'. Given the place where it was put, at the beginning of the road from Bethlehem to the Shepherd's Field or the field of Boaz, the stela perforce brings us to think of the biblical personages ..." (Church 329). Bagatti points out that biblical names were in frequent



fig. 3271

use even in the Christian period and therefore dates the inscription on paleographical grounds to the 6-7 c. AD (emphasizing especially the *omega*). – l.3: [--] $\rho$ ov  $\Theta$ [--] could stand for the name of the dead and his father? Or  $[M\alpha]|\rho$ ov $\theta$ [ $\alpha$ --] (cf. CIIP II 1141)?

Bibl.: Bagatti, Betlemme 182 pl. 53 ph. 110 (ed. pr.). – Id., Church 329f., fig. 192 (ph.); id., Giudea e Neghev 41, 47 fig. 6; id., Judaea 42, 47 fig. 6 (dr.).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WA

#### D. Instrumentum domesticum

## 3272. Bracelet with medallion and quotation from LXX Ps 90

Bracelet made of bronze, part of which widens into a medallion which shows a haloed rider above a female demon whom he attacks with his lance; there is a star to the right of his head. The scene is common and often (but not necessarily) associated with St. Sisinnius (Küchler's interpretation is perhaps too far-fetched: "Ring mit frauenfeindlich gewendetem Drachenkampf-Motiv"). Inscription (a) follows the edge of the medallion. A second inscription (b) is written over the bracelet in

three lines. Also on the bracelet, at the left of the medallion, is a cross with a third inscription (c); at the right-hand side of the medallion a lion.

Meas.: h 1, ø 6.3 (bracelet), 2.4 cm (medallion); h of line [inscr. (b)]: 2.5 mm.

Findspot: Vicinity of Bethlehem (according to an antiquities dealer). Pres. loc.: SBF Museum, Jerusalem. Autopsy: 7. October 2013 (WE/DK).



fig. 3272.1 (a)

- (a) ΕΙΣΘΕΟΣΟΝΙΚΩΝΤΑΚΑΚΑ
- (b) ΟΚΑΤΎΚΩΝΕΝΒΟΗΘΙΑΤΟΥΎΨΙΣΤΟΥΕΣΚΕΠΙΤΟΥΘΕΟΎΤΟΥ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥΑΥΛΙΣ
  - ΤΗΣΗΤΕΕΡΙΤΟΥΚΥΡΙΟΥΑΝΤΙΛΙΜΠΤΩΡΜΟΥΕΙΚΑΙΚΑΤΑΦΥΓΗΟ ΘΕΟΣΜΟΥΕΛΠΕΙΙ
  - ΟΥΠΑΥΤΟΝΟΤΙΑΥΤΟΣΡΥΣΕΤΕΜΕΕΚΠΑΓΙΔΟΣΤΟΕΜΑΤΟΥΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΠΑΥΣΕΑΠΟΥΕΥΣΕΔΙΑΣ
- (c) ΙΣΧΣ ΑΩ
- (a) εἷς θεὸς ὁ νικῶν τὰ κακά
- (b) ὁ κατυκῶν ἐν βοηθία τοῦ ὑψίστου ἐ<ν> σκέπι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ αὐλισ|τήσητε, ἐρῖ τοῦ κυρίου. ἀντιλίμπτωρ μου εἶ καὶ καταφυγὴ ὁ θεός μου. ἐλπειι|ο ὑπ' αὐτὸν ὅτι αὐτὸς ῥύσετέ με ἐκ παγίδος. τὸ ἔμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ παῦσε ΑΠΟΥΕΥΣΕΛΙΑΣ.
- (c) Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς | Α Ω
- (a) One God only, who conquers all evil.
- (b) He that dwelleth in the secret place of the most High shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty. I will say of the Lord, he is my refuge and my fortress: my God; in him will I trust. Surely he shall deliver thee from the snare. The blood of Christ will keep back ...
- (c) Jesus Christ. Alpha Omega.



Comm.: (a), medallion: Cf. CIIP II 1685 for the text (and a very similar iconography).

(b), bracelet: the quotation of Ps 90,1-3a has some changes in the traditional spelling: Ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν βοηθεία τοῦ ὑψίστου ἐν σκέπη τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ αὐλισθήσεται. ἐρεῖ τῷ κυρίω Αντιλήμπτωρ μου εἶ καὶ καταφυγή μου, δ θεός μου, έλπιῶ ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὅτι αὐτὸς ρύσεταί με ἐκ παγίδος θηρευτῶν καὶ ἀπὸ λόγου ταραχώδους. This quotation is quite common, but the invocation of Christ's blood is not, and therefore difficult to restore. ΑΠΟΥΕΥΣΕΔΙΑΣ seems to represent a genitive,



fig. 3272.3 (b-c)

which depends on  $\pi\alpha\tilde{v}\sigma\epsilon = \pi\alpha\tilde{v}\sigma\alpha$ , perhaps on  $\pi\alpha\tilde{v}\sigma\alpha$  ι ἀπού (this form is also attested, and cf. e.g. LXX Ps 36,8  $\pi\alpha\tilde{v}\sigma\alpha$  ι ἀπὸ ὀργῆς); however, ἀποὺ εὐσεβίας seems not proper. For the invocation of Christ's blood, Piccirillo and Horsley compare P.Lond. 1176 (=P.Lit.Lond. 231: φύγε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ πᾶν κακὸν πᾶν πο[νηρὸν], τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ φεῖσαι τῷ φοροῦντι) and BKT 6, VII,1,21-3 (τὸ σῶμα κ. τὸ δέμα τοῦ ΧΥ φεῖσαι τοῦ δούλου σου τὸν φοροῦντα τὸ φυλακτήριον with the note: "δέμα, wohl nicht δέμας…, sondern αἷμα"). Bagatti, Judaea: "The invocation of the blood of Christ for protection and help recalls the localization of the blood of Jesus in Jerusalem, mentioned by the pilgrims and the apocalyptic books."

Bibl.: M. Piccirillo, SBF 29, 1979, 244ff. (ed. pr.). – SEG 29, 1606; Felle, Biblia epigraphica 113f. no. 168. – Cf. Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 45; G. Horsley, New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity IV 1987, 189f.; P. Figueras, in: Archéologie Chrétienne 1781; L. Di Segni, SCI 13, 1994, 103f. no. 29; Belayche, Pagan Cults 158ff.; Bagatti, Judaea 45f.; Küchler, Jerusalem 377 fig. 199; Peterson - Markschies, Heis Theos 548f. no. 8,1.

Photo: WE; M. Piccirillo, SBF 29, 1979 pls. 25 (ph.), 27 (dr.).

#### 3273. Stamp made of limestone with the name of Demeter

Oval conically shaped stamp, made of limestone, broken at the bottom. Surface with rounded edge. The letters are deliberately engraved retrogade.

Meas.: h 2.6, ø 3.4 cm; letters 0.8-1 cm.

Findspot: Allegedly found in or near Bethlehem.

Pres. loc.: Dagon Grain Museum, Haifa, inv. no. R-1098 (museum registration since 26 March

1974). Autopsy: 2 June 2014.

 $\begin{array}{c} \Delta H \\ MH \end{array}$ 

 $\Delta \eta |\mu \dot{\eta} (\tau \eta \rho) \ or \ \Delta \dot{\eta} |\mu \eta (\tau \rho o \varsigma)/\Delta \eta |\mu \dot{\eta} (\tau \epsilon \rho o \varsigma) \ or \ \Delta \dot{\eta} |\mu \eta (\tau \rho \iota)$ 

Demeter (gave it) or (gift) of Demeter or (offering) for Demeter.



fig. 3273.1

Comm.: The identity of the person who used the stamp and its exact purpose must be left open. The stamp could have been used to mark bread as a gift of Demeter, which leaves the question for whom the bread was stamped unanswered. Alternatively the stamp could have been used to mark sacrificial cakes as gift for Demeter. One may think of the many terracotta votive offerings in the shape of winnowing fans loaded with different types of sacrificial cakes in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Acrocorinth, imitating real cakes, ritually



fig. 3273.2

offered to the goddesses. One of these cakes is marked with two impressed rosettes imitating the imprint of a bread stamp (see A. Brumfield, Hesperia 66, 1997, 147-72 with pls. 46-52, who discusses at length on p. 149ff. the different types of cakes; for the stamped cake, cf. 152, 163 no. 45 with pl. 49). It is not very likely that the name should be expanded as  $\Delta \eta \mu \eta (\tau \rho i \sigma v)$  "of Demetrius."

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: WE.

#### 3274. Bronze stamp with Greek inscription

Bronze stamp with a handle. The mirror writing of the letters is intended to ensure that the imprint is legible. The vertical stroke after  $\Theta$ EO $\Upsilon$  is not a letter, but meant to fill the space up to the edge.

Meas.: h (with handle) 2.1 cm; field of inscription: h 3.5, w 6 cm; letters 1.3 cm.

Findspot: Allegedly from Bethlehem.

Pres. loc.: Dagon Grain Museum, Haifa, inv. no. R-1185 (museum registration since 16 Novem-

ber 1976). Autopsy: 2 June 2014.

ΘΕΟΥ ΟΙΝΟΣ

θεοῦ | οἶνος

God's wine.

Comm.: Perhaps the stamp was used to mark amphoras which contained wine for liturgical purposes.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: WE.



fig. 3274.1



fig. 3274.2

WE

# 3275. Stamp made of limestone with Greek inscriptions on three sides

Stamp made of limestone, with a partly broken and perforated handle. The letters on the stamp are in the "correct" order and as a result, the imprint would be reversed

Meas.: h 2.5, w 5.5, d 3.5 cm; letters ca. 1 cm.

Findspot: Allegedly found near Bethlehem.

Pres. loc.: Dagon Grain Museum, Haifa, inv. no. R-1150 (museum registration since 15 October

1975). Autopsy: 2 June 2014.

ΣΑΒΙΝΟΣ  $[.]\Gamma A\Delta +++$  $NA\Sigma+[--]$ 

 $\Sigma \alpha \beta \tilde{\imath} vos \mid [.] \Gamma A \Delta + + + \mid N \alpha \sigma + [--]$ 

Sabinus ...



fig. 3275.1

Comm.: Three sides of the stamp bear an inscription. The name Sabinus is clear. Before the  $\Gamma A\Delta +++$  one letter is missing due to the break; after the break there seems to be a *gamma* followed by  $A\Delta$  which are clear, but the letters which follow are not: perhaps a small *omicron*, then a  $\Delta$  or an A directly connected to an unidentifiable letter. It seems impossible to make any sense of these signs. On the third side, after  $N\alpha\sigma$  there follows a letter with a vertical stroke.

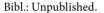


Photo: WE.



fig. 3275.2



fig. 3275.3

WE

#### 3276. Double-sided stamp with Greek inscription

Double-sided stamp made of sandstone, with a flower at the middle of one side with an inscription around it (a), and on the other side a circle with a partly damaged inscription (b).

Meas.: h 5.5, ø 8.4 cm; letters ca. 1.8 cm.

Findspot: Allegedly from Bethlehem.

Pres. loc.: Dagon Grain Museum, Haifa, inv. no. R-1223 (museum registration since 11 March 1981). Autopsy: 2 June 2014.

(a) ΣTAMABA

(b)  $\Sigma AIOM\Upsilon++$ 



fig. 3276.1 (a)



fig. 3276.2 (b)

Comm.: The sense of the letters on both sides of the stamp remains unclear, especially in the absence of word dividers, indicating the beginning and ending of the sequence of letters.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: WE.



fig. 3276.3

WE

#### E. Varia

# 3277. Fragmentary Greek inscription on marble

Marble plaque, broken on all sides except the right side; the back is smoothed and the letters are deeply incised.

Meas.: h 6, w 10, d 1.5 cm; letters 0.6-1.2 cm.

Findspot: Church of the Nativity, below the present floor.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. 1943-19. Autopsy: 2012 (WA); 1 June 2014 (WE).

[--]ΑΡΣΑΚΚΟΥ [--]ΡΓΕΤΟΥ

[--] Άρσάκκου | [-- εὐε]ργέτου

... of Arsacces ... of the benefactor



fig. 3277

Comm.: Said to be "Roman" on the archive card of the museum, but the letter forms point to a late Hellenistic date. A number of Parthian "Arsaces" kings were called Εὐεργέτης, but this is by no means an official text.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.

# LXXXII. 'Ein Feshkha ('Enot Zuqim)

# 3278. Hebrew/Aramaic inscription on a vase, 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE

Two lines incised in "Jewish" letters on a large stone vase. Meas.: h (total) 71, (foot) 19, ø (top) 39, (base) 31.4 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: The vase was discovered in the excavation of Locus 21 on 15 February 1958.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem.

בשנת אחת [--?]סבד/רא

Translit.: bšnt 'ḥt | [--?]sbd/r'

In year one(?). ... sbd/r'.



fig. 3278.1

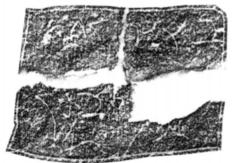


fig. 3278.2 (squeeze)



fig. 3278.3 (left side incomplete)



fig. 3278.4

Comm.: According to R. de Vaux, an inscription of two lines inscribed in Hebrew semi-cursive letters appears in a frame in the upper portion of the vase. The letters are too shallow to enable a sound reading. The text appearing here has been conjecturally offered by the editor and is very doubtful. According to de Vaux 1973, "The historical context of this inscription is equally ambiguous."

Bibl.: R. de Vaux, RB 66, 1959, 225-55 at 244f. no. 1 (ed. pr.). – Id., L'archéologie et les manuscrits de la mer morte, 1961, 52 pl. 34a; id., Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls, 1973; E. Laperrousaz, Qoumrân, 1976, 200; R. Deines, Jüdische Steingefäße und pharisäische Frömmigkeit, 1993, 126f.; J. Humbert - A. Chambon, Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Aïn Feshkha I 1994, 360; P. Callaway, Qumran Chronicle 7, 1997, 145-70 at 154f., 158; A. Lemaire, in: Humbert - Gunneberg, Qumrân 378f. no. Fesh. 207; J. Gunneberg - M. Balla, ibid. 394. – Cf. Y. Magen, The Stone Vessel Industry in the Second Temple Period, 2002.

Photo: Lemaire, in: Humbert - Gunneberg, Qumrân 379 (detail, squeeze and dr.); IAA.

AY

# 3279. Stone weight with Greek inscription, 40/1 AD

Limestone weight in the shape of a disk with slightly rounded lateral surfaces. Worked with a spiked tool. Greek inscription on the top. Meas.: ø (top) 7.3, (bottom) 6.5, (max.) 8.5, th 6.4 cm; wt 725.2 g.

Findspot: Locus 10.

LEB

("Ετους) ε' β(ασιλέως)

Year 5 (=40/1 AD) of the king (Agrippa).

Comm.: An exact parallel for this weight is CIIP I 684 from Jerusalem. It belongs to a group of weights (CIIP I 676-689) issued in the year 5 of a king called Agrippa in the long version of the in-



fig. 3279

scription and who is most likely to be identified with Agrippa I. The latter in his fifth year (40/1) was granted the territory of Judaea. This explains the large number of new weights from that year found in Jerusalem (cf. CIIP I 676, comm.).

Bibl.: R. de Vaux, RB 66, 1959, 225-55 at 252 (ed. pr.). – Id., L'archéologie et les manuscrits de la mer morte, 1961, 54f., pl. 35b; Millard, Pergament und Papyrus 104; A. Lemaire, in: Humbert - Gunneberg, Qumrân 377f. no. Fesh. 71 (ph., dr.); J. Gunneberg - M. Balla, ibid. 394.

Photo: R. de Vaux, RB 66, 1959 pl. 12b.

# LXXXIII. Ḥ. Zefiyya (ancient Saphitha?)

#### 3280.-3283. Rock-hewn burial cave

Four inscribed ossuaries were among the 29 ossuaries and seven lids found in a two-chamber rock-hewn burial cave during salvage excavations in 1997 at H. Zefiyya; this may be ancient  $\Sigma \alpha \varphi \iota \theta \alpha$ , which appears on the Madaba map (cf. TIR, s.v. "Saphitha" 222; Jos. AJ 8,293). The entrance to the cave was found sealed and the tomb had not been plundered. The rich finds in the cave plus the ossuaries date its use to the 1-2 c. CE, probably up to the Bar Kochba revolt. The ossuaries exhibit various styles, types and qualities: decorated and plain, well-made and crude and the excavators believe that the coarse style of the boxes bearing inscriptions nos. 3280, 3282 and 3283 indicate a date between 70 and 135 CE. The number of ossuaries and their placement indicate a family group of multiple generations. The four inscribed ossuaries were all found in the first, main room with the majority of the other boxes; nos. 3280 and 3281 were next to each other in the southwestern corner of the room, whereas nos. 3282 and 3283 stood side-by-side in the northeastern corner. The four inscriptions contain no more than names, apparently all of them Greek versions of biblical names.

#### 3280. Ossuary of Ioanan with Greek inscription, between 70 and 135 CE

Greek inscription on long side of undecorated, poorly made limestone ossuary (stone quite friable), letters scratched crudely and shallowly with blunt instrument, line slants upwards; many scratch marks on surface; arched lid.

Meas.: h 32.5, w 62, d 35 cm; l. 44.5 cm (short line is 14 cm long), letters 3.5-15 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 2001-1531. Autopsy: 12 July 2007 and 23 September 2014.

IOANAN ΓΕΡ[--]

Ιοαναν | Γερ[--]

Ioanan, Ger...





fig. 3280.2

Comm.: The editors thought that the Greek name was the equivalent of Yehonatan יהונתן, but Yoḥanan יוחנן is more likely, cf. Ilan, Lexicon I 138, and Ιοανάνος in Elijah's Cave on Mt. Carmel, Ilan, Lexicon II App. no. 8. ΓΕΡ can



fig. 3280.3

be variously resolved, as e.g.  $\Gamma \epsilon \rho (\alpha \sigma \eta \nu \delta \varsigma)$  or as the beginning of a patronym, misunderstood by SEG as  $\Gamma$ I, "indicating the age at death." The ossuary contained the bones of a male aged 18-25 years, another adult aged 30-40 years, and a child.

Bibl.: P. Nahshoni - B. Zissu - N. Sarig - A. Ganor - A. Avganim, Atiqot 43, 2002, 49-71 at 68 no. 18 (ed. pr.). – SEG 52, 1673.2.

Photo: IAA; P. Nahshoni - B. Zissu - N. Sarig - A. Ganor - A. Avganim, Atiqot 43, 2002, 68 fig. 20 (dr.).

JJP

#### 3281. Ossuary of Mariam with Greek inscription, between 70 and 135 CE

Limestone ossuary with two six-petaled rosettes and zigzag frame on façade, Greek inscription on roughly finished right side incised upside down and curving from top rim to left side; flat lid.

Meas.: h 27, w 44, d 20 cm; l. 19 cm, letters 3-7.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 2001-1523. Autopsy: 12 July 2007 and 23 September 2014.

MAPIAM

Μαριαμ

Mariam.



fig. 3281.1

Comm.: The ossuary contained the bones of one adult and two children, sex undetermined. The inscriber, obviously writing the name from above, ran out of space and had trouble forming the last two letters, which are none-theless clear to read.



fig. 3281.2

Bibl.: P. Nahshoni - B. Zissu - N. Sarig - A. Ganor - A. Avganim, Atiqot 43, 2002, 49-71 at 66 no. 17 (ed. pr.). – SEG 52, 1673.1.

Photo: IAA; P. Nahshoni - B. Zissu - N. Sarig - A. Ganor - A. Avganim, Atiqot 43, 2002, 66 fig. 16c (dr.).

JJP

#### 3282. Ossuary of Nathan(?) with Greek inscription, between 70 and 135 CE

Crudely made undecorated ossuary with arched lid, Greek inscription written upside-down on one of the long sides, letters shallowly incised and coarse. Vaulted lid. Before the *nu* and after the second *alpha* are scratches which could each be lunate *sigma* or *epsilon*, or simply scratches or flaws not intended as part of the inscription; similarly, an oval leaf-shaped incision overlaps the upper part of the *nu* and seems to have been there before the inscription was produced, and has no meaning. A cross-shaped mark is incised on one of the narrow sides.

Meas.: h 27.5, w 59, d 30 cm; l. 33 cm, letters 3.5-13 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 2001-1532. Autopsy: 12 July 2007 and 23 September 2014.

 $NAO/\Theta A[--](?)$ 

 $N\alpha \circ \alpha[--]$  or  $N\alpha \theta \alpha[--]$ 

Naoa... or Natha...



fig. 3282.1

Comm.: The upside-down inscription seems to have been scratched on the surface of the ossuary from above, as the box sat on the floor; this partly accounts for its rough execution. The difficulty in interpretation involves not only whether to read NAOA or NAOA, but also the enigmatic scratches

IND NATE

fig. 3282.2

before and after. The ed. pr., which SEG follows, reads  $NA\Theta A[E]$  and interprets it as "the Greek form of a Hebrew name such as Nitai, Nethanel or Nathan," the latter being perhaps the best possibility. But if NAOA was intended, then one may imagine a person named Noah, even though this name is scarcely attested for the entire period. The box contained the bones of an adult aged 35-40 years, probably male.

Bibl.: P. Nahshoni - B. Zissu - N. Sarig - A. Ganor - A. Avganim, Atiqot 43, 2002, 49-71 at 68 no. 21 (ed. pr.). – SEG 52, 1673.3.

Photo: IAA; P. Nahshoni - B. Zissu - N. Sarig - A. Ganor - A. Avganim, Atiqot 43, 2002, 68 fig. 21d (dr.).

IJΡ

#### 3283. Ossuary of Saus(?) with Greek inscription, between 70 and 135 CE

Greek inscription on long side of undecorated, coarse limestone ossuary, letters deeply incised; *upsilon* above *omicron*. Flat lid.

Meas.: h 35, w 62, d 31 cm; l. 40 cm, letters 3.5-11.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 2001-1527. Autopsy: 12 July 2007 and 23 September 2014.

#### ΣΑΟΥΓΑΛ

#### Σαου Γαλ

(Ossuary) of Saus Gal... (?)

Comm.: In the ed. pr. the letter above the *omicron* is read as an *epsilon*, thus rendering  $\Sigma \alpha \iota \circ \varsigma$ 



fig. 3283.1



fig 3283 2

nected to the first four letters in a unique name; or it could represent  $\Gamma \alpha \lambda \iota \lambda \alpha \tilde{\imath} \circ \varsigma$  vel sim., or a patronym. The ossuary contained the bones of one adult female and one child.

Bibl.: P. Nahshoni - B. Zissu - N. Sarig - A. Ganor - A. Avganim, Atiqot 43, 2002, 49-71 at 68f. no 23 (ed. pr.). – SEG 52, 1673.4.

Photo: IAA; P. Nahshoni - B. Zissu - N. Sarig - A. Ganor - A. Avganim, Atiqot 43, 2002, 69 fig. 22c (dr.).

# LXXXIV. Kh. ar-Rasm

### 3284. Greek funerary inscription (?)

Marble plaque.

Meas.: h 11.5, w 15.5, d 2.2 cm; letters 2.1-2.7 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth-Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1957-757. Autopsy: 9 October 2013 (WE/DK).

XEPO  $MENH\Sigma$ 

Χερο μένης

Cheromenes.



fig. 3284.1

Comm.: The stone has all the characteristics of a funerary plaque. For the name cf. LGPN 4 s.v. Χαιρομένης (3 c. BC), but see esp. P.Naqlun I 9 l.9 (6 c. AD, in the context of wine-jars from Ascalon and other places): ἔχω Ἡλία ἀσκαλω[νᾶ] δ(ιὰ) Χερομένοαης πλακ(ουντᾶ) ἀσκ(αλωνίου); 32: [ἔχω Ἡλία] ἀσκαλ(ωνᾶ) δ(ιὰ) Χερομένης π[λακ(ουντᾶ)] ασκ(--) (κεράτια) δ (cf., too, ll.33, 34, 39).



fig. 3284.2

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: WE.

# LXXXV. Turris Ader (mod. Beit Saḥur, Kh. es-Siyar el-Ghanam)

#### 3285. Mosaic with a Greek invocation on behalf of Hesychis, 6 c. AD

Inscription in a tabula ansata.

Findspot: A small building, the use of which is unknown, at the northeast corner of the church; its floor was paved with a mosaic, and the tabula with the inscription was "adjacent to the northern wall of the basilica" (Tzaferis).

(cross)  $\overline{KEIOYXE}EAE$   $H\Sigma ONTON$   $\Delta OYAON$   $\Sigma OYH\Sigma Y$  XIN (cross)



fig. 3285

κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησ)οῦ Χ(ριστ)έ, ἐλέ|ησον τὸν | δοῦλόν | σου Ἡσύ|χιν

Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on your servant Hesychis.

Comm.: Most probably 6 c. AD (cf. Ovadiah).

Bibl.: V. Tzaferis, SBF 25, 1975, 24 no. 3 (ed. pr.). – Ovadiah, MPI 25 no. 25; Madden, Corpus 124 no. 179. – Cf. Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 45; Ben Pechat, L'architecture baptismale II 174; Bagatti, Judaea 46; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 104f.

Photo: V. Tzaferis, SBF 25, 1975, pl. 1 fig. 5.

WA

#### 3286. Two Greek mosaic inscriptions, one mentioning a Lazarus

Two inscriptions at the bottom edge of a mosaic floor. Letters in black on a white ground. The inscription to the left is (a), the inscription to the right is (b).

Findspot: A chapel at the Cave of Shepherds.

(a) ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙΚ[.] ΤΟΥΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΣΟΥΛΑΑΖΑΡ[..] ΚΑΙΠΑΣΗΣΤΗΣ ΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΙΑΣΑ[.] ΤΟΥ (cross) ΑΜΗΝ

(b)  $[--]++I\Sigma E$ 

[--]N (cross)

[--]+ (cross)

[--]N

[--]ΩN

 $[--]N\Omega N$ 

[--]AMHN



fig. 3286.1 (a)

- (a) μνήσθητι, κ(ύρι)[ε], | τοῦ δούλου | σου Λααζάρ[ου] | καὶ πάσης τῆς | καρποφορίας α[ὑ]|τοῦ, ἀμήν
- (b) [--]++IΣΕ|[--]N|[--]+|[--]N|[--]ΩN|[--]ΝΩΝ|[--] ἀμήν
- (a) Lord, remember your servant Lazarus and all his supplication. Amen.
- (b) ... Amen.

Comm.: The cave was used for Christian purposes from at least the 4 c. AD, but it was enlarged in the 5 c. AD to give room to a church, and another mosaic floor was put

in at that point. At the same time a small chapel was built above the church, also paved with a mosaic; "ce pavement ... est l'une des plus belles mosaiques chrétiennes que l'on connaisse" (RB 421; cf. Tzaferis 20). This mosaic is the only surviving trace for the chapel, which made place for a new church in the 6 c. AD.

(a) 1.3: Tzaferis points out that the two *alphas* in the name prove that the writer was aware of the Hebrew or Arabic pronunciation of the name. (b) 1.1: The traces of the second letter were read as *rho* by Tzaferis, but *beta* is not impossible (e.g.  $[\kappa]\rho(\sigma\epsilon|[\omega\varsigma])$ . – 1.7:  $\mathring{a}\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$  is much smaller than the other letters and was perhaps added as an afterthought; it is not impossible that it was the only word in this line.

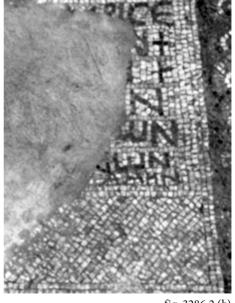


fig. 3286.2 (b)

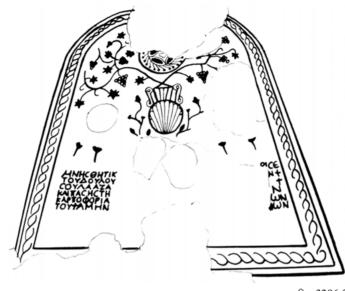


fig. 3286.3

Bibl.: V. Tzaferis, SBF 25, 1975, 22f. nos. 1, 2 (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, Sacred Names 63 no. 394 (l.1); Ovadiah, MPI 25 no. 24; Madden, Corpus 123f. no. 178. – Cf. RB 80, 1973, 421 pl. 19b; Keel - Küchler 644f.; Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 45; Ben Pechat, L'architecture baptismale II 174; R. Schick, The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule, 1995, 365f.; Bagatti, Judaea 46; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 104f.

Photo: V. Tzaferis, SBF 25, 1975 pl. 2 figs. 2 and 3; Keel - Küchler 645 fig. 423 (dr.).

WA

#### 3287. Greek mosaic with invocation and quotation of LXX Ps 120,7

"Mosaique blanche assez grossière où se lisent encore les inscriptions" (RB). Black tesserae; above the *upsilon* in inscription (a) is an abbreviation mark made of red tesserae; the rest was destroyed "dalla caduta delle pietre dei muri o delle volte" (Corbo). Corbo identified the cross below (a) as a representation of Golgotha (the cross was made of red and black tesserae). He identified another representation of the calvary at the upper right of inscription (b).

Meas.: (a) letters 7.5-10.5 cm; (b) letters (l.1) 6.5-11, (l.2) 6-9, (l.3) 8.5-10 cm.

Findspot: Large building, part of a monastery, with oil presses and other installations; mosaic in the bakery (the latest description of the context to be found in Ribak).

- (a)  $[.]\overline{\Upsilon}BO\Theta$
- (b)  $\overline{\mathsf{K}\Sigma}\Phi\Upsilon\Lambda\mathsf{A}\Sigma\mathsf{I}[--]$ ? AΠΟΟΑΝ[...] KAKO



fig. 3287.1

- (a) [κ]ύ(ριε), βο(ή)θ(ει)
- (b) κ(ύριο)ς φυλάσι [σε]? | ἀπὸ πὰν[τὸς] | κακο(ῦ)
- (a) Lord, help!
- (b) The Lord protects you from all evil.

Comm.: Ribak refers to the "poor" evidence for dating this complex, whose different phases are usually assigned to the 4 c. and 6 c. AD.

(a) Bagatti as others printed KY at the beginning, but the *kappa* is not preserved: "La prima lettera è scomparsa nello sprofondamento del mosaico, ma la sua presenza è accertata dalla linea di abbreviazione che è posta sulla lettera mancante" (Corbo). This abbreviation mark seems to have been misunderstood by some as the upper angular hasta of *kappa* as is the case in the drawing given here as fig. 2.



fig. 3287.2

(b) LXX Ps 120,7: κύριος φυλάξει σε ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ, φυλάξει τὴν ψυχήν σου. Ps 120,7 and 8 are often quoted together, but not in Syria and Palestine, where they are always separate (Vriezen). – l.1: φυλά[ξει σε] would be closer to the original, but Corbo published: φυλάσ(α)ι, and Bagatti wrote: φυλάσ(σ)<ε> [σε] (however, on the photograph published by both, here fig. 1, the last visible letter is alpha); others offered different readings, but the gist has remained the same: κ[ύριο]ς φυλάσ[σε]ι ἀπὸ πάν[των] κακο[ν] RB 1954; φυλάσ(α)ι ἀπὸ παν(τὸς) Ovadiah; φυλάσ<σε> [σε]

Felle. l.2: The fourth letter is an *omicron*, but since the other letters are square, it was an easy mistake to make. – l.3: *omicron* is the last letter. Cf. Gignac I 211: ov > o "in final position (usually accented)."

Bibl.: Bagatti, Betlemme 267f.; id., SBF 3, 1952/3, 126 no. 25 (edd. prr.). – RB 61, 1954, 571; Corbo, Siyar El-Ghanam 40f., 49f. (ph.); Meimaris, Sacred Names 37 no. 183; Ovadiah, MPI 99f. no. 169; Felle, Biblia epigraphica 111 no. 161. – Cf. Testa, Simbolismo 94 pl. 8; B. Bagatti, L'Eglise de la Circoncision, 1965, 108; R. Cohen, EAEHL 3, 1977, 884; Keel - Küchler 649; Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 46; Vriezen, Mosaic Pavements 248ff.; Bagatti, Judaea 48 pl. 7,2; Ribak, Religious Communities 220f.; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 99; Madden, Corpus 128f. no. 186.

Photo: Bagatti, Betlemme, pl. 51 fig. 104; Keel - Küchler 649 fig. 427 (dr.).

WA

#### 3288. Altar with Greek inscription

"Altare lunato" (Corbo). The only available photograph is unfortunately blurred and barely readable.

Meas.: letters 4 cm.

Findspot: From the church of the 4-5 c. AD; mostly found "nella grotta 65, nella panetteria del monastero n.44 e nel grande vascone di est, n.54" (Corbo).

[--]ΠAΥ[--]

Comm.: Several possibilities presented themselves to Corbo and Bagatti, Παύ[λου], [ἀνα]- $\pi$ αύ[σεως] etc.

Bibl.: Corbo, Siyar el-Ghanam 23f. (ed. pr.). – B. Bagatti, SBF 7, 1956/7, 69.

Photo: Corbo, Siyar El-Ghanam pl. 28 fig. 81,8.

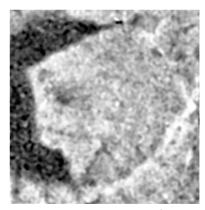


fig. 3288

#### 3289. Greek monogram (?) on stone vessel

Small fragment of a stone vessel; on its outside there is a cross with four letters; below the trace of the handle another letter ("forse ... parte di un secondo monogramma" [Corbo]).

Meas.: h 5.3, d 1.3 cm.

Findspot: At the north wall of the monastery.

(a) H  $\Lambda$   $\Omega$  N (b) A



fig. 3289

Comm.: (a)  $H\lambda\omega\nu$  is so far nowhere found as a personal name.

Bibl.: Corbo, Siyar El-Ghanam 87 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Corbo, Siyar El-Ghanam, pl. 27 fig. 77,3.

WA

#### 3290. Fragment with Greek letters

"I have seen and made a squeeze of a fragment ... It contains nothing but three Greek letters of Byzantine appearance –  $H\Pi O$ , with a large character underneath, like an A laid horizontally" (Clermont-Ganneau). No photograph or drawing was provided.

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 6, 1874, 159.

WA

#### LXXXVI. Kh. el-Makhrum

#### 3291. Greek mosaic inscription mentioning Abbot Aiglon

White mosaic, inscription inside a medallion made of two large circles of black tesserae; letters in black, lines divided by rows of red tesserae.

Meas.: Ø 130 cm.

Findspot: Ruins of a monastery, 6 km east of Bethlehem, a bit south of the street from Bethlehem to Deir Dosi. Mosaic behind the entrance to the complex (cf. the plan in Corbo 152).

ΥΠΕΡ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣΚ∫ ΑΝΤΙΛΗΜΨΈΩΣ ΤΟΥΟΣΙΟΥΠΑΤΡΟΣΗΜ ΩΝΑΙΓΛΩΝΟΣΗΓ ΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΚ∫ΤΉΣΕΝ ΧΩΣΥΝΟΔΙΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ



fig. 3291

ύπὲρ | σωτηρίας κ(αὶ) | ἀντιλήμψεως | τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμ|ῶν Αιγλωνος ἡγ|ουμένου κ(αὶ) τῆς ἐν | Χ(ριστ)ῷ συνοδίας | αὐτοῦ

For the salvation and succor of our holy father, Abbot Aiglon and his community in Christ.

Comm.: Ceramics suggest a date in the 6 c. AD for the site. Since the name Aiglon is not common, Corbo and Halkin believe that the same monk is mentioned in the Synaxarium Eccl. Cp. ed. Delehaye, 896, 45; 903, 50ff. (August 16th); 905, 24 (August 17th); and on August 13th and 14th in the calendar edited by Garitte (p. 84): In Bethleem via, tertio miliario, in Betophor pago, in Cathismate, in Deiparae ecclesia, synaxis, dedicatio, et Aeglonis monachi Scetensis, et Maximi martyris and In Bethoro pago, synaxis de Deipara et memoria beati Aeglonis Scetensis, et sancti Dometii, et Aeliani martyris, as well as on August 21st (p. 85), but only as a later addition to the calendar: Abraham patriarchae, et Deiparae eiusdem, et Bassae martyris et Aeglonis anachoretae eiusdem. The editors conclude that the saint lived here as abbot of the monastery.

Bibl.: L. Harding, RB 61, 1954, 572; Corbo, Siyar el-Ghanam 152f., pl. 45 fig. 143 (edd. prr.). – F. Halkin, AnBoll 76, 1958, 236; BE 1959, 477; Bagatti, Church 293; id., Chiesa II 214f., fig. 18,6 (dr.); Meimaris, Sacred Names 244 no. 1224 (ll.4-6); Ovadiah, MPI 94 no. 157; SEG 37, 1498; J. Moralee, For Salvation's Sake, 2004, 171 no. 317 (ll.1-3); Madden, Corpus 104 no. 142. – Cf. Garitte, Caléndrier; R. Cohen, EAEHL 3, 1977, 882; Magen - Kagan, in: Christians and Christianity II 111.

Photo: Bagatti, Church 293 fig. 165.

WA

# LXXXVII. Kh. "R"

#### 3292. Greek mosaic inscription mentioning Cyriacus

Mosaic panel with fragments of a greek inscription; letters in blue. Meas.: letters 7 cm.

Findspot: To the north of the monastery of Kh. Makhrum there was a small Beduin settlement (cf. the map in Corbo 111 fig. 29, C 6, letter R); the remains of a mosaic pavement in one of the dwellings were tentatively assigned to a chapel by Corbo. Inscription in a band at the side of the mosaic.



fig. 3292

#### [--]K[..]AΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΑΡΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΥ (cross?) MA[--]

[--] κ[αὶ] ἀποκρισιαρ(ίου) Κυριακοῦ ΜΑ[--]

... and of the apocrisiarius Cyriacus ...

Comm.: 6 c. AD, according to Corbo, who compares the letters, especially the *alpha*, with letters of this time in Gerasa (p. 366f.) –  $\kappa(\alpha i)$ ? Between Κυριακοῦ and MA[--] there seems to be a cross not recorded by Corbo. An ἀποκρισιάριος was usually the representative of a bishop or an abbot; the office "was first systematically established by Justinian I" (Magdalino).

Bibl.: Corbo, Siyar El-Ghanam 163f. (ed. pr.). – Ovadiah, MPI 98. – Cf. P. Magdalino, Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium I 1991, 136.

Photo: Corbo, Siyar El-Ghanam, pl. 45 fig. 145.

## LXXXVIII. Kh. Juhzum

#### 3293. Greek invocation on behalf of Theodulus

Stela of "pietra tenera" (Corbo), broken at the top. On one side a six-line Greek inscription on guidelines. On the other side of the stone a relief with two peacocks(?), symbols of immortality. The trees behind the birds are possibly palm trees, showing the victory over death; the whole scene is framed by two columns. It is hard to make sense of the upper part of the relief; Corbo writes: "un drappo o corona con cordami ricadenti sui pavoni."

Meas.: w 28, d 9 cm.

Findspot: In the vicinity of the Byzantine ruin.

[.]E IY XE EΛΕ HΣΟΝΤΟΝΤΑΠΙ NON (monogram) KAΙΑΝ[.] ΠΑΥΣΟΝΤΟΝΔ[--] ΣΟΥΘΕΟΔΟΥ[...] ΜΕΤΑΤΩΝΑΓΙ[..]



fig. 3293.1

[κ(ύρι)]ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)έ, ἐλέ|ησον τὸν ταπι|νὸν (monogram) καὶ ἀν[ά]|παυσον τὸν δ[οῦλόν] | σου Θεόδου[λον] | μετὰ τῶν ἁγί[ων]

Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on the humble ... and let your servant Theodulus rest with the saints.

Comm.: Corbo dates the text to the 6 c. AD. – ll.2f.: on ταπεινότης cf. no. 2706. – l.3: The name is written as a monogram, in the style of a Byzantine seal. The edd. took the monogram to represent the name of Ἐλίας, but the monogram contains a nu as basic element. Ἐλίαν is certainly possible, but in the overwhelming majority of cases, the name of the prophet is written with an eta. The following letters have to be part of the name: nu, lambda, alpha (twice?), epsilon (twice?), iota (?); sigma is possible, if we accept square letters in the monogram, omicron and eta

are not included. We have, therefore, a male name ending on  $-\alpha\varsigma$  (nominative). Is the monogram part of the  $\tau\alpha\pi\epsilon\nu\delta\tau\eta\varsigma$ ? Or did the author of the inscription expect every reader to know who was meant? Theodulus, at least, is not otherwise known.

Bibl.: RB 61, 1954, 573; Corbo, Siyar El-Ghanam 158f. (edd. prr.). – ADAJ 3, 1955, 78f.; SEG 16, 851; Meimaris, Sacred Names 45 no. 238 (ll.1f.), 67 no. 421 (ll.1f.). – Cf. M. Piccirillo, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Je-

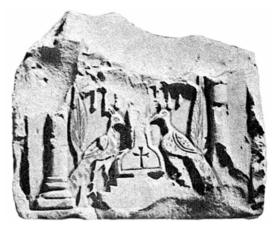


fig. 3293.2

rusalem. Museum, 1983, 61f. (ph.); Ribak, Religious Communities 175f.

Photo: Corbo, Siyar El-Ghanam, pl. 48 figs. 153, 154.

WA

## LXXXIX. Megiste Laura (mod. Mar Saba)

#### 3294. Wall painting with inscriptions

Three saints, identified by inscriptions (a) placed vertically at the sides of each figure; the precise distribution of the words is unknown. (The first two words to the left of a figure? Cf. no. 3211). Inscription (b) is to the left of the figures. No photographs are available.

Findspot: St. Sabas' Monastery, hermitage 29, tower of John Hesychastes: cell, cistern, chapel. On the wall of the chapel's apse.

- (a) ΟΑΓΙΑΝΑΝΙΑΣ ΟΑΓΖΑΧΑΡΙΑΣ ΟΑΓΙΟΣΜΙΣΑΗΛ
- (b) ΙΟΑΝΝΟΥΚΟΛΟΝΙΑΣ
- (a) ὁ ἄγι(ος) Άνανίας ὁ ἄγ(ιος) Ζαχαρίας ὁ ἄγιος Μισαήλ
- (b) Ἰοάννου Κολονίας
- (a) St. Ananias St. Zacharias St. Misael.
- (b) (The oratory) of Ioannes of Colonia.

Comm.: According to Patrich the inscriptions were written by the same hand; (b) makes sense only after the death of John Hesychastes in 559.

- (a) Cf. Dn 3,24 for the names of the saints: οὕτως οὖν προσηύξατο Ανανιας καὶ Αζαριας καὶ Μισαηλ καὶ ὕμνησαν τῷ κυρίῳ, ὅτε αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς προσέταξεν ἐμβληθῆναι εἰς τὴν κάμινον. They are remembered together, and especially on December 16th.
- (b) St. John Hesychastes was Bishop of Colonia in Armenia (Cyril, ed. Schwartz, p. 202) before he went to the Megiste Laura in 491; for his biography see Cyril of Scythopolis, ed. Schwartz, p. 201-22.

Some other inscriptions, which are beyond the chronological scope of this corpus, are associated with the small church, ca. 350 m to the north of the monastery of St. Saba, which is dedicated to St. Saba's mother, Sophia (Beit Sufya; cf. Ovadiah on the church). For St. Sophia, see Cyril, v. Sabae, ed. Schwartz, pp. 87,7, 92,26, 109,6. She died in 657 AD, and one tradition has it that her remains were brought to this place (see below). The church is dated by Meinardus to the end of the 6 c. or the beginning of the 7 c. AD, through the evidence of mosaic tesserae. Inside the church there are some wall paintings – clearly much younger than the church, see Meinardus 345: "The wall-paintings in the Church of St. Sophia belong to two different periods. The three archangels, who adorn the central apse, are identified by the letters  $\Gamma$  for Gabriel, M for Michael and P for Raphael. These paintings as well

as that of Mar Saba at the southern end of the eastern wall of the Church are to be assigned to the XVIIIth to XIXth century. They are colourful and betray a certain primitiveness. The four walls of the church are adorned with late Byzantine (XIIth century) wall-paintings, most of which are sadly damaged, some of them even beyond recognition." The painting of Sabas carries the text:  $\delta$   $\ddot{\alpha}\gamma$ 105  $\Sigma \alpha \beta \beta \ddot{\alpha}$  (cf. on these paintings Patrich 125f. [Hebr.] no. 23; 75\*f.).

To the left of St. Sabas, i.e. at the western end of the south wall the following painted inscription can be read: ή δσία Σοφία, ή μήτηρ τοῦ ἀγίου Σα|ββᾶ, εἶλθεν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου να μονάση, | ἐλέχθη δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ θεὸς κ(αὶ) ἐκοινοβίασεν εἰς τὴν | ἐν Βηθλεὲμ μονὴν τῆς ἀγίας Παύλας. | ἐκεῖ δὲ ἀγωνισθεῖσα καὶ ἁγιάσας (sic). με|τὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τῆς ἔφερον τὰ ἄγια αὐτῆς | λείψανα ὅδε κ(αὶ) ἔκτισαν τὸ παρὸν πα|ρακλήσιον οἱ πατέρες ἐπ' ὀνόματι | τῆς ἁγίας ἐν ἔτη Χ΄Ν΄Ζ μ(ετὰ) Χ(ριστοῦ). Meinardus remarked that the scribe "who wrote XEZ instead of XNZ for 657 was obviously ignorant of the Byzantine numerical system." He was equally ignorant of the late Greek language and formulae, and betrays some signs of modern Greek (να μονάση instead of ἵνα, for instance).

Bibl.: J. Patrich, Archaeological Survey of Israel. Map of Deir Mar Saba (109/7), 1994, 255ff. (ed. pr.). – SEG 43, 1071; R. Milman Baron, SCI 13, 1994, 147 no. 10. – Cf. O. Meinardus, SBF 16, 1965/6, 343ff.; Ovadiah, Corpus Suppl. 1, 254.

WA

# XC. Elah Valley

# 3295. Ossuary of Mariam daughter of Yeshuʿa with Aramaic inscription, 1 c. BCE-2 c. CE

Limestone ossuary with vaulted lid, façade adorned with two six-petaled rosettes separated and surrounded by standard zigzag frame, rosette also on one of the sides. Inscription in Jewish script incised above the frame on the façade. Medial *mem*, except line added to final *mem* in *Mrym*; both *alefs* are missing left leg; incised letter resembling a *yod* or the start of a *mem* about 2 cm to the right of the inscription, apparently a false start for the present text.

Meas.: box: h 26, w 46, d 23 cm; inscription: l. 35.5 cm; letters 1-1.5 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: Purportedly the Elah Valley.

Pres. loc.: IAA.



fig. 3295.1

מריםברת ישועברקיפא כהנממעזיהמביתאמרי

מרים ברת ישוע בר קיפא כהג ממעזיה מבית אמרי

Translit.: mrym brt yšw' br qyp' khn mm'zyh mbyt 'mry

Mariam daughter of Yeshu'a son of Qyp', priest of (the course) Ma'aziya from Beit 'Imri.

י ל ריטברת ושו שבוקולץ כהול לעווהכבית על רו

fig. 3295.2

Comm.: The ossuary was not discovered in controlled excavations but acquired by the IAA; according to the information provided, it came from a single-chamber tomb with loculi; two oil-lamps allegedly found with the box aid in dating. Examination of the patina determined authenticity "beyond any reasonable doubt" (Zissu - Goren). In the absence of context, Zissu and Goren date the box to

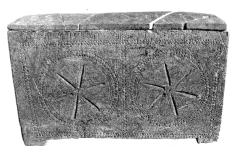


fig. 3295.3

70-135 CE based on the style of ornamentation and the two lamps; yet based on the letter-forms, a date before the destruction of Jerusalem cannot be ruled out.

The inscription is complete and letters clear. The ed. pr. parses *khnm* m'zyh="priests (of) Ma'aziya," but *khn mm*'zyh, seems preferable, for reasons argued by Rollston.

The first editors naturally associated this ossuary with the first-century tomb in the Jerusalem Peace Forest containing 12 ossuaries, among them five inscribed, including two bearing the name Qy/wp, spelled also Qp (CIIP I 461-465, cf. nos. 461 and 463); given the rarity of the name, that association is perfectly acceptable; see detailed discussion of the name in the commentary to CIIP I 461. The Jerusalem cave also contains an ossuary with the name Mariam, daughter of Shim on. The unusual *alef* here, shaped like a V with the left leg missing, is like the *alef* in the other Caiaphas inscriptions, CIIP I 461, 463, but this is not a unique feature (Zissu - Goren 78 give further examples).

One of the main objections to identifying the Jerusalem tomb with the high-priestly family of Joseph Caiaphas known from Josephus, the New Testament and rabbinic literature had been the lack of any indication of priestly background. The present inscription, identifying Qyp as a priest, answers that objection; and see Rollston for extensive new arguments for identifying the Jerusalem tomb as belonging to the high priest Caiaphas' family. The fact that the grandfather of Mariam is not designated "high priest" means most likely that he was not the notorious Joseph Caiaphas.

The present inscription supplies the valuable new information that the Caiaphas priests belonged to Maʿaziya, the last of the 24 priestly courses listed in 1 Chron 24,7-18; cf. also Neh 10,9. These courses had rotating functions in the Temple, and their identity was retained long after the destruction, as attested inter alia by plaques naming all 24 courses put up in later synagogues, examples found so far in Caesarea, Ashkelon, Kissufim, possibly Nazareth, Reḥov and Yemen, cf. the commentary to CIIP II 1145. Beit 'Imri is heretofore unattested; it is probably a toponym, the origin of Mariam and her family; citing the origin of the deceased was a common practice in ossuary epigraphy (see Rahmani, CJO, p. 17). Zissu entertains other interpretations (incl. a family name with biblical roots) but prefers a place-name tentatively identified with the Arab village Beit 'Ummar in the northern Hebron Hills, where remains have been found of a Jewish settlement from the late 1 c. and early 2 c. CE.

Bibl.: B. Zissu - Y. Goren, IEJ 61, 2011, 74-95 (ed. pr.). – E. Villeneuve, Le monde de la Bible 198, 2011, 46ff.; D. Jacobson, PEQ 144, 2012, 1-4; H. Shanks, BAR 38, 2012, 26-33 at 30, 62, 64; C. Rollston, IEJ 62, 2012, 233-43; Baltes 2014, 42f. n.27; M. Avioz, Cathedra 152, 2014, 7-36 at 31 (Hebr.).

Photo: B. Zissu (ph. and dr.).

## XCI. Betholetepha (mod. Beit Nattif)

#### 3296. Fragment of a Greek chancel screen (?)

"On a trouvé cependant ... sur un débris de sarcophage en marbre gris, le fragment grec suivant" (Séjourné).

Meas.: letters 4 cm.

Findspot: Not far from the baptistery.

[--]ΡΟΣΦΟΡΑΝΘΕΩ[--] /// ΡΟCΦΟΡΑΝΘΕω //////
[-- π]ροσφορὰν Θεω[--] fig. 3296
... donation of Theo ...

Comm.: Most likely: [κύριε, πρόσδεξε τὴν π]ροσφορὰν Θεω[δώρου (vel sim.) ... ]
Bibl.: P.-M. Séjourné, RB 7, 1898, 124 (ed. pr.).
Photo: P.-M. Séjourné, RB 7, 1898, 124 (dr.).

# 3297. Burial inscriptions of a Roman soldier, not before the second quarter of the 2 c. AD

(a) Block of limestone, damaged only on the upper right-hand corner; the back is rough; guidelines. (b) Sarcophagus of limestone. The rank of dekadarchos/decurio in both inscriptions is represented by an abbreviation consisting of *chi* and *iota*, written one above the other.

Meas.: (a) h 49, w 70, d 18.5 cm; letters 6.5-7.5 cm; (b) w ca. 1.7 m (based on the scale of the plan).

Findspot: In 1903 a monumental tomb cut in the rock was found ca. 200 meters east of Betholetepha/Beit Nattif ca. 21 km northwest of Hebron. In the interior "a total of 36 kokhim were hewn in two storeys on three walls of the main rectangular chamber (4x5 m). On the wall opposite the entrance, an arcosolium and two columns adorned the upper storey" (Zissu - Klein 211f.); the sarcophagus (b) was placed in the arcosolium; on the left-hand side of the sarcophagus a burial shaft was closed with a block of limestone on which inscription (a) was written.

"Within the grave there were fragments of a marble statue of Aphrodite leaning on a bearded head of Hermes with winged Eros beneath her leg" (Zissu - Klein 212). Pres. loc.: (a) In the Garden of St. Peter in Gallicantu, Jerusalem. Autopsy: 27 May 2014.



fig. 3297.1 (a)

- (a) ΤΙΦΛΟΥΑΛΗΣΦΙΛΗ[--] ΑΠΟ (dekadarchon) ΣΠΕΙΡΗΣΕΠΟΗΣΕ ΕΝΤΟΙΣΙΔΙΟΙΣΕΑΥΤΩ ΚΑΙΙΟΥΛΙΑΟΥΑΛΕΝΤΕΙ ΝΗΕΥΣΕΒΕΣΤΑΤΗΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΑΥΤ++
- (b) TITOS  $\Phi\Lambda$  (hedera) OYA $\Lambda$  A $\Pi$ O (dekadarchon)  $\Phi$  (hedera) I  $\Gamma$  E
- (a) Τί(τος) Φλ(άουιος) Οὐάλη(ν)ς Φιλη[--] | ἀπὸ (δεκαδάρχων) σπείρης ἐπόησε | ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἑαυτῷ | καὶ Ἰουλία Οὐαλεντεί|νη εὐσεβεστάτη γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ
- (b) Τίτος Φλ(άουιος) Οὐάλ(ηνς) ἀπὸ (δεκαδάρχων) | Ὁ (ὐαλεντείνη) Ἰ(ουλία) γ(υναικὶ) ε(ὐσεβεστάτη) οr: φῖγε
- (a) Titus Flavius Valens from Phile... exdecurion of a cohort, built on his own property for himself and for Iulia Valentina, his most dutiful wife (this tomb).
- (b) Titus Flavius Valens exdecurion for Valentina Iulia, his most dutiful wife or: keep away (from this grave)!

Comm.: T. Flavius Valens built the tomb for himself and his wife. Their names are written twice: on the titulus (a) and on the sarcophagus (b).  $\Phi\iota\lambda\eta[--]$  following the name Flavius Valens in (a) can either be understood as his place of origin or as a second cognomen. Since the latter is missing in the abbreviated inscription (b) taking it as place of origin seems more likely. The name of the wife in (a) is Iulia Valentina; in (b) the transmission of the name is problematic: the drawing in Savignac's publication shows only single letters:  $\Phi$  I  $\Gamma$  E. The last two letters seem to be the abbreviation of  $\gamma(\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\lambda)$   $\varepsilon(\upsilon\sigma\varepsilon\beta\varepsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta)$  as in (a); the letters before should be part of the wife's name. However, a  $\Phi$  does not make sense; therefore already Cagnat in

IGR 3, 1207 corrected the Φ to an O and understood O I as O(ὐαλεντείνη) I(ουλία). That the names of the wife should be there is quite plausible, but why should the sequence of the names be changed? On the other hand the epitheta γ(υναικὶ) ε(ὐσεβεστάτη) have also changed their order. Therefore Cagnat's

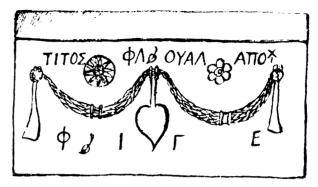


fig. 3297.2 (b)

choice of O instead of  $\Phi$  seems possible; but a suggestion of W. Ameling seems even more likely, according to which  $\Phi$  I  $\Gamma$  E could be a warning against violation of the peace of the grave:  $\Phi$  $\tilde{v}\gamma\epsilon=\Phi\tilde{v}\gamma\epsilon=\Phi\tilde{v}\gamma\epsilon$ ? However, this phrase for a warning has not been attested so far, but the explanation would fit. Furthermore, there would be no need for the change of the order of the abbreviated names of Flavius Valens' wife and one would not be forced to read an O instead of a  $\Phi$ .

Flavius Valens was the commander of a turma in a mounted cohort (cohors equitata); cf. AE 1993, 1300: ex dec(urione) coh(ortis) I Alp(inorum) eq(uitatae) or AE 1909, 150: ex dec(urione) coh(ortis) (milliariae) Hemes(enorum) (the cohors Hemesenorum was an equitata). In the 2 c. AD two cohortes equitatae were part of the army in Syria Palaestina: the cohors I Flavia civium Romanorum and the I Thracum milliaria. This last cohort, mentioned in a diploma from Hebron (no. 3827), might have been stationed near Beit Nattif, where the present inscription was found. The place lies around 21 km northwest of Hebron. Flavius Valens was a Roman citizen by birth; probably his father or his grandfather received the citizenship from one of the Flavian emperors; therefore the inscription should not be dated before the second quarter of the 2 c. AD. He lived in the area of Beit Nattif and had real estate there (ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις); it seems quite likely that he settled there as a veteran. However, the possibility that it was his homeland, and that he went back there after his retirement cannot be ruled out either. In the latter case his cohors could also have been stationed in another province. The property may go back to a land assignation to him personally or to one of his ancestors after the Bar Kochba revolt.

Bibl.: M. Savignac, RB 12, 1903, 291 (ph.), 431-7 at 433f. (ed. pr.). – AE 1903, 362; BE 1904 p. 261; IGR 3, 1207-1208; Kuhnen, Nordwest-Palästina 62, 65; id., Palästina in griechisch-römischer Zeit, 1990, 262; Belayche, Pagan Cults 62f.; O. Stoll, Zwischen Integration und Abgrenzung, 2001, 111; A. Strus, Khirbet Fattir - Bet Gemal, 2003, 26f., fig. 1,6 (ph.); B. Zissu - E. Klein, IEJ 61, 2011, 196-216 at 211f.; O. Stoll, Ehrenwerte Männer. Veteranen im römischen Nahen Osten der Kaiserzeit, 2015, 143f., 226.

Photo: WE; M. Savignac, RB 12, 1903, 433 (dr.).

#### 3298.-3302. Burial Chamber

A burial chamber was found in the course of the construction of a cistern on the property of Mohammad A. Wahhab; it was excavated by the British Mandate Department of Antiquities; the publication by Zissu and Klein depends on the notes, drawings and photographs taken in 1945. A precise location of the tomb was not given; it must have been somewhere to the west of the village. The burial chamber was initially a cistern, later converted to funerary use. It was used as a tomb in the 1 c. and 3-4 c. AD according to lamps and pottery found. The editors also believe that the inscriptions can be dated paleographically to the 3 c. AD.

Bibl.: B. Zissu - E. Klein, IEJ 61, 2011, 196-216.



fig. 3298.A Overview, B. Zissu - E. Klein, IEJ 61, 2011, 206 fig. 8

#### 3298. Greek funerary inscription of Domitius and Proclus

Findspot: Above Kokh 4, see introduction to nos. 3298-3302 fig. A.

ΔΟΜΙΤΙΥΣ ΘΑΡΣΙ ΠΡΟΚΔΟ ΘΑΡΣΙ ΘΥ[--]

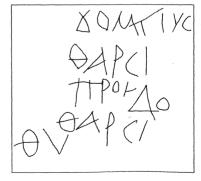


fig. 3298.1

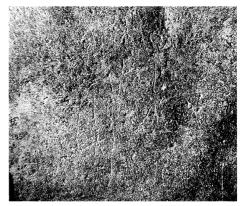


fig. 3298.2

Δομίτιυς, | θάρσι. | Πρόκ λε', | θάρσι. | ΘΥ[--]

Domitius, be brave, Proclus, be brave, ...

Comm.: The graffito is evidently not very well written (perhaps not even at one stroke and not even by the same person). – l.1: o > v in unaccented syllables: Gignac I 293. – l.3: the *kappa* lacks only one stroke. – l.4: It is quite easy to understand θάρσι as ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, if l.5 was intended as the beginning of another name.

Bibl.: B. Zissu - E. Klein, IEJ 61, 2011, 207f. (ed. pr.). - SEG 61, 1422.2.

Photo: IAA Mandate archive; B. Zissu - E. Klein, IEJ 61, 2011, 208 fig. 10 (dr.).

WA

#### 3299. Greek funerary inscription of Gaianus

Findspot: Above Kokh 2, see introduction to nos. 3298-3302 fig. A.

ΘΑΡΣΙ ΓΑΙΑΝ

θάρσι, | Γαιαν<έ>

Be brave, Gaianus.



fig. 3299.1

Bibl.: B. Zissu - E. Klein, IEJ 61, 2011, 206f. (ed. pr.). – SEG 61, 1422.1.

Photo: IAA Mandate archive; B. Zissu - E. Klein, IEJ 61, 2011, 207 fig. 9 (dr.).



fig. 3299.2

WA

### 3300. Greek funerary inscription of Iulia

Meas.: ca. h 40, w 60 cm.

Findspot: Above Kokh 7, not visible on the plan from Zissu - Klein, see introduction to nos. 3298-3302 fig. A.

### ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΘΑΡΣΙ

Ίουλία, | θάρσι

Iulia, be brave.

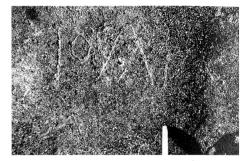


fig. 3300.1

Bibl.: B. Zissu - E. Klein, IEJ 61, 2011, 210f. (ed. pr.). – SEG 61, 1422.5.

Photo: IAA Mandate archive; B. Zissu - E. Klein, IEJ 61, 2011, 210 fig. 13 (dr.).



fig. 3300.2

WA

## 3301. Greek funerary inscription of Partheni(u)s

Meas.: ca. h 40, w 60 cm.

Findspot: Above Kokh 5, see introduction to nos. 3298-3302 fig. A.

#### ΘΑΡΣΙ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙ

θάρσι, | Παρθένι

Be brave, Partheni(u)s.

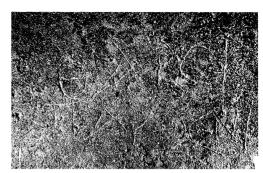


fig. 3301.1

Comm.: Παρθένι is the vocative either of the female Parthenis or of the male Parthenius.

Bibl.: B. Zissu - E. Klein, IEJ 61, 2011, 208f. (ed. pr.). – SEG 61, 1422.3.

Photo: IAA Mandate archive; B. Zissu - E. Klein, IEJ 61, 2011, 209 fig. 11 (dr.).



fig. 3301.2

WA

## 3302. Greek funerary inscription of Zanatus

Meas.: ca. h 40, w 50 cm.

Findspot: Above Kokh 6, see introduction to nos. 3298-3302 fig. A.

ΘΑΡΣΙ ZANATE

θάρσι, | Ζανατε

Be brave, Zanatus.



fig. 3302.1

Comm.: The editors refer to the name in Beroia (Macedonia), LGPN 4, 141, and in a late antique inscription from Egypt (Preisigke, NB 117). Zanatis is a known Illyrian name (perhaps related to the Macedonian example of Zanatus, L. Gounaropoulou - G. Touratsoglou, Επιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας 1. Επιγραφές Βέροιας, 1998 no. 134

1.23), but cf. no. 3326: Ζανα θυγάτηρ Νόνας; CIIP I 828: Zanna (with comm.); SEG 32, 1450 (Berytos): καὶ τοῦ κύρου Ζανάγονος, treated as a Semitic name by the first editor, Rey-Coquais; Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 49 has Ζαναθος, Ζανναθη.

Bibl.: B. Zissu - E. Klein, IEJ 61, 2011, 210 (ed. pr.). – SEG 61, 1422.4.

Photo: IAA Mandate archive; B. Zissu - E. Klein, IEJ 61, 2011, 210 fig. 12 (dr.).



fig. 3302.2

WA

## XCII. Ḥ. Luzit (Deir Dubban)

#### 3303.-3306. Complex of bell-shaped caves

The complex of bell-shaped underground caves at H. Luzit/Deir Dubban consists of ca. 20 caves merging one into the other (see plan and sections in Zissu - Kloner 51 fig. 5). The caves were set up as quarries to extract the local soft limestone: to this end round shafts of 0.8-1.2 m in diameter and 2-4 m deep were pierced through the upper layers of hard rock to reach the soft layers beneath, which then were quarried by widening out the mining site laterally and downwards, leaving caves of conical shape. The use of these caves is dated approximately to the late Roman and early Islamic periods, mainly on the basis of a great number of crosses and several Greek and Arabic inscriptions found in the caves. Of the Greek inscriptions four have been published so far: nos. 3303-3305 and a few letters of another inscription (no. 3306); for the Arabic inscriptions cf. CIAP 3 p. 25ff.

Bibl.: B. Zissu - A. Kloner, Opera Ipogea 16, 2014, 47-60; CIAP 3 pp. 20-35.

#### 3303. Greek invocation to St. Isidorus on behalf of Stephanus

Inscription carved into the wall; the writing is framed by a rectangular single line. The last three letters in the third line are significantly larger than the first three; as a result there was not enough space at the end of the line to include the ligature of *omicron* and *upsilon*. The writer had to supplement something like a fourth line, placing the ligature to the left of the lower part of the fourth letter and below the third letter of l.3. Letters of "a rather monumental scale" (Zissu - Kloner 56).

Findspot: On the wall at the top of Cave 7, close to the opening of the "light shaft." Pres. loc.: In situ.

ΑΓΙΕΊΣΙΔ ΩΡΉΒΟΗΘΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝ ΟΥ

άγιε Ἰσίδ|ωρη, βοήθι | Στεφάν|ου

Holy Isidorus, help Stephanus.



fig. 3303

Comm.: Zissu - Kloner: "We assume that Isidore/os was a local saint." Cf. no. 3304. – No St. Isidorus is known in Meimaris, Sacred Names. One might think of Isidorus of Alexandria or rather of Isidorus of Pelusium. – ll.3f.: Grammatically incorrect.

Bibl.: B. Zissu - A. Kloner, Opera Ipogea 16, 2014, 51 fig. 5 (plan), 56ff., figs. 19, 21 (ph.) (ed. pr.). Photo: B. Zissu.

WA

#### 3304. Greek invocation to St. Isidorus

Letters carved into a wall consisting of (at least) two lines; the right part of the second line is covered by the soil forming the present floor level of the cave. Letters of "a rather monumental scale" (Zissu - Kloner 56).

Findspot: On the wall at the bottom of Cave 7. Pres. loc.: In situ.

(cross) A  $\Gamma$  I E I  $\Sigma$  I  $\Delta$   $\Omega$  P H B O H  $\Theta$  [--]

(cross) ἄγιε Ἰσίδωρη | βοήθ[ει --]

Holy Isidorus, help ...

Comm.: On Isidore, see no. 3303.

Bibl.: B. Zissu - A. Kloner, Opera Ipogea 16, 2014, 51 fig. 5 (plan), 56ff., figs. 19f. (ph.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: B. Zissu.

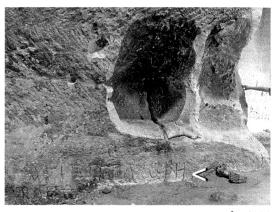


fig. 3304

WA

#### 3305. Cross with abbreviated nomina sacra

Latin cross with forked endings incised into the rock face. Greek letters, incised much more shallowly, are on each side of the vertical bar and above and below the crossbar.

Findspot: On a wall of one of the bell-shaped caves.

Pres. loc.: In situ.

 $\overline{I\Sigma} \ \overline{X}\overline{X}$  A  $\Omega$ 

Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς | Α Ω

Jesus Christ. Alpha (and) Omega.

Comm.: l.2: cf. CIIP II 1154 l.2 (comm.).

Bibl.: B. Zissu - A. Kloner, Opera Ipogea 16, 2014, 51 fig. 5 (plan), 56 caption to fig. 18 (ed. pr.).

Photo: B. Zissu - A. Kloner, Opera Ipogea 16, 2014, 56 fig. 18.



fig. 3305

WA

#### 3306. Three letters of a Greek inscription

"Cave 3 is a very large enclosure, which includes a passage, or rather a large room without a hole in its roof, leading to cave 4 to its south. The eastern wall of this enclosure is covered with 8 [Arabic] inscriptions of various sizes, from the ground level to a height of 6 m. More inscriptions are still buried under the rubble that presently forms the floors of the caves. Three letters from a Greek inscription ... are still visible about 1 m above the ground between two Arabic inscriptions" (CIAP 3 p. 26).

Findspot: See description; Cave 3 in CIAP is equivalent to Cave 10 on the plan in B. Zissu - A. Kloner, Opera Ipogea 16, 2014, 51 fig. 5. Pres. loc.: In situ.

**ΚΥΡ**[--]

Comm.: The first editor took it to be the beginning of a "kyrie eleison," but another invocation, e.g.  $\varkappa \acute{\nu} \rho \iota \epsilon$ ,  $\beta \acute{\nu} \acute{\eta} \theta \epsilon \iota$  ..., is possible, and one might think of a number of other supplements, e.g. the beginning of a personal name.

Bibl.: CIAP 3 p. 26f. (ed. pr.).

#### 3307.-3310. Funerary caves near H. Luzit

A group of burial caves was found (at first, by grave robbers) between Agur and Ḥ. Luzit, 8 km north of Beit Guvrin. Cave 1 is a rectangular burial cave with three arcosolia (fig. A); it contains nos. 3307-3309; the blocking stone at the entrance is still in situ. Small finds date from the 6-8 c. AD. Cave 3 follows roughly the design of Cave 1 (fig. B); it contains no. 3310.

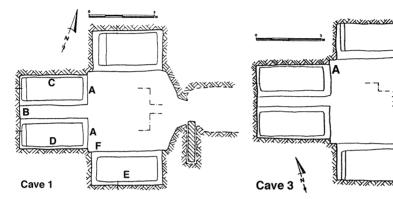


fig. 3307.A Ground plan, G. Avni - U. Dahari, CAHL 302 fig. 1

fig. 3307.B Ground plan, G. Avni - U. Dahari, CAHL 304 fig. 4

#### 3307. Greek funerary inscription of Aianis the goldsmith

Meas.: letters (a), (c, d) 15 cm; (b) 10-12 cm.

Findspot: Cave 1; inscription (a) is on both outer sides of the western arcosolium; inscription (b) is on the rear wall of the western arcosolium; inscriptions (c, d) are on each side wall, above the two graves in the western arcosolium; to the left of (d) on the drawing fig. 3, nos. 3308a-c and 3309 are visible. Below (b) and in the middle of both texts (c) and (d) is a rosette. Cf. introduction to nos. 3307-3310 fig. A, nos. A-D.

- (a) (cross) AIANI $\Sigma$
- (b) (cross)  $XPY\Sigma OXO\Sigma$  (cross)  $AIANI\Sigma$  (rosette)
- (c)  $T\Omega$  (rosette)  $\Pi O\Sigma$
- (d)  $T\Omega$  (rosette)  $\Pi O\Sigma$
- (a) Άιανίς
- (b) χρυσοχός | Άιανίς
- (c) τώπος
- (d) τώπος



fig. 3307.1 (a, b)

- (a) Aianis.
- (b) Goldsmith Aianis.
- (c) Burial place.
- (d) Burial place.

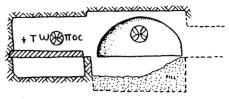


fig. 3307.2 (c)

Comm.: (a) Di Segni derives Aianis from Aianes or Aianius, cf. no. 3023. – (b) l.1: For the loss of the vowel, cf. SEG 42, 541 (Nea Anchialos): Συμεωνίου χρυσοχοῦ; Μ. Segre, Iscrizioni di Cos II 2007, 13 EF 27: ἀπολλώνιος χρυσοχός ("età imperiale"?); TAM 3,1, 917 (Termessos); MAMA 3, 394, 517 (Korykos). – (c, d) Since there are two burial places here, Aianis wanted at least one other member of his family to be buried with him.

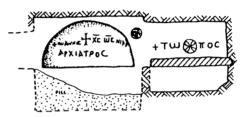


fig. 3307.3 (d)

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, CAHL 315f. nos. 1-4 (ed. pr.). – SEG 40, 1486 (a), 1487 (b), 1488 (c, d). – Cf. ESI 5, 1986, 60 (=HA 88, 25 [Hebr.]); G. Avni - U. Dahari, CAHL 301ff., 307ff., 313f.; Feissel, Chroniques 238 no. 766; B. Zissu - A. Kloner, Opera Ipogea 16, 2014, 51, 56ff.

Photo: G. Avni - U. Dahari, CAHL 302 figs. 1 and 2 (ph. and dr.).



fig. 3307.4

WA

## 3308. Greek funerary inscription of Ioannis the archphysician

Meas.: letters: (a) 8, (b) 10, (c) 10-15 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 3307-3310 fig. A, no. E. On drawing fig. 2, nos. 3309 and 3307d are visible to the right.

- (a) (cross)  $I\Omega ANNI\Sigma$
- (b) ΑΡΧΙΑΤΡΟΣ
- (c) (cross)  $\overline{X}\overline{\Sigma}\overline{\Omega}\overline{\Sigma}NIKA$
- (a) Ίωάννις
- (b) ἀρχιατρός
- (c) Χ(ριστό)ς ΩΣ νικᾶ
- (a) Ioannis
- (b) Chief physician
- (c) Christ ... wins.



fig. 3308.1 (a-c)

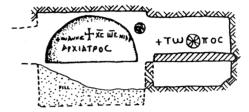


fig. 3308.2 (a-c)

Comm.: Di Segni, SEG, and Samama take (a) and (b) to be one inscription; since there is only one grave, there seems no doubt that Ioannis and the chief physician are one and the same person; but it does not seem likely that (a) and (b) were written by the same person (or at least at the same time): 1) the letters are different: square sigma and lunate sigma; theoretically, (a) and (c) could have been written by the same hand at the same time; 2) text (b) takes into account the presence of the large cross in front of (c): the last four letters are lower than the first letters. – (c) The letters  $\Omega\Sigma$  are marked as an abbreviation; it is therefore impossible to neglect them; however, an abbreviation  $\Omega\Sigma$  is hitherto unknown (and we do not want to try  $\delta\sigma \log_2$ όσιώτατος), and Di Segni has to turn to the "perilous field of heretic cosmology" to look for attributes of Christ starting with omicron or omega and ending with sigma. The suggestions are anything but convincing, and seem perilous indeed: ώραῖος (one of the six emanations of the son in Ophite mythology), ἀμοφόρος (the demiurge of the Manichaeans, carrying the world on his shoulders), δδός, όδηγός, όμοούσιος, όλόθεος (very rare according to Lampe), όμόθεος are proposed, and Di Segni likes the last word best, but knows that there is no certainty about it. Since this is a square alphabet, the simplest solution would be that the mason originally wanted to write a *theta* (but we usually find: Χριστὸς ὁ θεός).

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, CAHL 316ff. nos. 5-6 (ed. pr.). – SEG 40, 1489 (a, b); 1490 (c); É. Samama, Les médecins dans le monde grec, 2003, 469f. no. 386 (a, b). – Cf. ESI 5, 1986, 60 (=HA 88, 25 [Hebr.]); G. Avni - U. Dahari, CAHL 301ff., 307ff., 313f.; Feissel, Chroniques 238 no. 766.

Photo: L. Di Segni, CAHL 316 (dr.); G. Avni - U. Dahari, CAHL 302 fig. 1 (dr.).

#### 3309. Greek acclamation

Inscription in a circle.

Meas.: ø ca. 24 cm.

Findspot: Cave 1, on the outer face of the arch; see introduction to nos. 3307-3310 fig. A, no. F. See also no. 3308 fig. 2, where the inscription is visible in the center between no. 3308a-c to the left and no. 3307d to the right.

 $\begin{array}{l} \text{(cross)} \, \overline{\overline{X}} \Sigma \\ \text{NIKA} \overline{X} \overline{\Sigma} \\ \text{BA} \Sigma \text{I} \Lambda \text{I} \\ \text{E} \Upsilon \end{array}$ 

Χ(ριστό)ς | νικᾶ, Χ(ριστό)ς | βασιλ{ι}|εύ(ει)

Christ wins, Christ reigns.

Comm.: For the formula, cf. no. 2804.



fig. 3309

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, CAHL 318 no. 7 (ed. pr.). – SEG 40, 1491. – Cf. ESI 5, 1986, 60 (=HA 88, 25 [Hebr.]); Feissel, Chroniques 238 no. 766.

Photo: L. Di Segni, CAHL 317 (dr.).

WA

## 3310. Greek funerary inscription of Ioannes

Inscription in tabula ansata.

Findspot: Cave 3, above the northern throughway; see introduction to nos. 3307-3310 fig. B, no. A.

#### ΙΩΑΝΝΙΟΥ

'Ιωαννίου

Of Ioannes.

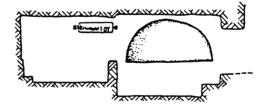


fig. 3310

Comm.: IG 14, 130 (Syracuse): ὁ μακαρίας μνήμης Ἰωάννιος; IGLS 13,1, 9115: ἐ[πὶ Φλ(αουίου) Οὐαλερί]ου Εὐσεβ[ίου, Ἰωάν]νιου τοῦ μεγ[αλοπρ(επεστάτου)] κόμ(ητος). Usually, names developed like this in Late Antiquity: Ἀρτέμιος > Ἀρτέμις=Ἀρτέμης;

### 734 XCII. Ḥ. Luzit (Deir Dubban)

in the present case, people tried to be overcorrect and believed Ἰωάννης to be a shortened version of Ἰωάννις < Ἰωάννιος.

Bibl.: G. Avni - U. Dahari, CAHL 303f. (ed. pr.).

Photo: G. Avni - U. Dahari, CAHL 304 fig. 4 (dr.).

WA

## XCIII. Kh. Jannaba et-Taḥta

## 3311. Greek mosaic inscription

Inscription in a tabula ansata; only the right part was brought to the museum (shown in italics).

Meas.: h 0.62, w 2.51 m; letters 5.5-8 cm.

Findspot: The architectural function of the room is not entirely clear: Dauphin 116 suggests a one-room chapel or part of a monastic complex.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh and Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1975-933. Autopsy: 5 June 2014 (WE, only the right fragment in the Rockefeller Museum).



fig. 3311.1

[--]ΥΘΕΟΦΙΛΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ [--]ΑΝΟΥΠΡΕΣΒ∫ΕΓΕΝΕΤ∫ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝΤΗΣΨΙΦΟΣΕΟΣ Τ΄ΝΔ∫ Τ΄Β,

[ἐπὶ το]ῦ θεοφιλεστάτου | [--]ανου πρεσβ(υτέρου) ἐγένετ(ο) τὸ | ἔργον τῆς ψιφόσεος, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιβ'

*Under the most God-loving priest ...anus the work of the mosaic was made, indiction 12.* 

Comm.: Dauphin thinks that the letters point to the 6 c., viz. 504, 519, 534, 549, 564, 579, 594 AD. – l.2: [ ${}^{1}\text{L}\omega\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ]vou Meimaris.



fig. 3311.2 (in situ, before transport to IAA)

Bibl.: HA 57/58, 1976, 27f. (Hebr.); Meimaris, Sacred Names 196 no. 983 (ll.1f.) (edd. prr.). – C. Dauphin, Atiqot 20, 1991, 112f. with plan, 116; SEG 41, 1563; BE 1992, 647; R. Avner, ESI 16, 1997, 114-7 (=HA 104, 103ff. [Hebr.]); Ribak, Religious Communities 175.

Photo: IAA; C. Dauphin, Atiqot 20, 1991, 133 fig. 3.

# XCIV. Socho (mod. H. Sokho, Kh. Shuweika)

#### 3312.-3313. Byzantine building near H. Sokho

Two-room structure at the foot of H. Sokho (Gudovitch, plan 1; Magen - Kagan 122 fig. 235.2). Both rooms were paved with mosaics dated to the 5 c. AD; benches at the walls of the northern room. An apse may have been intended for this room, but was never built. Two inscriptions were set into the mosaic pavement of the northern room.

Bibl.: S. Gudovitch, Atiqot 28, 1996, 17\*-23\* (Hebr.), 197 (ES); Ribak, Religious Communities 221f.; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 121f. no. 235.

# 3312. Greek mosaic inscription mentioning Anastasis, Paulus, Paula and Alexandr..., 5 c. AD

Inscription in a tabula ansata, the lines divided by rows of black tesserae. Meas.: letters 7-8 cm.

Findspot: At the eastern end of the north room, above and attached to the central carpet of the mosaic floor decorated with a scale pattern. The tabula ansata has nearly the width of the carpet.

(cross) ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣΔΙΑΚ (cross) ΠΑΥΛΟΣΜΟΝΑΖ (cross) ΠΑΥΛΗΜΟΝΑΖ (cross) ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΜΟΝΑΖ



fig. 3312

Άναστάσις διάκ(ονος). | Παῦλος μονάζ(ων). | Παύλη μονάζ(ουσα). | Άλεξανδρ(--) μοναζ(--)

Anastasis, the deacon. Paulus, the monk. Paula, the nun. Alexandr..., living a monastic life.

Comm.: The mosaics are dated to the 5 c. AD. Gudovitch, probably inspired by no. 3313, thought these inscriptions to be funerary, but since this mosaic was part of the original interior decoration and gives no indication of covering earlier graves, one may tend to interpret these names as the names of donors (cf. Tzaferis). -1.4: ἀλεξάνδρ(α) μονάζ(ουσα) Meimaris, Tzaferis, SEG, but Feissel pointed out that

Alexandr(--) could have been a monk, too. The abbreviation stroke here is differently executed from the other ones, completely horizontal, thus transforming the combination of *rho* and abbreviation mark into a staurogram.

Bibl.: Meimaris, Sacred Names 174 no. 882 (l.1), 234 no. 1167 (ll.1-4) (ed. pr.). – Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 135f.; S. Gudovitch, Atiqot 28, 1996, 17\*-23\* fig. 2 (Hebr.), 197 (ES); V. Tzaferis, ibid. 25\*ff. (Hebr.), 197f. (ES); SEG 46, 2002. – Cf. ESI 1, 1982, 107 (=HA 78/79, 82f. [Hebr.]); P. Figueras, in: Archéologie Chrétienne 1781; Feissel, Chroniques 239 no. 769f.; Ribak, Religious Communities 221; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 121 fig. 235,1.

Photo: V. Tzaferis, Atiqot 28, 1996, 25\* fig. 1.

WA

#### 3313. Greek funerary mosaic inscription above the grave of Ioannes

Mosaic inscription set in a rectangular frame; lines separated by rows of red tesserae. Meas.: h 1.9, w 0.85 m.

Findspot: Below no. 3312, in the northeastern corner of a carpet with scale pattern. The inscription was later inserted into the floor, evidently to cover the burial place (ll.2f.: καὶ ἔνθα κεῖται). The space below the mosaic was not excavated.

(cross) ΕΚΥΜΗΘΗΚΑΙ ΑΝΕΠΑΗΚΑΙΕΝ ΘΑΚΕΙΤΑΙΟΘΕ ΟΣΕΒΕΣΤΑΤΟ ΣΗΜΩΝΙΩΑΝ ΝΗΣΟΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕ ΡΟΣΕΝΜΗΙΟΥΛΛΙ ΩΛΙΝΔΙΔΩΔΕ ΚΑΤΗΣΚΑΙΟΚΣ ΙΣΧΣΠΡΟΣΔΕΞ ΗΤΑΙΤΗΝΔΕΗΣΙ ΝΑΥΤΟΥΑΜΗΝ



fig. 3313

ἐκυμήθη καὶ | ἀνεπάη καὶ ἔν|θα κεῖται ὁ θε|οσεβέστατο|ς ἡμῶν Ἰωάν|νης ὁ πρεσβύτε|ρος ἐν μη(νὶ) Ἰουλλί|ω λ΄, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δωδε|κάτης. καὶ ὁ κ(ύριο)ς | Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς προσδέξ|ηται τὴν δέησι|ν αὐτοῦ. ἀμήν

Our most pious Ioannes, the presbyter, slept and came to rest on July 30th, indiction 12, and lies here. And may the Lord Jesus Christ receive his supplication. Amen.

Comm.: ll.2f.: The formula is longer than usual because the priest's burial in (his? the?) church is especially noted. – ll.7f.: For this kind of gemination, cf. Gignac I 155f., who remarks especially (156): "Latin l is sometimes transcribed by  $\lambda\lambda$ , e.g.  $\lambda\pi\rho\iota\lambda\lambda\iota\omega\nu$ " – ll.10ff.: cf. no. 2727. Tzaferis understood "prayer."

Bibl.: Meimaris, Sacred Names 46 no. 248 (ll.9-12), 58 no. 351 (ll.9-12), 69 no. 439 (ll. 9-12), 200f. no. 1012 (ll.1-7) (ed. pr.). – Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 135f.; S. Gudovitch, Atiqot 28, 1996, 17\*-23\* fig. 2 (Hebr.), 197 (ES); V. Tzaferis, ibid. 25\*ff. (Hebr.), 197f. (ES); SEG 46, 2003. – Cf. ESI 1, 1982, 107 (=HA 78/79, 82f. [Hebr.]); P. Figueras, in: Archéologie Chrétienne 1781; Feissel, Chroniques 239 no. 769; Ribak, Religious Communities 221; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christianity II 121.

Photo: V. Tzaferis, Atiqot 28, 1996, 25\* fig. 2.

WA

#### 3314. Fragmentary Greek inscription

Basalt. The stone is known only from the photograph, cf. no. 3315.

Meas.: h 27, w 26 cm.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 1987-6603 (non vidi, only a poor photograph is preserved).

[--][AI[--]

[--]+KT[--] [--]+N+[--]

Comm.: Perhaps part of the same inscription as no. 3315, since the two stones were found together and the lettering seems to be similar. -1.2: first letter *epsilon* or xi. -1.3: last letter *epsilon* or *theta*.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.

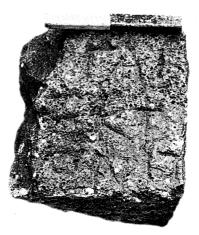


fig. 3314

#### 3315. Fragmentary Greek inscription

The stone is known only from the poor photograph, cf. no. 3314. Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 1987-6603 (non vidi, see above).

[--]ΥΕΝΘ[--] [--]Υ++[--]

Comm.: Perhaps part of the same inscription as no. 3314, since the two stones were found together and the lettering seems similar. The straight upper edge is perhaps an indicator that we have part of the upper two lines. – l.1: [--]Y ἐν θ[ε $\tilde{\omega}$ ]? But this is a formula uncommon in Palestine.



fig. 3315

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.

WA

# XCV. Kh. Umm er-Rus esh-Shamaliya (H. Beth Bad)

#### 3316.-3318. Church with Greek and Christian Palestinian Aramaic inscriptions

During excavations at the site located ca. 2 km east of Beit Nattif in 1898, a basilica church dating to the 6-7 c. AD was found. The church consists of the prayer hall and a narthex containing polychrome mosaic pavements. The center of the floor of the narthex was decorated with a square mosaic panel showing a geometrical pattern of intertwined bands and crosses. Three passages led to the prayer hall, with a semicircular external apse at its rear wall. The room was divided into a broad central nave and two narrower aisles by two rows of three columns. The floor of the prayer hall was paved with a mosaic forming several panels and carpets showing different, partly sophisticated, geometrical designs. In front of the apse a raised bema was installed, the borders of which show slots for the mounting of a chancel screen. At the eastern end of the southern aisle a tomb was discovered. Cf. the plan in Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 127 fig. 238,3.

# 3316. Bilingual Greek and Christian Palestinian Aramaic mosaic inscription mentioning a lord Ioannes, 6 c. AD (?)

The mosaic starts directly behind the screen; at its bottom there is an amphora with two vine tendrils going left and right; above the amphora a crux gemmata with gabled arms (Jeremias compares the form of the cross with other crosses); inscriptions above and below the arms of the cross; the Greek inscription is written in red below the right horizontal arm; in the remaining three quarters around the cross there are Christian Palestinian Aramaic inscriptions, the two on the left side are also in red, but the one in the upper right quarter in blue. Above the cross, a Hercules knot.

Findspot: On the floor of the raised bema, in front of the altar. Pres. loc.: Destroyed (according to Mallon).

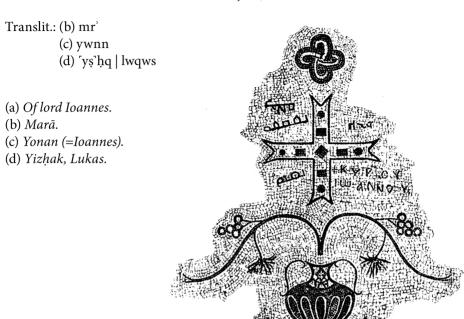


fig. 3316

Comm.: 6 c. AD according to Vincent. Schwartz saw this text as yet another piece of evidence for the parish's participation "in an ecclesiastical hierarchy, and sometimes also in a political system, by naming bishops' representatives, by specifying the rank of the local clergy, and by noting gifts from prominent outsiders" – but as far as one can see this text does not do it. The main interest of the text lies in its bilingual nature, "woraus man schließen möchte, daß die Dorfgemeinde aramäisch sprach" (Dalman). The mosaicist, however, was more comfortable executing a Greek than an Aramaic inscription.

(a) Abel, followed by Bagatti, read Κύρου, Ἰωάννου and thought of the two Egyptian martyrs (cf. Gisler and Cozzolino, quoted by Schiemenz, who gives an overview of the status quaestionis). Others took the two words together ("verisimilius" SEG), which still gave rise to two different interpretations, both referring to the Christian Palestinian Aramaic text for confirmation: 1) St. John, translating the Christian Palestinian Aramaic as "Saint John, Jonas priest" (e.g. Avi-Yonah; Halkin 1941; 1949; Ovadiah); St. John is, then, St. John the baptist, or (to give Abel credit) St. John of Menuthis; 2) Dalman saw here the name of the benefactor; this was endorsed by Thomsen, and followed by Halkin 1953, Ribak ("dedicatory inscription"). The second interpretation seems to be correct: a) the Aramaic text (see below) translates χύρου as marā, which cannot be interpreted as the translation of the Greek saint's name; b) Meimaris, Sacred Names 100-36 (New Testament figures, apostles, confessors and martyrs) has almost no example for χῦρος in the

place of ἄγιος (but see 118 no. 634 [Umm es-Surab]: κ(ύρι)ε καὶ ἄγιε Σέργι [κ(αὶ)] Στέφανε ...); κύριος (Lampe s.v. A 2) may be applied to an apostle, but this seems to be rare - and the shortened form would be rarer still (Delehaye 59ff. discusses terms related to sanctus or ἄγιος; he has some examples for dominus/-a, but quotes only one example of the Greek version, κυρία Λουκία, C. Wessel, Inscriptiones Graecae Christianae Veteres, 1989, 113 no. 456/8 [Syracuse: ἀνεπαύσετο τῆ ἑορτῆ τῆς κυρίας μου Λουκίας, where the designation of the saint as κυρία may be said to be inspired by personal relation; τῆς ἁγίας μου Λουκίας seems hardly possible]. It is simply not enough to support Schiemenz' going back to the idea that the two Alexandrian saints were named in order to guard the altar against demons, together with other apotropaic signs, e.g. the Hercules knot, a crux gemmata. He continues (p. 113): "Die griechische Inschrift ... hat damit Amulettcharakter. Amulettinschriften sind aber häufig unverständlich"; he identifies the Syro-Aramaic texts as "Amulett-Texte" too, and: "Außerdem besteht die Möglichkeit, daß der Mosaizist eben wegen ihres Amulettcharakters auch die griechische Inschrift nicht mehr verstanden hat und unfreiwillig die Annomination des Kyrillos wiederholte, indem er zwar den Text seiner Vorlage richtig kopierte, aber schon er ihn als Κυρίου Ἰωάννου verstand und in der syrischen Inschrift als Mar Johannes wiedergab." Schiemenz is also wrong about a number of minor points [e.g. κῦρος "unpassend für einen Stifter"; his final idea was inspired or supported by the Herculean knot, namely that the texts of the inscription were simply apotropaic in character]). Of course, κῦρος is perfectly normal and not a "sign of illiteracy" (Macalister). (WA)

(b-d) Vincent (1899) declared that the CPA text "resists being read," which has been the opinion of most scholars (e.g. Milik: "its reading is practically hopeless"; Bar-Asher 1975: "not yet deciphered"; Beyer: "illegible"; Müller-Kessler: "its content is unclear"). The first (top right) quadrant contains one word, namely marā. The word in the third (bottom left) quadrant appears clearly in the copy of the image in Vincent 1899 as yūnūn; the photograph is less clear, but it seems reasonable to suppose that these two words in the first and third quadrants give a Syriac rendering of the Greek words in the second (bottom right) quadrant: "lord John." The fourth (top left) quadrant contains two words, which Dalman read as yōnā kāhēn (repeated in Avi-Yonah 1934 without attribution), though, as Milik pointed out, this is "highly doubtful" and indeed does not conform at all well to the letters that are there. The upper word is written back-to-front and clearly ends in hq; one letter dips below the line, which is only likely to be a tsadi, and the other is no more than a minor stroke, probably a yod; assuming that the first two letters have been accidentally (or intentionally) reversed, this would yield the name Isaac Yizḥaq. The first three letters of the lower word seem to be lamed vav qof; following that, one could either see another vav or, if the slight gap at the top is intentional, yod nun; the last letter, though the end of it is damaged, is most likely a samekh. Most likely, we should take this as a form of the name Luke (lwgws or lwgynws). Possibly, these two names refer to those who made the mosaic or contributed towards the cost of it or of the church. (RH)

Bibl.: L. Vincent, RB 7, 1898, 611ff. (a); G. Dalman, PJb 10, 1914, 27f. pl. 6 (b-d) (edd. prr.). - L. Vincent, RB 8, 1899, 452-7; R. Macalister, PEQ 31, 1899, 201f.; J. Strzygowski, BZ 9, 1900, 297; A. Jacoby, Das geographische Mosaik von Madaba, 1905, 18f. no. 26; R. Horning, ZDPV 32, 1909, 133f.; F.-M. Abel, RB 28, 1919, 247; A. Mallon, Biblica 3, 1922, 504; M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 3, 1934, 45f. no. 326 (repr. in: id., Art in Ancient Palestine, 1981, 348f. no. 326); H. Leclercq, DACL 13, 1937, 147ff., figs. 9325f., 820f.: SEG 8, 228; F. Halkin, AnBoll 59, 1941, 306f.; id., AnBoll 71, 1953, 337f.; J. Milik, RB 60, 1953, 527 no. 1; B. Bagatti, SBF 7, 1956/7, 83f.; Ovadiah, Corpus 128 no. 130; M. Bar-Asher, Palestinian Syriac, 1975, 117 no. 142 (Hebr.); G. Schiemenz, in: G. Koch ed., Studien zur spätantiken und frühchristlichen Kunst und Kultur des Orients, 1982, 72ff., 84, 110, 113f.; Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 133ff. pl. 19; Beyer, Aramäische Texte 405; Meimaris, Sacred Names 101 no. 597; Bagatti, Judaea 139f.; R. Hoyland, in: M. Macdonald ed., The Development of Arabic as a Written Language, 2010, 37ff. no. 6; M. Bar-Asher, in: Leshonit Rishonim. Studies in the Language of the Bible, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and Aramaic, 2012, 326 (Hebr.); Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 126f., fig. 238,1; Figueras, Pagan Image 159 fig. 910; Madden, Corpus 134f. no. 199. - Cf. M. Gisler, Kaphargamala, 1923; H. Delehaye, Sanctus, 1927; F. Halkin, AnBoll 67, 1949, 71; P. Thomsen, TLZ 76, 1951, 548f.; Jeremias 350 n.52; H. Brandenburg, RQ 64, 1969, 115ff.; C. Cozzolino, Salesianum 41, 1979, 111ff.; A. Desreumaux, Semitica 37, 1987, 100; C. Müller-Kessler, Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen 1, 1991, 12f.; M. Avi-Yonah - R. Cohen - A. Ovadiah, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 314; Schwartz, Imperialism 286; S. Gibson, The Cave of John the Baptist, 2004, 137, 345; Ribak, Religious Communities 141.

Photo: L. Vincent, RB 8, 1899, 454.

WA/RH

### 3317. Greek inscription on piece of furniture mentioning Eugenia and Elpidia

Part of a sarcophagus or of its covering according to Vincent, a "lower fragment of a tombstone ... broken in two pieces" according to Macalister. But the text does not read as a funerary inscription but rather as a donation; therefore one would guess that this fragment was part of a marble screen or rather part of a table (if we trust the drawing). Meas.: w 78 cm; letters 4.2 cm.

Findspot: The fragment was found, with other marble debris, in the mosaic floor of the apse, evidently used to repair this floor. The way the stone was used seems to make it clear that Eugenia and Elpidia are no longer commerated at the time of these repairs.

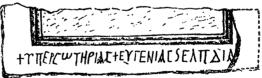


fig. 3317

(cross) YPEPSQTHPIAS (cross) EYFENIAS  $\triangle A$  EAHAIA[.]

ύπὲρ σωτηρίας Εὐγενίας (καὶ) Ἐλπ<ι>δία[ς]

For the salvation of Eugenia and Elpidia.

Comm.: ἔλπδι (sic). ἀ[μήν] Macalister. The omission of a vowel between consonants is not rare if the following syllable contains the same vowel (but this is mostly the case with liquids and nasals). – Mallon compares this text with no. 3320.

Bibl.: L. Vincent, RB 7, 1898, 612f. (ed. pr.). – R. Macalister, PEQ 31, 1899, 202f. fig. 1 (dr.); H. Leclercq, DACL 13, 1937, 149f. fig. 9327 (dr.); Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 116 fig. 20, 133ff.; id., Judaea 140 fig. 20.6 (dr.). – Cf. A. Mallon, Biblica 3, 1922, 504.

Photo: L. Vincent, RB 7, 1898, 613 (dr.).

WA

#### 3318. Greek representation of a stylite (?)

The best description of this rather enigmatic object is given by Macalister: "a small cubical block of stone ... it bears engraved a design on its upper surface which seems to represent a human bust in a panel; instead of the face is the letter  $\theta$ . ... The ladder-like object on the left shows traces of red colouring." Above the head is a cross.

Findspot: Southeast corner of the northern aisle.

AMBA Θ ΕΛΟ

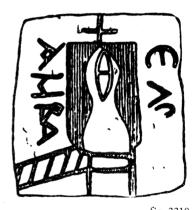


fig. 3318

Comm.: It is hard to understand why Bagatti (Giudea e Neghev and Judaea) thinks that this stone points to the conclusion that the place was "originally Jewish." The "theta" might be construed as a misshappen face (Bagatti 1965 sees here an abbreviation for  $\theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ ). AMBA= $\mathring{a}v\mathring{a}\beta\alpha$ , "ascend" (i.e. the stairway to heaven), Bagatti. amba=abba, father, Di Segni, apud Bagatti, Judaea (for  $\mathring{a}\mu\beta\alpha=\mathring{a}\beta\beta\alpha$ , Di Segni quotes no. 3796, as seen and read by her). She observes that "the drawing may be a conventional representation of a stylite, whose name was engraved on the right side of the panel and is almost completely lost, except for the letters ...EL..." She finds some iconographic parallels in Syria, I. Peña - P. Castellana - R. Fernández, Les stylites syriens, 1975, 174ff. and 187 fig. 35,1 (without the present relief): the stylite mostly wears a cloak; a cross above his column is quite usual.

Bibl.: L. Vincent, RB 8, 1899, 455f.; R. Macalister, PEQ 31, 1899, 202f. fig. 2 (edd. prr.). – B. Bagatti, L'Eglise de la Circoncision, 1965, 237; M. Avi-Yonah - R. Cohen - A. Ovadiah, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 314; Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 133ff.; id., Judaea 140.

Photo: Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 116 fig. 20,5 (dr.).

WA

## XCVI. Nahalin

#### 3319. Greek mosaic inscription

Mosaic carpet (of a church?) with ornamental decoration. The photograph shows traces of two circles to the right of and above the tabula ansata containing the inscription. The tabula is made of two rows of dark stones on white ground; the ansa shows at least four different colors.

Meas.: h 76, w 61 cm; letters roughly 6-8 cm.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 1996-1348 (lost).

[--]ΟΥΑΓΙΟΥ

[--]ΟΝΔΟΥΛΟΝ

[--]EΣBſTON

[--]ΘΕΜΕΛ∫ΤΟΝ

[--]ΥΤΟΥΕΝΕΛΕ

[--]K+[..]



fig. 3319

[-- τ]οῦ ἁγίου | [-- τ]ὸν δοῦλόν | [σου -- πρ]εσβ(ύτερον) τὸν | [-- ἐκ] θεμελ(ίων) τὸν | [--]ΥΤΟΥ ἐν ἐλε[--|--]Κ+[..]

... of the holy ... your servant ... the priest ... from the foundations ...

Comm.: It is impossible to determine the lengths of the lacunae. The inscription evidently records some kind of building activity or restauration of a church, leading e.g. to the following considerations:

The expression τὸν δοῦλόν | [σου --] (taken as singular, because with τῆν δούλων we should postulate a regular change of ω>0 in the following lines too) is almost always used in an appeal to God, his saints or angels; as a rule the personal name follows more or less after the appeal. If we accept this, the first three lines must contain the appeal to God, and the end of l.1 indeed shows us that God is somehow

specified, e.g. [κύριε ὁ θεὸς τ]οῦ ἀγίου [--] (cf. e.g. SEG 31, 1448 [Sobata]: ὡ θεὸς τοῦ ἀγίου Στεφάν[ου] μάρτυρος, σῶσον τὸν δοῦλόν σου); otherwise one could think of something like [κύριε ὁ θεὸς διὰ πρεσβείας τ]οῦ ἀγίου κτλ. The appeal itself could have had several forms; most often appears βοήθησον, but there are many other possibilities too (σῶσον, φύλαξον, ἐλέησον to name but a few).

l.3 contained the name of God's servant and qualification as priest, [βοήθησον τὸν δεῖνα πρ]εσβ(ύτερον). The transition of ll.3-4 τὸν | [--] must have comprised some specification, some achievement that entitled the anonymous priest to the help of God. We get at least an idea of his efforts, because l.4 ends with [ἀπό, ἐκ] θεμελ(ίων): our priest was a builder.

l.4: What was built is usually put before the words ἐκ θεμελίων, but there are also examples to the contrary (IGLS 2, 334; 4, 1773 [supplements, admittedly]; 13,1, 9122, 9139). This line could have contained a participle denoting the action taken, e.g. τὸν [κατασκευάσαντα, ἀνοικοδομήσαντα, κτίσαντα ἐκ] θεμελ(ίων) τὸν [κτλ.]. – l.4f. contained the name of the building (τὸν | [ναόν, οἶκον] vel sim.), perhaps with an adjective or some other qualification.

l.5: at the end èv èle [[eĩ]? The phrase èlee î beoũ is usually juxtaposed to a name, which is impossible here. – l.6: We expect a date; KP or KB are possible: [ivdi]k.  $\beta$ ' is perhaps a bit far-fetched, but  $\kappa\beta$ ' as a numeral for the day of a month is not out of question.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.

#### XCVII. H. Malka (Kh. Malkatha)

#### 3320. Baptismal font with Greek inscription for Matheus and Georgius

Monolithic font, limestone, "the font is cylindrical below, quatrefoiled above" (Macalister), a little bit smaller than the font in Bethlehem, no. 3218. Today, the font is broken, only three fragments of the upper, quatrefoiled part, are preserved; some traces of lead can be seen at the left edge of frg. a.

Meas.: h 1 m, w of border 14-18 cm; cavity: h 50, w (at the top) 90 cm (Sejourné); letters 6-8 cm.

Findspot: Séjourné was not able to determine whether the stone was found in situ, but he says that many tesserae were found in the vicinity, some of them rather fine. An ecclesiastical building near the findspot is therefore not impossible.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1947-5195. Autopsy: 2 June 2015 (WE/DK).



fig. 3320.2

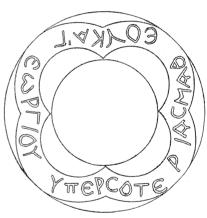


fig. 3320.1

#### ΥΠΕΡΣΟΤΕΡΙΑΣΜΑΘΕΟΥΚΑΓΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ

ύπὲρ σοτερίας Μαθέου κα(ὶ) Γεωργίου

For the salvation of Matheus and Georgius.



fig. 3320.3



fig. 3320.4

Comm.: Mallon 503: καί; today, frg. a has [--]PΣΟΤΕ[--], frg. b has [--] IAΣM[--], and frg. c has [--]EΟΥΚΑ[--]. – Séjourné believes the letters to belong to the 6 c. or 7 c. AD. Usually, a baptistery is found only at the seat of a bishop, but since this seems quite impossible for Malkatha, Séjourné uses this font in order to undermine this general idea; he points out that a bishop could either delegate his role as baptizer or fulfill it at a place different from his own see.

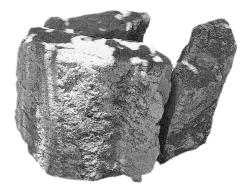


fig. 3320.5

Bibl.: P.-M. Séjourné, BSAF 1896, 127ff.; id., RB 5, 1896, 272ff. (edd. prr.). – R. Macalister, PEQ 31, 1899, 203; A. Mallon, Biblica 3, 1922, 504; H. Leclercq, DACL 13, 1937, 856f., fig. 9483; B. Bagatti, in: Actes du Ve Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrétienne, 1957, 223f.; A. Khatchatrian, Les baptistères paléochrétiens, 1962, 13, 104 fig. 96; Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 135, 151 fig. 23; Ben Pechat, L'architecture baptismale II 234ff., III pls. 186f.; ead., SBF 39, 1989, 168, 184 fig. 1; S. Ristow, Frühchristliche Baptisterien, 1998, 170 no. 317; Bagatti, Judaea 141.

Photo: DK; R. Macalister, PEQ 31, 1899, 203 fig. 3 (dr.).

WA

#### XCVIII. Roglit

#### 3321. Single letter in a mosaic

Findspot: Church of basilical form (ca. 14x10.70 m) of the 5 c. AD, consisting of an atrium, a narthex and a prayer hall with central nave, two aisles and apse. Central nave and aisles were paved with colored mosaic floors.

fig. 3321.1 fig. 3321.2

Comm.: "The southern aisle is paved with geometric patterns – interlacing polygons (octagons, hexagons, and squares) filled with stylized floral arrangements. The center of the pavement is decorated with an octagon, containing a pomegranate tree, a bowl of figs, an ethrog, a lemon, and the Greek letter A" (Avi-Yonah - Cohen - Ovadiah). – "Particulièrement notable est un alpha, fait de minuscules tessères, à l'intérieur de l'un des dessins rhomboïdaux. Quoique cette partie du sol soit entièrement conservée, on n'a pas trouvé d'omega," "dans le centre du rhombe, exactement au-dessus de l'arbre, se trouve un petit alpha grec" (Zvilichovsky 401f. and caption to pl. 27a). Dornseiff 21 quotes John Chrys., PG 63, 77 on the properties of the letter alpha: ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν στοιχείων τὸ πᾶν ἄλφα συνέχει, καὶ ὁ θεμέλιος τὴν πᾶσαν οἰκοδομήν· οὕτος καὶ τοῦ βίου τὴν καθαρότητα, ἡ περὶ τῆν πίστιν πληροφορία. ταύτης δὲ ἄνευ οὐκ

#### 752 XCVIII. Roglit

ἔστιν εἶναι Χριστιανόν· ὥσπερ οὐδὲ θεμελίων ἄνευ οἰκοδομήν, οὐδὲ στοιχείων χωρὶς ἔμπειρον γραμμάτων εἶναι.

Bibl.: V. Zvilichovsky, RB 67, 1960, 401f. (ed. pr.). – Ovadiah, Corpus 155 no. 156; Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 136f.; Ovadiah, MPI 124 no. 210; M. Avi-Yonah - R. Cohen - A. Ovadiah, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 312; Bagatti, Judaea 142. – Cf. F. Dornseiff, Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie, 1925.

Photo: Ovadiah, MPI pl. 137.

WA

#### XCIX. Giv'at Seled

#### 3322. Greek funerary inscription

Fragments of plaster were found in a burial cave, some with traces of letters painted in black of which only those left on one of the larger fragments could be read. Meas.: letters 2 cm.

Findspot: The inscription was perhaps situated above the entrance of the cave,

which is described by Kloner.

```
[--]AXΘONIO[--]
[--]ATEPE[--]
[--]ΕΥΕΡΓΕ[--]
[--]
```

[θεοῖς κατ]αχθονίο[ις |--] ΑΤΕΡΕ[--|--]ΕΥΕΡΓΕ[--|--]

To the gods of the underworld ... benefactor(?) ...

fig. 3322

Comm.: The cave was archaeologically dated to the 1 c. AD; it contained burials in arcosolia and kokhim, but Di Segni used the inscription to argue for a pagan tomb. She may well be right, but we have no proof that the inscription belongs to the time when the grave was built: it could have been painted as late as the 3 c. AD. – ll.2f.: Di Segni wrote: [ἐνθάδε κεῖνται οἱ π]ατέρε[ς] (preferring this to [θυγ]ατέρε[ς]) | τοῦ δεῖνα -- τοῦ] εὐεργέ[του --]. She argued that  $[\pi]$ ατέρε[ς] would be a better solution in view of the central position (?) of the inscription, and that "benefactor" was used as a title. But if the lines were written at the same time, the combination of [θεοῖς κατ]α-χθονίο[ις] and [ἐνθάδε κεῖνται] is quite unlikely (and the lacuna at the beginning of l.2 should measure 10, rather than 16 letters). Eupatereia as a personal name is known only from Bithynia, and θ. κ. |[-- Εὐπ]ατερε[ίας] vel sim. is therefore quite unlikely.

Bibl.: A. Kloner, Qadmoniot 71, 1986, 102-5 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – L. Di Segni, Atiqot 20, 1991, 164f.; SEG 41, 1552. – Cf. A. Kloner, Atiqot 20, 1991, 159ff.; Belayche, Pagan Cults 62f.; Schwartz, Imperialism 148f.

Photo: L. Di Segni, Atiqot 20, 1991, 164 fig. 1.



#### C. Kh. Hubeila

#### 3323. Grave of Claudianus with Greek inscription in a church

Panel made of stone (Ovadiah wrongly calls it a "mosaic tomb inscription").

Findspot: In the southern nave of the basilica and to the right side of a column, covering a grave.

(cross) ΘΗΚΗΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΝΟΥ

θήκη Κλαυδιανοῦ

fig. 3323

Grave of Claudianus.

Comm.: 6 c. AD, according to the mosaic; Vincent found no other archaeological indication for the date. "Ce tombeau unique pourrait être la sépulture du fondateur ou de quelque membre du clergé" (Comte).

Bibl.: F.-M. Abel, RB 34, 1925, 279ff. (ed. pr.). – H. Leclercq, DACL 13, 1937, 864; SEG 8, 242; Bagatti, Judaea 52 fig. 7,2; Comte, Reliquaires 147f., figs. 70f. – Cf. M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 3, 1934, 28 no. 206; L. Vincent, RB 48, 1939, 87ff. pl. 3 (plan of the church); Ovadiah, Corpus 119 no. 116; Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 51f., fig. 7,2 (dr.); H. Goldfus, Tombs and Burials in Churches and Monasteries of Byzantine Palestine (324-628 A.D.), 1997, 152f.; Ribak, Religious Communities 122; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christianity II 133 fig. 242,1; Madden, Corpus 77f. no. 97.

Photo: F.-M. Abel, RB 34, 1925, 281 fig. 8 (dr.).

WA



#### CI. Natupha solitudo (mod. Kh. Bedd Faluḥ)

#### 3324. Greek capital with symbols

Gray-white marble; fragment of a monolithic column, inscription (monogram?) on the capital.

Meas.: "Die Gesamthöhe der Säule könnte schätzungsweise 50-60 cm betragen haben" (Kob 128).

Findspot: "Endlich möchte ich bei dieser Gelegenheit von einem Säulenfragment berichten, das mir bei meinem Besuch des heutigen Dorfes Bedd Fālūḥ [22 September 1965] von einem Araber zum Kauf angeboten wurde, dessen Herkunft aus diesem Ort mir aber nicht ganz sicher zu sein scheint. Zwar behauptete der Mann auf meine Frage, daß dies der Fall sei. Aber da er offensichtlich mit dem Verkauf dieses 'Altertums' Geld verdienen wollte und das Säulenfragment sich bei einem Gewicht von 5,350 kg unschwer transportieren läßt, wäre es ja auch möglich, daß es von einem andern Ort, z.B. Bethlehem, stammt" (Kob 127f.).

(cross) X (ichthys)  $\Sigma$ 

Χ(ριστό)ς

Christ.



fig. 3324.1

Comm.: The design starts with a Greek cross; a *chi* follows, a lunar *sigma* at the end; between *chi* and *sigma* perhaps a fish, perhaps also an *alpha* (and other letters) in ligature.

Bibl.: K. Kob, ZDPV 94, 1978, 127ff. (ed. pr.). – Bagatti, Chiesa II 150f.; id., Giudea e Neghev 38 fig. 5, 61 pl. 14.



fig. 3324.2

Photo: K. Kob, ZDPV 94, 1978, 127 fig. 2b, pl. 9D (dr. and ph.).

Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae Volume IV: Iudaea/Idumaea. Part 2: 3325–3978

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## A multi-lingual corpus of the inscriptions from Alexander to Muhammad

edited by

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Printed with support of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft

ISBN 978-3-11-054364-3 e-ISBN 978-3-11-054493-0

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche
Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet
at http://dnb.d-nb.de.

© 2018 Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston

Typesetting: τ-leχιs, Heidelberg Printing: Hubert & Co. GmbH und Co. KG BuchPartner, Göttingen

www.degruyter.com

### Table of contents

Part	2

CII.	Herodion (mod. Jebel Fureidis) nos. 3325-3393			
	Introduction	759		
	Inscriptions	761		
	A. Res sacrae <i>nos.</i> 3325-3328	761 761		
	B. Varia <i>nos.</i> 3329-3393	767		
	Inscriptions from the theater <i>nos.</i> 3329-3331	767		
	Graffiti from Herod's palace nos. 3332-3364	771		
	Plaster fragments with letters nos. 3365-3372	796		
	Mason's marks from Herod's palace nos. 3373-3379	800		
	Mason's marks from Herod's mausoleum nos. 3380-3391	804		
CIII.	Drusias (mod. Ḥ. Midras) nos. 3394-3395	811		
	Burial cave nos. 3394-3395	811		
CIV.	Beit Sha'ar <i>no.</i> 3396	813		
CV.	Suca (mod. Kh. Khureitun) <i>no.</i> 3397	815		
CVI.	Tel Lavnin nos. 3398-3401	817		
	Burial cave nos. 3398-3400	817		
CVII.	Thecoa (mod. Teqoʻa, Kh. et-Tuquʻ) no. 3402	823		
CVIII.	Tell el-Judeiyida (Tel Goded) <i>nos. 3403-3425</i>	827		
	or Roman period <i>nos.</i> 3404-3425	827		
CIX.	Ḥ. Alim no. 3426	839		
CX.	Ḥ. Tannim <i>no. 3427</i>	841		
CXI.	Ḥ. Burgin no. 3428	843		
CXII.	Enadab (mod. Kh. 'Ain Dab, Beit 'Itab) no. 3429	845		
CXIII.	Kh. el-'Ein no. 3430	847		

vi	Table of contents	
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CXIV.	Qiriath 'Arbaia (mod. 'Ein 'Arrub) nos. 3431-3432			
CXV.	Beit Fajjar no. 3433	855		
CXVI.	Sde Moshe <i>nos.</i> 3434-3445			
CXVII.	'Iyye Neḥash <i>nos. 3446-3449</i> Burial cave with Hebrew/Aramaic graffiti on the wall of the cave <i>nos. 3446-3449</i>	869		
CXVIII.	H. Gibor <i>no. 3450</i>	873		
CXIX.	Kh. Zaʻaquqa <i>nos. 3451-3466</i>	875 875		
CXX.	Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrin, mod. Beit Guvrin) nos. 3467-3501 .	889		
	Introduction	889		
	Inscriptions	893		
	A. Res sacrae <i>nos.</i> 3467-3475	893 898		
	B. Inscriptions of public character and in architectural context nos. 3476-3481	905		
	C. Funerary inscriptions <i>nos.</i> 3482-3486	912 912		
	D. Instrumentum domesticum <i>nos.</i> 3487-3496	919 919		
	E. Varia nos. 3497-3501	927 930 932		
CXXI.	Marisa (Maresha, mod. Tell Sandahannah) nos. 3502-3742	935		
	Introduction	935		
	Inscriptions	946		
	A. Res sacrae nos. 3502-3510	946		
	Church near Tel Maresha nos. 3508-3509	952		
	B. Royal documents nos. 3511-3512	956		
	C. Honorary statues for rulers nos. 3513-3514	970		

	Table of contents	vii
	D. Inscription of public character <i>no.</i> 3515	973
	E. Funerary inscriptions <i>nos.</i> 3516-3660	978
	Eastern necropolis, Tomb E I with the so-called animal	
	frieze nos. 3516-3574	978
	Eastern necropolis, Tomb E II nos. 3575-3589	1051
	Eastern necropolis, Tomb E III nos. 3590-3591	1062
	Eastern necropolis, Tomb E IV nos. 3592-3612	1063
	Eastern necropolis, Tomb E V nos. 3613-3617	1073
	Eastern necropolis, Tomb E VII nos. 3618-3629	1078
	Eastern necropolis, Tomb E VIII nos. 3630-3639	1086
	Northern necropolis, Tomb N I nos. 3643-3648	1098
	Northern necropolis, Tomb N IV nos. 3649-3650	1104
	Northern necropolis, Tomb N VIII nos. 3651-3653	1106
	Northern necropolis, Tomb N IX nos. 3654-3659	1109
	F. Instrumentum domesticum nos. 3661-3688	1114
	Astragali nos. 3661-3670	1114
	Lead weights of agoranomos Agathocles nos. 3676-3681	1125
	G. Varia nos. 3689-3738	1136
	The "Wünsch tablets" <i>nos.</i> 3689-3729	1136
	Rock-hewn underground complex west of Tel Maresha	
	nos. 3735-3736	1197
	H. Fragments nos. 3739-3742	1202
CXXII.	Murabba'at no. 3743	1207
CXXIII.	Ḥ. Ḥoresh <i>no.</i> 3744	1209
CXXIV.	Alula (mod. Ḥalḥul) <i>no. 3745</i>	1213
CXXV.	Beth Loya (Kh. Lehi) nos. 3746-3754	1215
	Church complex <i>nos</i> . 3746-3754	1215
CXXVI.	Rasm el-Beida no. 3755	1227
CXXVII.	Bethennim (mod. Kh. Beit 'Anun) nos. 3756-3765	1229
	The central church <i>nos. 3756-3760</i>	1229
	Tomb A nos. 3762-3763	1237
	Tomb B nos. 3764-3765	1240

#### viii Table of contents

CXXVIII.	Lachish (mod. el-Qubeibe) nos. 3766-3768	1243
CXXIX.	Mamre (mod. Ramet el-Khalil) nos. 3769-3788	1247
	Introduction	1247
	Inscriptions	1247
	Ḥaram Râmet el-Ḥalîl nos. 3769-3788	1247
CXXX.	Tell el-Hesi <i>no.</i> 3789	1261
CXXXI.	Kh. en-Nakieh no. 3790	1263
CXXXII.	Ḥ. Qaẓra nos. 3791-3805	1265
	Burial cave <i>nos. 3791-3805</i>	1265
CXXXIII.	Beit el-Ban no. 3806	1283
CXXXIV.	Duweimi <i>nos. 3807-3808</i>	1285
	Rock-cut burial chamber <i>nos</i> . 3807-3808	1285
CXXXV.	Kh. el-Kom <i>nos.</i> 3809-3811	1287
	Burial cave in el-Kom, near Hebron <i>nos.</i> 3809-3811	1287
CXXXVI.	Kh. el-Muraq <i>nos.</i> 3812-3815	1289
	Mason's marks from a Herodian villa, so-called Palace of Helcias <i>nos. 3814-3815</i>	1290
CXXXVII.	'Ein el-Ma'amudiye nos. 3816-3817	1293
	·	
CXXXVIII.	Kh. ed-Deir <i>nos.</i> 3818-3822	1297 1297
CXXXIX.	Hebron (Kiriath Arba, Mamre) nos. 3823-3833	1305
071717171.	Introduction	1305
	Inscriptions	1313
	A. Res sacrae nos. 3823-3826	1313
	Sanctuary - Ḥaram el-Khalil nos. 3823-3826	1313
	B. Military diploma no. 3827	1317
	C. Funerary inscriptions <i>nos.</i> 3828-3829	1322
	D. Instrumentum domesticum <i>nos.</i> 3830-3833	1324
CXL.	Kh. Deir Şamit <i>no.</i> 3834	1329

	Table of contents	ix
CXLI.	Beit 'Awwa no. 3835	1335
CXLII.	Adora (mod. Dura) no. 3836	1339
CXLIII.	Kh. Jammama <i>no.</i> 3837	1341
CXLIV.	Ruḥama no. 3838	1343
CXLV.	Kh. Birker <i>no.</i> 3839	1345
CXLVI.	Kh. el-Qaşr <i>nos. 3840-3841</i>	1347 1347
CXLVII.	Ḥ. 'Eitun nos. 3842-3843	1351
CXLVIII.	Kh. Tawas <i>nos.</i> 3844-3846	1355 1355
CXLIX.	Ziph (mod. Kh. Zif) no. 3847	1361
	Introduction	1361
	Inscriptions	1362
CL.	Ḥ. Kishor nos. 3848-3849	1365 1365
CLI.	<u></u> Ḥ. Gomer <i>no.</i> 3850	1367
CLII.	Kh. Beit Mirsim <i>no.</i> 3851	1369
CLIII.	Caphar Orsa (mod. Kh. Khureisa) no. 3852	1371
CLIV.	'Ein Gedi (Engaddi) nos. 3853-3855	1373
	Introduction	1373
	Inscriptions	1373 1373
CLV.	Iutta (mod. Yatta) no. 3856	1383
	Introduction	1383
	Inscriptions	1384
CLVI.	Kh. Khallet el-Meiya <i>no.</i> 3857	1387
CLVII.	Kh. Kafr Jul (Kafr Jor) <i>no.</i> 3858	1389

#### X Table of contents

CLVIII.	Chermela (Chermula, Chermala, Carmel, mod. el-Kirmil) nos. 3859-3860
	Introduction
	Inscriptions
CLIX.	ed-Daheriye no. 3861
CLX.	Anab (mod. Kh. 'Anab) <i>nos. 3862-3867</i>
CLXI.	Eshthemoa (mod. es-Samuʻa) nos. 3868-3869
	Introduction
	Inscriptions
CLXII.	Susiya nos. 3870-3887
	Introduction
	Inscriptions
CLXIII.	Kh. 'Useiliyye no. 3888
CLXIV.	'En-Rimmon (mod. Kh. Umm er-Rumamin, Ḥ. Rimmon) nos. 3889-3891
	Introduction
	Inscriptions
CLXV.	Kh. Umm Deimine (Kh. Umm Deimnah) no. 3892
CLXVI.	Kh. Zanuta no. 3893
CLXVII.	Naḥal Peḥar <i>no.</i> 3894
CLXVIII.	Iethira (Yatir, mod. Kh. 'Attir) nos. 3895-3899
	Introduction
	Inscriptions
CLXIX.	Tel Kerioth <i>nos.</i> 3900-3901

	Table of contents	xi
CLXX.	Masada nos. 3902-3971	1461
	Introduction	1461
	Inscriptions	1462
	A. Instrumentum domesticum no. 3902	1462
	B. Varia <i>nos. 3903-3971</i>	1463
	palace nos. 3906-3971	1464
CLXXI.	Yarma no. 3972	1495
CLXXII.	Dead Sea Caves no. 3973	1499
CLXXIII.	Items of unknown provenance nos. 3974-3978	1505
Index of p	ersonal names	1511
Maps		1573
	Key to locations	1577

#### CII. Herodion (mod. Jebel Fureidis)

#### Introduction

The origin of Herodion (Jebel Fureidis) as a Herodian palace and the king's burial site is attested in numerous passages in Josephus. It is listed as a toparchy by Josephus, BJ 3,54 and by Pliny, nat 5,14. The latter is significant, for Pliny omits Idumaea and 'Ein Gedi, and adds Orine (formerly Jerusalem). This shows that Pliny includes information reflecting the situation after AD 70. Accordingly, Herodion remained a toparchy after 70, unlike 'Ein Gedi, which was incorporated in the toparchy of Jericho. In the case of 'Ein Gedi this change in status is confirmed by a reference in the Babatha archive where it is described as "a village in the territory of Jericho in Judaea." This document represents the situation between 70 and the Bar Kochba revolt. In the case of Herodion, the documents from the Judaean Desert show that it still was a toparchy after 70 because it is listed as such. In the Bar Kochba revolt itself Herodion appears to have served as headquarters of the rebels for some time. Thereafter it is no longer mentioned in written sources, but the excavations have uncovered a small Byzantine monastery on the upper site and extensive remains including three churches at Lower Herodion.

Early visitors and identification: Guérin, Judée 3, 125-32.

#### Publications on work at the site:

Testa, Herodion IV; A. Spijkerman, Herodion: Catalogo delle monete, 1972; S. Loffreda, La ceramica de Macheronte e dell'Herodion (90 a.C - 135 d.C), 1996; E. Netzer, Greater Herodium, 2001; id., The Architecture of Herod, the Great Builder, 2006.

#### For the aqueduct:

NEAEHL 2, 1993, 618-26 s.v. Herodium, Lower Herodium; 5, 2008, 1778ff., bibliography on 1780; A. Mazar, in: D. Amit - J. Patrich - Y. Hirschfeld eds., The Aqueducts of Israel, 2002, 243f.; D. Amit, ibid. 253-66.

<sup>1</sup> Möller - Schmitt 92f.; TIR 143 s.v.

<sup>2</sup> See the introduction to Jericho.

<sup>3</sup> P.Yadin I 16, l.16: κώμης Αἰνγαδδῶν περὶ Ἰερειχουντα τῆς Ἰουδαίας. Cf. Isaac, Near East 167, 177.

<sup>4</sup> DJD II no. 115 dated 124: τοπαρχείας Ἡρωδείο[υ].

<sup>5</sup> P.Mur. 24 mentions Ben Kosba in camp there and, elsewhere, refers to the treasury at Herodion.

<sup>6</sup> E. Netzer - R. Birger-Calderon - A. Feller in: Y. Tsafrir ed., Ancient Churches Revealed, 1993, 219-32.

For the tomb and the question of identity:

J. Magness, BASOR 322, 2001, 43-6; A. Lichtenberger, in: J. Gebauer - E. Grabow - F. Jünger - D. Metzler, Bildergeschichte. Festschrift Klaus Stähler, 2004, 295-310; D. Jacobson, PEQ 139, 2007, 147f.; E. Netzer, BAR 37-1, 2011, 37-48; G. Foerster, in: S. Rozenberg - D. Mevorah ed., Herod the Great: The King's Final Journey, 2013, 267f.; R. Porat - Y. Kalman - R. Chachy, in: New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and its Region. Collected Papers 7, 2013, 257-86 (Hebr.); J. Patrich - B. Arubas, in: ibid. 287-300 (Hebr.); iid., PEQ 147, 2015, 299-315; R. Porat - R. Chachy - Y. Kalman, Herodium. Final Reports of the 1972-2010 Excavations Directed by Ehud Netzer I. Herod's Tomb Precinct, 2015.

#### **Inscriptions**

#### A. Res sacrae

#### 3325.-3327. The north church

There are three churches at Herodion; the northern church is a basilica with narthex, a rectangular apse and pastophoria at the sides of the apse. The southern pastophorium later became a baptistery. Three rooms adjoined the northern aisle: the largest of these rooms, the one in the east, may have been used as a chapel.

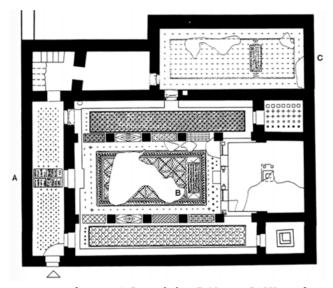


fig. 3325.A Ground plan, E. Netzer, CAHL 167 fig. 3

#### 3325. Greek mosaic inscription of LXX Ps 117,20

Mosaic floor; the inscription is in a frame; a cross divides the frame into four parts and makes it look like a door (cf. findspot). The orientation of the letters indicates that the inscription was meant to be read by people leaving the church. The lines in the lower part of the inscription are divided by rows of tesserae.

Meas.: h 1.4, w 1.05 m; letters ca. 7 cm.

Findspot: In the narthex, placed before the front door of the church; see introduction to nos. 3325-3327 fig. A, no. A.

(cross) ΑΥΤΗΗΠΥΛΗ ΤΟΥΚΎΕΙΣΕΛΕΥ ΣΟΝΤΕΕΝΑΥΤΗ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΙ (cross) ΚΕΥΣΧΣΜΝΗΣΘΙΤΙ ΤΟΝΔΟΥΛΟΝΣΟ ΥΑΝΑΗΛΚΑΙ ΣΑΠΡΙΚΑ (cross)



fig. 3325

αὕτη ἡ πύλη | τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ. εἰσελεύ|σοντε ἐν αὐτῆ | δίκαιοι. | κ(ύρι)ε Ὑ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς, μνήσθιτι | τοῦ δούλον σο|υ ἀναὴλ καὶ | Σαπρίκα

This is the gate of the Lord, the righteous shall enter into it. Lord Jesus Christ, remember your servants Anael and Saprica.

Comm.: Di Segni refers to CTh 1,8,1 (427 AD) which forbade crosses on the floor, because they were in danger of being trampled on; but surely such a law was never enforced and cannot be used to date these inscriptions. – ll.1f.: LXX Ps 117,20 is often used in similar contexts (cf. no. 3866). – l.5: Cf. no. 3326 for the abbreviation. – ll.7f.: The siblings of no. 3326.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, CAHL 183f. no. 3 (ed. pr.). – SEG 40, 1472; Felle, Biblia epigraphica 112 no. 165; Madden, Corpus 74ff. no. 94. – Cf. HA 67/68, 1978, 50 (Hebr.); Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 62; Ben Pechat, L'architecture baptismale II 128f., III pl. 87b; E. Netzer - R. Birger - A. Peled, Qadmoniot 20, 1987, 36 (ph.) (Hebr.); E. Netzer, CAHL 166ff., 176 fig. 3,8; E. Netzer - R. Birger-Calderon - A. Feller, in: Y. Tsafrir ed., Ancient Churches Revealed, 1993, 219, 222, 224f.; E. Netzer, NEAEHL 2, 1993, 624f.; R. Hachlili, ZDPV 113, 1997, 99, 104ff.; Vriezen, Mosaic Pavements 248ff.; Feissel, Chroniques 237 no. 761, 238 no. 762; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 139; L. Di Segni, in: B. Bitton-Ashkelony - D. Krueger eds., Prayer and Worship in Eastern Christianities, 2017, 66 (transl.).

Photo: Y. Tsafrir, Ancient Churches Revealed 1993 pl. 16 C.

#### 3326. Greek invocation in a church floor

Mosaic floor; the inscription in a tabula ansata with decorated handles; the lines of the text are divided by rows of tesserae.

Meas.: h 71, w 175 cm; letters 3.5-10 cm.

Findspot: In the central nave, at the end of the mosaic carpet, directly in front of the chancel; see introduction to nos. 3325-3327 fig. A, no. B. On its placing, cf. Baumann.



fig. 3326

ΚΕΥΣΧΣΚΕΑΓΙΕΜΗΧΑΗΛΠΡΟΣΔΕΞΕΤΗΝΚΑΡΠΟ ΦΩΡΙΑΝΤΟΝΔΟΥΛΟΝΣΟΥΤΟΝΤΕΚΝΟΝΙΟΥΛΕΣΑΣΑ ΦΡΙΚΑΚΑΙΑΝΑΗΛΑΔΕΛΦΩΝΚΕΤΥΣΑΥΤΟΝΚΕΣΑΛΑ ΕΟΥΚΕΤΟΝΤΕΚΝΟΝΑΥΤΟΥΚΕΑΒΡΑΑΜΚΕΤΟΝΤΕΚΝ ΟΝΑΥΤΟΥΚΕΖΑΝΑΣΚΕΝΩΝΑΣΚΕΖΑΝΑΘΥΓΑΤΗΡΝΟΝΑΣ

κ(ύρι)ε Ύ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς κὲ ἄγιε Μηχαήλ. πρόσδεξε τὴν καρπο|φωρίαν τοῖν δούλον σου τοῖν τεκνοῖν Ἰουλέσα, Σα|φρίκα καὶ ἸΑναὴλ ἀδελφῶν κὲ τὺς αὐτοῖν, κὲ Σαλα|έου κὲ τοῖν τεκνοῖν αὐτοῦ κὲ ἸΑβραὰμ κὲ τοῖν τεκν|οῖν αὐτοῦ κὲ Ζάνας κὲ Νώνας κὲ Ζάνα θυγάτηρ Νόνας

Lord Jesus Christ and holy Michael. Receive the offering of your servants, the children of Iulesa, the siblings Saphrica and Anael and their families, and of Salaeus and his children, and of Abraam and his children, and of Zana and Nona, and of Zana daughter of Nona.

Comm.: Di Segni assigned this text to the late 5 c. or early 6 c. AD on the strength of its letter forms. – l.1:  $\kappa(i\rho_l)\epsilon\,\upsilon(i\delta)\varsigma\,X(\rho_l\sigma\tau\delta)\varsigma\,$  Di Segni, pointing out that the nominative instead of the vocative is a common mistake. Since the abbreviation KEYSXS can be found in no. 3325 too, she does not want to explain the YS as a simple misspelling of  $I(\eta\sigma\sigma\tilde{\upsilon})\varsigma$ , but as  $\upsilon(i\delta)\varsigma$  – a word sometimes used to describe the persona of Christ; but then she continues: "However, I was unable to discover either evidence of the use of the formula *Kyrios hyios Christos* or any explanation or justification for such a use within an orthodox Christian milieu." It may be added that it is doubtful that we should be allowed to posit a heterodox Christian milieu on the strength of this abbreviation. A

vowel change *iota* > *upsilon* in an unaccented syllable is not impossible (Gignac I 269, with Χρυστοῦ as one of the examples), but a change in a nomen sacrum is certainly difficult to accept – but perhaps easier than an unknown formula charged with theological meaning. The fact that the same spelling recurs in no. 3325 (where also some of the benefactors recur) proves only that the same person wrote the draft. Jesus and Michael are invoked, but πρόσδεξαι is a singular. Michael is most probably not some saint, but the archangel; Meimaris refers to his p. 142 no. 733 (Gariye el Garbiye, Arabia): ὁ ἄγιος Μιχαήλ (καί) Γαβριήλ ἐκτίσθη ("the Church of SS. Michael and Gabriel was built"); cf. also no. 3508. Verhelst's isopsephic equations ("calcul réduit") are worthless. – ll.1f.: See the remark in SEG: "Ιουλε Σασα Φρικα, edd. prr.; Ἰουλεσα Σαφρικα, Feissel, BE (1989) no. 175 (manuscript; not included in the printed version of BE 1989 no. 1004)"; the name division Ἰουλεσας Αφρικα is excluded by comparison with no. 3327. There appears to be no parallel for Iulesa and Saphrica, but Sapricius is known in Sicily, SEG 36, 829 (Halykiai) - and from Latin inscriptions (CIL 3, 8741; 5, 5513; 6, 27574, 33182 etc.). Σαφρος is listed in Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 107. Ibid. 21 on Αναηλος and cf. IGLS 14,1, 47; 169b (Der'a). On her and on Anael (and on the οἱ αὐτῶν) cf. no. 3327. – 1.3f.: Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 102f. for the names with Σαλα-, including one Σαλαει; SEG 45, 2082 (Al-Muwayh): Σαλαιος; Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia I b, no. 30: μνημῖον [Π]ορφυρί<α>ς Σαλαέου. – 1.5: Nona, twice mentioned, is evidently the same person, but we should note the different spellings of the name in the same line; for the name, cf. M.-Th. Couilloud, Les monuments funéraires de Rhénée, 1974, 80 no. 52; E. Popescu, Inscripțiile grecești și latine din sec. IV-XIII descoperite în România, 1976, no. 39; JHS 19, 1899, 291 no. 200 (Laodikeia Comb.). -For the name Zana cf. no. 3302. – Evidently, the writer's declined forms are imperfect. It seems that Iulesa was the mother of Saphrica and Anael, who are named together with their families (οἱ αὐτῶν); Salaeus and Abraam and Zana and Nona are also to be counted as benefactors; all of them have children, who appear without a name among the benefactors in the case of Salaeus and Abraham; Zana and Nona could be sisters: then the daughter of Zana would have been named after her aunt.

Bibl.: Meimaris, Sacred Names 43 no. 231 (l.1), 66 no. 412 (l.1), 142 no. 732 (l.1); E. Netzer - R. Birger - A. Peled, Qadmoniot 20, 1987, 35 (ph.) (Hebr.) (edd. prr.). – Ben Pechat, L'architecture baptismale II 128f., 132f., III pl. 88b; SEG 37, 1489 (from the ph. in Ovadiah, MPI); L. Di Segni, CAHL 177f. no. 1; SEG 40, 1470; Madden, Corpus 74ff. no. 94. – Cf. HA 48/49, 1974, 70f. (Hebr.); G. Foerster, EAEHL 2, 1976, 509 (ph.); HA 67/68, 1978, 50 (Hebr.); Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 62; E. Netzer, in: Recherches Archéologiques en Israel, 1984, 198 fig. 127; Loffreda, LIG 82; E. Netzer, CAHL 166ff., 176; Ovadiah, MPI 70 no. 96 pl. 82; E. Netzer, NEAEHL 2, 1993, 625 (ph.); id. - R. Birger-Calderon - A. Feller, in: Y. Tsafrir ed., Ancient Churches Revealed, 1993, 223ff.; Bagatti, Judaea 63; S. Verhelst, RB 104, 1997, 224ff. (SEG 47, 2049); Baumann, Spätantike Stifter 289; A. Ovadiah, SBF 55, 2005, 366 figs. 5f.; Feissel, Chroniques 237 no. 761, 238 no. 762; Murphy-O'Connor, Holy Land 324; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 139; L. Di Segni, in: B. Bitton-Ashkelony - D. Krueger eds., Prayer and Worship in Eastern Christianities, 2017, 66 (transl.).

Photo: E. Netzer, CAHL 169 fig. 7.

#### 3327. Greek mosaic inscription of the donor Anael

Inscription in a tabula ansata; the ansae are decorated with leaves; the lines of the text are separated by rows of tesserae.

Meas.: h 65, w 150 cm (tabula); letters ca. 8 cm.

Findspot: In the northeastern chapel of the church; see introduction to nos. 3325-3327 fig. A, no. C.

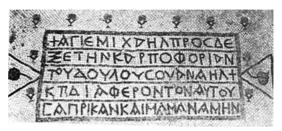


fig. 3327

(cross) ΑΓΙΕΜΙΧΑΗΛΠΡΟΣΔΕ ΞΕΤΗΝΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΙΑΝ ΤΟΥΔΟΥΛΟΥΣΟΥΑΝΑΗΛ (cross) ΚΤΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΝΤΟΝΑΥΤΟΥ ΣΑΠΡΙΚΑΝΚΑΙΜΑΜΑΝΑΜΗΝ

ἄγιε Μιχαήλ, πρόσδε|ξε τὴν καρποφορίαν | τοῦ δούλου σου Ἀναὴλ | κ(αὶ) τ(ῶν) διαφερόντον αὐτοῦ | Σαπρίκαν καὶ Μάμαν. ἀμήν

Holy Michael, receive the offering of your servant Anael and of those belonging to him, Saprica and Mama. Amen.

Comm.: l.1: The angel, not another saint, cf. no. 3326. – l.3: Anael is known already from nos. 3325 and 3326, as is Saprica. – l.5: Di Segni understands Mamas as a male name (which is not necessary, but possible: Mama is certainly attested as a female "Lallname," if not in Palestine). Since she takes Mamas as offspring of Anael and Saprica (repeated in Di Segni 2017, 66), and since Mamas is not mentioned in no. 3326, Di Segni concludes that this mosaic floor was made some years later than the one in the central nave. But one could argue that Saprica and Mama are said to belong to Anael in the same (wrong) accusative: It seems most plausible that they are both the children of Anael, that they are both numbered amongst the οἱ αὐτῶν of no. 3326, and that Anael named one of his children after his sister. οἱ διαφέροντες are, then, not simply kinsfolk, but more specifically the children.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, CAHL 182f. no. 2 (ed. pr.). – SEG 40, 1471; E. Netzer - R. Birger - A. Peled, Qadmoniot 20, 1987, 36 (ph.) (Hebr.); P. Figueras, in: Archéologie Chrétienne 1781; E. Netzer, CAHL 166-71 at 176; E. Netzer - R. Birger-Calderon - A. Feller, in: Y. Tsafrir ed., Ancient Churches Re-

vealed, 1993, 219ff. (ph.); S. Verhelst, RB 104, 1997, 224ff.; Bagatti, Judaea 63; Feissel, Chroniques 237 no. 761, 238 no. 762; Murphy-O'Connor, Holy Land 324; Hachlili, AMP 236f. fig. b; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 139; Madden, Corpus 74ff. no. 94; L. Di Segni, in: B. Bitton-Ashkelony - D. Krueger eds., Prayer and Worship in Eastern Christianities, 2017, 66 (transl.).

Photo: L. Di Segni, CAHL 182 fig. 2.

WA

#### 3328. Fragmentary Greek mosaic inscription from the central church

Four lines in a tabula ansata, only partially preserved.

Meas.: h 41, w 135 cm; letters ca. 9 cm.

Findspot: There are three churches at Herodion; this mosaic was found in the central one, "adjoining the south of the ... Herodian building beside the large pool" (Netzer, CAHL); narthex, three naves, round apse, two pastophoria; two rooms were located south of the main hall, both with mosaic floors; the tabula ansata of this inscription is in the larger one (a chapel?), directly opposite to the entrance.

[--]+BE $\Sigma$ Of [--]Ofythep  $\Sigma\Omega$ [--]OPH $\Sigma$ Af TO+[--]N



fig. 3328

[--]+BEΣO(--) | [--]O(--) ὑπὲρ | σω[τηρίας τῶν καρπ]οφορησά(ντων) | TO+[--]N

... for the salvation of the benefactors ...

Comm.: Netzer - Birger-Calderon - Feller note that the letters are formed differently from the ones in nos. 3325-3327; therefore they date this inscription to the second half of the 6 c. or the beginning of the 7 c. AD. It is almost impossible to reconstruct this text, since a width of 1.35 m translates into at least 15 letters per row. – l.1: The *beta* has an uncommon shape; if we regard l.3 and the way *rho* and *eta* are joined there, a ligature should be considered here as well: *delta-rho*, for instance. Di Segni's mention of LXX 2 Sam 22,30 and Ps 17,30 is desperate (ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἤλπισα, οὐ φοβηθήσομαι, τεῖχος), as would be a mention of Ps 55,12, cf. 117,6 (ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ ἤλπισα, οὐ φοβηθήσομαι, which is quoted in W. Ramsay, The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia I,2, 1897, 558 no. 441 [Temenothyrai] as οὐ φοβήσομαι, but CIG 8909 and P. Le Bas - W. Waddington, Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Grèce et en Asie Mineure, 1870 no. 728 print φοβηθήσομαι). – l.3: This makes it a line of 22 letters, but the lacuna may have contained an abbreviation. – l.4: The third letter is either *nu* or *mu*; τῷ ν[αῷ (?) (name of the church) ... ἀμή]ν Di Segni; τὸν [οἶκον? --],

cf. no. 3901 for another "free" use of the case with  $\kappa\alpha\rho\pi$ οφορεῖν. Two personal names are theoretically possible, and a lacuna of ca. 10-12 letters would be sufficient for such a supplement (e.g.  $To\mu[\tilde{\alpha} \kappa\alpha i - ca. 5 letters - \dot{\alpha}\mu\dot{\eta}]\nu$ ).

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, CAHL 184f. no. 4 (ed. pr.). – SEG 40, 1473 (with a faulty text); J. Moralee, For Salvation's Sake, 2004, 166 no. 289 (ll.2f.); Madden, Corpus 76 no. 95. – Cf. ESI 1, 1982, 40ff. (=HA 78/79, 79ff. [Hebr.]); E. Netzer - R. Birger - A. Peled, Qadmoniot 20, 1987, 38 (ph.) (Hebr.); E. Netzer, CAHL 166-71 at 176; E. Netzer - R. Birger-Calderon - A. Feller, in: Y. Tsafrir ed., Ancient Churches Revealed, 1993, 219, 226f.; E. Netzer, NEAEHL 2, 1993, 625f.; Feissel, Chroniques 238 no. 762; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, in: Christians and Christianity II 139.

Photo: L. Di Segni, CAHL 185.

WA

#### B. Varia

#### 3329.-3331. Inscriptions from the theater

#### 3329. Quotation of Homer Il. 6,264 etched above a reversed abecedary, 15-4 BC

Three lines of text incised with a stylus or other sharp instrument into wall plaster. The first two lines contain a homeric quote and are centered above a long abecedary that was written in larger letters. W-shaped *omega*.

Meas.: w l.1 22.5, l.2 15 cm, l.3 (abecedary) 1.1 m; letters ll.1-2: 1.1, l.3: 5.7 cm.

Findspot: The graffito is incised approximately 1 m above the floor, on the southern wall of the easternmost room above the theater of the Herodion. When discovered, the inscription was covered with muddied hand prints.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Autopsy: 2012.



fig. 3329.1

ΜΗΜΟΙΟΝΟΝΑΕΙ+ΗΠΟ ΤΙΝΙΑΜΗΤΗΡ  $\Omega++\Phi\Upsilon$ ΤΣΡΠΟΞΝΜ[.]+ΙΘΗΖΕΔΓΒΑ

μή μοι ο<ί>νον ἄειρη πο|τίνια (sic!) μήτηρ |  $\Omega \Psi X \Phi \Upsilon T \Sigma P \Pi O \Xi N M [\Lambda] K I \Theta H Z E \Delta \Gamma B A$ 

Bring me no wine, honored mother.

Comm.: The inscription was first read differently: Μημόρι(ο)ν δν ἀεὶ ἠπό|τινι Αμ[--] - A tomb for which Am[--] paid for ever. (ed. pr. 91). The inscription was not written on the wall of a tomb, and hence the reading does not fit the context. The alternate Homeric

reading is based on a different division of letters and a discernment of several new letters discovered in close examination of photographs followed by autopsy. The graffito is in fact a poor citation of Iliad 6,264, in which Hector refuses the wine Hecuba offers him before he goes on to meet Andromache and

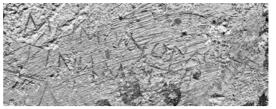


fig. 3329.2

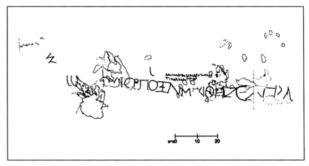


fig. 3329.3

Astyanax and then proceeds to battle: μή μοι οἶνον ἄειρε μελίφρονα, πότνια μῆτερ. "Bring me no honey-hearted wine, honored mother" (transl. A. Murray, Loeb).

The scribbler omitted the word μελίφρονα, thus ruining the hexameter. Other spelling mistakes in the text are the omission of *iota* in οἶνον, replacement of *epsilon* with an *eta* in the end of ἄειρε, addition of an *iota* after the *tau* in πότνια, and writing μῆτερ in the nominative instead of the vocative. All these have parallels in contemporary papyri (Ecker, ZPE 16).

The combination of a homeric citation with a reversed alphabet is either a magical or an educational text. The height of the inscription above the floor, and other alphabets in key locations around the fortress-palace suggest that school activity took place there (Ecker 2015). For other abecedaries from Iudaea/Idumaea see nos. 2788, 2803, 2828, 3400, 3736, 3843. For Homer and magic see D. Collins, Magic in the Ancient Greek World, 2008, 104-31. For further discussion of the inscription see Ecker, ZPE.

Bibl.: E. Netzer - Y. Kalman - R. Porat - R. Chachy - L. Di Segni - E. Eshel, Judea and Samaria Research Studies 18, 2009, 85-103 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – SEG 59, 1708; A. Ecker, ZPE 183, 2012, 15-20; id., in: New Studies 6, 194-8 (Hebr.); id., EI 31, 2015, 6-11 (Hebr.).

Photo: G. Laron, courtesy of the Hebrew University Expedition Team to Herodion; R. Chachi-Laureys (dr.).

#### 3330. Aramaic inscription incised in the plaster of a wall, 1 c. CE (?)

An inscription of three lines of Jewish script incised in the plaster of a wall.

Findspot: A room attached to the theater on its south. Pres. loc.: In situ.

א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט [--] בעשרין ותִרין לאָדר שנת עשרין ותרתין [--] בירושלם



fig. 3330.1

Translit.: 'bgdhwzht[--] | b'śryn wtryn l'dr šnt 'śryn wtrtyn [--] | byrwšlm

 $ABGDHWZH\underline{T}...On$  the twenty second of Adar, year twenty two ... in Jerusalem.

Comm.: The inscription is written in Aramaic and contains two parts: l.1 is a fragmentary abecedary (the reading in the ed. pr. is wrong), written in a semiformal "Jewish" Herodian script, whereas ll.2-3 are a full date formula, including day, month and year, followed by the place of writing (Jerusalem). ll.2-3 are written in an extremely cursive "Jewish" Herodian script. The inscription is dated

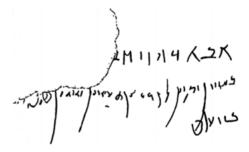


fig. 3330.2

to year 22 by the word at the end of l.2, which may have been followed by the name of the ruler, which has not been deciphered; it is difficult to determine to whose reign or to which counting this date referred. The script looks too developed for the dating to the mid 1 c. BCE, but rather resembles documents dating from the 1 c. CE. It is not known who wrote the inscription, but the script testifies to a practiced scribe, thus possibly refuting the conclusion that he "was one of the workers who dwelt in the theater during the construction of the artificial hill" (ed. pr. 114). The words "in Jerusalem" indicate that Herodion was considered part of Jerusalem.

Bibl.: E. Netzer - Y. Kalman - R. Porat - R. Khalaily - N. Milevski - R. Getzov - R. Liran - R. Yaroshevich, Qadmoniot 42, 2009, 104-17 at 113f. (ed. pr.). – E. Netzer - Y. Kalman - R. Porat - R. Chachy - L. Di Segni - E. Eshel, Judea and Samaria Research Studies 18, 2009, 85-103 (Hebr.); D. Amit, Qadmoniot 140, 2010, 138 (Hebr.); E. Netzer - Y. Kalman - R. Porath - R. Chachy-Laureys, JRA 23, 2010, 85-108 at 99f.; D. Amit, Ariel 200/201, 2012, 201-6 at 205f. (Hebr.); E. Eshel,

770

in: New Studies 6, 199ff. (Hebr.); E. Netzer, in: G. Paximadi - M. Fidanzio eds., Terra Sancta. Archeologia ed esegesi, 2013, 112-33 at 126, 132; A. Ecker, EI 31, 2015, 6-11 (Hebr.).

Photo: E. Netzer - Y. Kalman - R. Porat - R. Chachy - L. Di Segni - E. Eshel, Judea and Samaria Research Studies 18, 2009, 95 fig. 10; D. Amit, Qadmoniot 140, 2010, 138 (dr.).

ΑY

#### 3331. Latin graffito with letters and numbers, 15-4 BC

A single line of text incised upon a white band in the painting on the east wall of the "royal booth" above the theater in Herodion.

Meas.: w 30 cm; letters 3 cm.

Findspot: Incised about 1.1 m above floor level.

Pres. loc.: In situ.



fig. 3331.1

#### OVLIIMONIIRINOMΙΙΙΙΛΙΙΛ

Comm.: Archaeological finds show that the "royal booth" above the theater in Herodion became a transitory living space for workers engaged in the construction of the artificial mountain between 15-4 BC. The workers who tempo-



fig. 3331.2

rarily lived in the room covered its decorated walls with graffiti – mostly of ships and games, and other scribbles. Most of the graffiti are drawings rather than inscriptions; however, 13 graffiti consist of writing and all except this one are probably in Greek, though illegible (not presented here). Also 16 inscriptions on the walls of the room are numerical, employing a system of tally marks, each probably representing the number 1, and the use of the letter X and the letter  $\Lambda$  – the method of counting is unknown, as is the identity of that which was counted (though the existence of game boards among the graffiti may hint at a connection). The inscription presented here is the only one of these inscriptions that definitely employs Latin. The meaning of the inscription remains unclear, but perhaps it is connected to a word game, as the reversal of letter sequence MON NOM may indicate. The double II such as in OVLII and MONII may also be tally marks, or the cursive Latin "E." The inscription ends with a numeric sequence employing the symbols mentioned here.

Bibl.: A. Ecker, in: New Studies 6, 194-8 at 194f., 198 with fig. (Hebr.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: G. Laron, courtesy of the Hebrew University Expedition Team to Herodion; M. Edelcopp (dr.).

#### 3332.-3364. Graffiti from Herod's palace

The order of inscriptions is spatial according to the various building sections in which they were found. It follows the order established by E. Testa in the ed. pr. After one inscription from the "esedra di nord" (no. 3332, fig. A, no. 34) and three from Room 32 (nos. 3333-3335) follow the large number of texts from the different rooms of the bath complex (nos. 3336-3364, fig. A. no. 23-31). The graffiti were found in: Apodyterion, Room 27 nos. 3336-3349; Tepidarium, Room 28 nos. 3350-3357; Frigidarium, Room 30 no. 3358; Caldarium, Room 29 nos. 3359-3364.

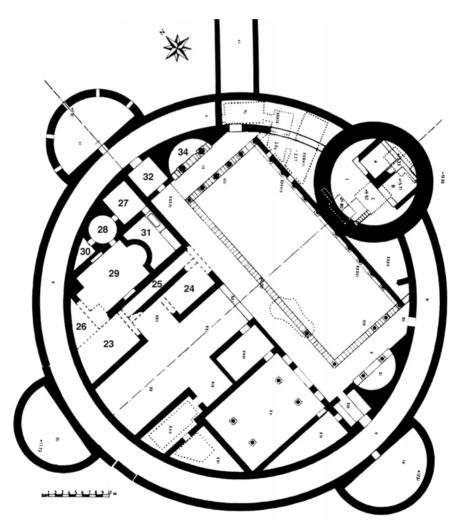


fig. 3332.A Ground plan, Testa, Herodion IV, plan 1

#### 3332. Graffito of a Greek abecedary

Scratched into the plaster.

Meas.: letters 1-2 cm.

Findspot: Eastern corner of the north exedra of the Herodian palace; see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 34.

A++ΔΕΖΗΘ  

$$\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta, \epsilon, \zeta, \eta, \theta$$

$$A \sqcup \Delta \in \mathbb{Z}$$
fig. 3332

Comm.: Testa understood αὐδέζης (i.e. αὐδάζης), "suona la tromba!," "celebra vittoria!" He concludes: "Siamo in un'atmosfera di caserma e di lotta." Accepted by Hezser. – Since Testa does not tell us whether the letters were scratched into fresh plaster, the text cannot be dated.

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 17 no. 1 (ed. pr.). – V. Corbo, Herodion 1, 1989, 63; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 414; A. Ecker, EI 31, 2015, 6-11 (Hebr.).

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 19 fig. 1 (dr.).

WA

#### 3333. Greek graffito

Scratched into the plaster.

Meas.: letters 1-2 cm.

Findspot: On the eastern wall (same room as nos. 3334-3335); see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 32.



fig. 3333.1

## KAINOIKH $\Sigma$ A $\Sigma$ TOFYNAIKEION [--]+NO $\Sigma$ OYXAPIN $\Sigma$ Y $\Lambda$ ETOY[..]FP[.]H

καινοικήσας τὸ γυναικεῖον | [--]+ΝΟΣΟΥ χάριν ΣΥΛΕΤΟΥ[..]ΓΡ[.]Η

Having newly inhabited the female quarters ...

Comm.: l.1: καινοικέω (not in LSJ Suppl.) seems to be regularly formed. Testa interpreted it as the 2nd pers. sing. indic. aorist (an Ionic form without augment),

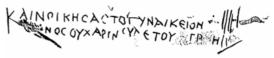


fig. 3333.2

"tu abitasti da poco," which seems a bit far fetched; it is probably the masculine participle. Testa's further interpretation is similarly difficult, but a more satisfactory solution cannot be offered. l.2: νοσοῦ: "l'imperativo medio-passivo del verbo νοσέω con il significato di si folle di amore, di passione sessuale"; χάρις "può significare gioia sessuale, piacere dell'amore" (rather a genitive with χάριν, as in e.g. μνήμης χάριν); συλετοῦ is said to be the genitive of συλητής, "spogliatore, con la accezione di predatore, sgrassatore, o, in senso sessuale, rapitore."

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 17-20 no. 2 (ed. pr.). – Hezser, Jewish Literacy 414ff.

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 19 fig. 2 (dr.) ph. 3.

WA

# 3334. Greek graffito

Meas.: letters ca. 1-2 cm.

Findspot: On the eastern wall (same room as nos. 3333, 3335); see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 32.

#### ΕΑΥΤΑΜΕΝΕΖΩ



fig. 3334.1



fig. 3334.2

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 20 no. 3 (ed. pr.). - Hezser, Jewish Literacy 414ff.

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 21 fig. 3 (dr.) ph. 4.

WA

### 3335. Greek graffito

Meas.: letters 2 cm.

Findspot: On the western wall (same room as nos. 3333-3334); see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 32.

# ΕΑΡΙΝ ΟΝΗΣΙΜΟΣ ΟΜΕΥΝΕΤΙΣ



fig. 3335.1

Comm.: Testa: ἔαρι[ν] (i.e. ἔαρι) ὀνήσιμος | ὁμευνέτις, "di primavera, è utile la moglie," but he concedes: "La decifrazione è molto incerta." This relates especially to the second



fig. 3335.2

word. – Ἐάριν(ος) or its female counterpart? The writer of the second line is not necessarily identical with the writer of the first line: at least the first *epsilon* and the sigma(?) are written in a different way. ὁμευνέτις is not a very common poetic word; ὁμευνέτης does not seem impossible.

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 20ff. no. 4 (ed. pr.). – V. Corbo, Herodion 1, 1989 pl. 10 no. 1; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 414.

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 21 fig. 4 (dr.), 23 ph. 5.

WA

### 3336. Three(?) Greek graffiti

Meas.: letters (b) 20 cm; (c) 2.5-3 cm.

Findspot: On the eastern wall of the Apodyterium (Room 27); see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 27. On the same wall as nos. 3337-3339.

- (a) [--]E[--]
- (b) ΣΥΛΑΣ
- (c) ΕΛΛΗΝΙΟΥΣ
- (c) έλληνίους
- (c) Greek.



fig. 3336

Comm.: (b) Testa remarks that there is "un groviglio di linee (forse il nome,  $\Sigma \Upsilon \Lambda \Lambda \Sigma$  (?) ...)" on which graffito (c) was scratched. (c) Έλλήνιοι does not signify "i Greci," and the adjective Ἑλλήνιος is used mostly as an epitheton of gods.

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 22 no. 5 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 24 fig. 5 (dr.).

WA

### 3337. Two greek graffiti

(b) was added after (a) had been written.

Meas.: (a) letters 2 cm; (b) letters 10-15 cm.

Findspot: On the eastern wall of the Apodyterium (Room 27); see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 27. On the same wall as no. 3336, 3338-3339.

(a) ΖΕΥ+Α++ΦΥΠΟΑΝΜΑΡ[.]ΝΩ

(b) ΚΥΡΑΑΛΜΟ



fig. 3337

Comm.: (a) Above the nu a beta? Testa's reading is not recognizable in the picture; he saw Zενοδ[ώ]ρου πόαν μαρανῶ, and suggested: "Il termine πόαν à l'accusativo di πόα e significa, di solito, erba, a volte alloro: senso ottimo questo ultimo per la

nostra iscrizione. Il verbo  $\mu\alpha\rho\alpha\nu\tilde{\omega}$  è futuro di  $\mu\alpha\rho\alpha'\nu\omega$  e significa farò essiccare, appassire. Possiamo ... tradurre: 'Di Zenodoro l'alloro farò appassire'. È un frizzo geloso di qualche rivale di Zenodoro, forse il poeta o l'artista della reggia?"

(b) Testa recognizes the name Kyra and tries AΛMO[Υ], "che, in Plutarco, si riferisce all'Arasse. Si tratta di una Cira venuta dall'Arasse?" Ps. Plut., de fluviis 23,1: ἑαυτὸν ἔρριψεν εἰς ποταμὸν Ἅλμον, ὃς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Ἀράξης μετωνομάσθη; we know a Boeotian town Almos (Stephanus s.v., cf. Paus. 9,34,10, who describes it as a previous name); both words make no sense in connection with Κῦρα, not even grammatically.

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 22-5 no. 6 (ed. pr.). – Hezser, Jewish Literacy 414ff.

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 24 fig. 6 (dr.).

WA

### 3338. Two Greek graffiti

Meas.: letters (a) 8 cm; (b) 3-4 cm.

Findspot: On the eastern wall of the Apodyterium (Room 27); see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 27. On the same wall as no. 3336-3337, 3339.

- (a) ON[--]Z[--]ΓΑΣ(b) ΣΑΛΟΥΘΙΣΟΜΕΓΛ
- (b) ΣΑΛΟΥΘΙΣΟΜΕΓΛΣ ΠΡΗΟΛΟΥ
- (b) Σαλούθις(?) ΟΜΕΓΛΣ | ΠΡΗΟΛΟΥ



fig. 3338.1

Comm.: (b) l.1: Third letter a *delta*? The *theta* is not really explicable, if we think of the personal name Salutis (Noy, JIWE II 56, 262). Testa read at the end: 'Ομε-ρ[ο]υ and understood "Salutia di Omero." ὁ μέγας? l.2: Testa read Κυρίλλου.



fig. 3338.2

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 25 no. 7 (ed. pr.). - V. Corbo, Herodion 1, 1989, DF 91 (ph.).

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 26 ph. 7 fig. 7 (dr.).

Letters and signs (crosses, Xs etc.) are scattered across the wall. Only one word is legible.

Meas.: letters ca. 1-1.5 cm.

Findspot: On the eastern wall of the Apodyterium (Room 27); see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 27. On the same wall as no. 3336-3338.



Comm.: Probably, but not necessarily, Christian.

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 25 no. 8 (ed. pr.). - C. Markschies, ZAC 11, 2008, 429.

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 27 fig. 8 (dr.).

WA

## 3340. Greek graffito

Meas.: letters 1 cm.

Findspot: On the northern wall of the Apodyterium (Room 27), stripe A of the plaster; see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 27.

ΤΡΥΦΙΡΑ ΜΑ+ΟΥ ΒΟ+Α ΣΑΛΟΑΜΗ ΖΙΝΙΩ

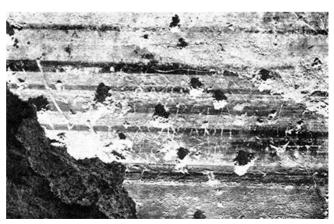


fig. 3340.1

Comm.: l.1: pi, rho in ligature is not impossible, but perhaps Τρυφίρα (Τρυφέρα). – l.4: The square migth be an *omicron*; Testa took it as a later addition to l.3, where his interpretation calls for it. He read: τρυφὴ ῥά (=ἄρα) | Μαίου | βο<η>θία | Σαλαμη|ζίνω, and translated: "La dolcezza di Maggio è cura per Salamsion" (Σαλαμησίνιος=pace di Sion; no such name in Wuthnow, Semitische



fig. 3340.2

Menschennamen). Heszer: "Salamzion was obviously (!) sick, and the writer hoped that spring would bring a healing." The reading in l.3 was accepted by Markschies.

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 25-8 no. 9 (ed. pr.). – Hezser, Jewish Literacy 414ff.; C. Markschies, ZAC 11, 2008, 429.

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 27 ph. 8, 30 fig. 9 (dr.).

WA

#### 3341. Greek letters on plaster

Findspot: On the northern wall of the Apodyterium (Room 27), stripe B of the plaster; see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 27.



fig. 3341.1

"Una successione di lettere e di simboli, messi in modo disordinato; si vedono: un triangolo unito con una specie di scala, un aratro rudimentale, e si leggone le lettere dell' alfabeto  $\Pi$ , P, A, H, P,  $\Psi$ ,  $\Lambda$ ,  $\Phi$ ."

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 28 no. 10 (ed. pr.). Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 29 ph. 9, 30 fig. 10 (dr.).



fig. 3341.2

#### 3342. Graffiti of single Greek letters

Meas.: letters ca. 4.5 cm.

Findspot: On the northern wall of the Apodyterium (Room 27), stripe C of the plaster; see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 27.

#### ΙΣΘΙ

Comm.:  $i\sigma\theta$ : Above the letters, between *iota* and *sigma*, and right above the last *iota*, are scratches of which could be both interpreted as *upsilon*.

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 28 no. 11 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 30 fig. 11 (dr.).

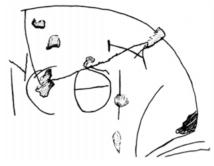


fig. 3342

WA

#### 3343. Graffito with Greek invocation

Two lines above a cross (a); inscription (b) below the arms of the cross. It is not clear which graffito is the earlier one (or if they are contemporary).

Meas.: letters: (a) ca. 8-15 cm; (b) ca. 2-3.5 cm.

Findspot: On the northern wall of the Apodyterium (Room 27), stripe C of the plaster; see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 27.

- (a)  $\overline{X\Sigma}NIKA$  $\Delta O\Upsilon \Lambda A$
- (b) A  $\Omega$
- (a) Χ(ριστὸ)ς νικᾶ | ΔΟΥΛΑ
- (b) ἄ(λφα) ὧ (μέγα)
- (a) Christ is victorious ...
- (b) Alpha Omega.

Comm.: (a) l.1: Testa read X(ριστ)οῦ ἵνα δουλᾶ. The *kappa* is not very well executed. – l.2: derived from the personal name Doulas?

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 28f. no. 12 (ed. pr.). Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 31 fig. 12 (dr.).



fig. 3343

### 3344. Hebrew/Aramaic graffito, 1 c. CE(?)

One line incised in the plaster of a wall.

Meas.: w ca. 10 cm; letters (average, except lamed) ca. 1-2 cm.

Findspot: On the northern wall of the Apodyterium (Room 27), on panel no. 5; see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 27.

לאגלי המ/סלקומ/ס

Translit.: l'gly hm/slqwm/s



fig. 3344

Comm.: According to the first editor, the graffito is inscribed in the Hebrew cursive script. The reading offered by the ed. pr. is *l'gly hmqwm* or, alternatively *l'gly țl*, which would be an oath formula based on Job 38,28. If the drawing in Testa's book is correct, both readings are doubtful; the letters between the two *lameds* are connected to each other and their reading is conjectural. The letter or letters following the second *lamed* can be *he* or *het*, unless these are two letters – *dalet/resh* and *vav*. The following letter and the last letter seem to be *samekh* rather than *mem*. Above the letter read as *qof*, an additional *lamed* seems to appear. However, no alternative interpretation of this graffito has been offered.

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 29f. no. 13 (ed. pr.). - Hezser, Jewish Literacy 414ff.

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 31 fig. 13 (dr.).

ΑY

# 3345. Greek graffito of Cyrilus

Meas.: letters ca. 3 cm.

Findspot: On the northern wall of the Apodyterium (Room 27), on panel no. 7; see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 27.

ΚΥΡΙΛΟ

Κυρίλο(?)

Cyrilus or of Cyrilus?

KIPIKO

fig. 3345

Comm.: Κύριλο(ς), Κυρίλο(υ).

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 30 no. 15 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 32 fig. 15 (dr.).

WA

### 3346. Two Greek graffiti

A cross with four letters on its upper left side and three letters a little farther to the left.

Meas.: letters 3-5 cm.

Findspot: On the northern wall of the Apodyterium (Room 27), on panel no. 7; see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 27.



fig. 3346

Comm.: (a) The last letter could be read as a pi, too. Testa took the two groups of letters to be a single word: "Il termine αἰζήιος à la forma allungata, invariabile, di αἰζηός (da ζάω), che significa il forte, il robusto. È interessante notare che il Crocifisso, in tutte le liturgie occidentali, il Venerdi Santo, sarà invocato con una acclamazione tanto simile alla nostra: ἄγιος ἰσχυρός, sanctus fortis." A very rare, poetic word and hardly plausible here. And is the cross here necessarily the Christian symbol?

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 31 no. 16 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 33 fig. 16 (dr.).

WA

# 3347. Greek graffiti, one of Theodosius

Meas.: (a) letters 4-5 cm.

Findspot: On the northern wall of the Apodyterium (Room 27), "nella fascia verde, n.8, tra i panelli rettangolari giallo (n.7) e marrone (n.9)" (Testa); see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 27.

### (a) ΜΝΗΘΙΘΗ ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟ

- (b) "Segni vari di difficile interpretazione, con lettere  $\Lambda O$  e NI" (Testa)
- (c) "A e una croce" (Testa)
- (a) μνήθιθη | Θεοδοσίο
- (a) Remember Theodosius.



fig. 3347.1

Comm.: (a) μνηθησιτ Testa; μνήσθητι was intended; cf. SEG 18, 648 (Alexandria): [μ]νήθιτι. (c) The *alpha* and the cross are uncertain.

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 32 no. 17 (ed. pr.). Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 33 ph. 10 fig. 17 (dr.).

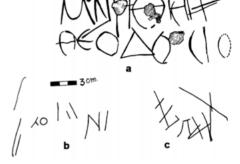


fig. 3347.2

WA

# 3348. Greek graffito of Leontis and other graffiti

Meas.: letters: (a) ca. 5-6 cm; (c) ca. 4-8 cm.

Findspot: On the northern wall of the Apodyterium (Room 27); see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 27.

- (a)  $\Lambda$ EONTI $\Sigma$
- (b) "Ci sono simboli, segni, lettere: K, T, T, P, A P" (Testa).
- (c)  $\Gamma$ HE $\Gamma$ ONTE $\Sigma$ ANIANO $\Sigma$ +
- (a) Λεόντις
- (a) Leontis.



fig. 3348

Comm.: Testa believes that at least (a) and (c) are from the same period, if not by the same hand.

(c) Testa read  $\Gamma E \Gamma \Omega N T E \Sigma ANIANOY$ , and *epsilon* and *omega* as second and fourth letters are at least not impossible. The *upsilon* is only possible if we regard a damage in the plaster as part of the letter. The reading *sigma*, given here, assumes that the graffito uses square and lunar *sigma* in the same line; for a lunar *sigma* see (a). It is uncertain whether the last sign is a letter (*phi*?), and whether it belongs to the other letters in the line.

Testa understood γεγῶντες ἀνιανοῦ. "La forma participiale ... deriva dalla contrazione di γεγαώς che viene da γεγώς, ῶσα e significa i nascenti, i figli." It is not necessary to look for a Hebrew root of ἀ(ν)νιανός: the loss of the nu causes no problem.

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 32-34 no. 18 (ed. pr.). – Hezser, Jewish Literacy 415.

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 34 fig. 18 (dr.).

WA

### 3349. Greek graffito

Meas.: letters 5-8 cm.

Findspot: On the northern wall of the Apodyterium (Room 27), below no. 3348; see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 27.

ΔΟΥΛΟΥ++Α Λ+Γ+

fig. 3349

FORTON AND

Comm.: Testa: δούλου σου, "seguite da altre lettere, forse il nome ΛΥΓΟ[Υ]."

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 34 no. 19 (ed. pr.). Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 35 fig. 19 (dr.).

WA

#### 3350. Greek graffiti with single letters

Meas.: letters ca. 2-3 cm.

Findspot: Tepidarium (Room 28); see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 28.

"Ci sono graffiti vari simboli cristiani, croci di varie forme (semplici, a triangolo, a due corni, con il waw ecc.), barchette, e aratri (a). ... una croce (cm. 11x8) affiancata in alto, a sinistra dall'abbreviazion ΘE in legamento, per Θεός" (Testa).

Comm.: Testa refers to Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations 123 to show that the first dated abbreviation of  $\theta \epsilon(\delta \varsigma)$  belongs in the year 533.

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 36 no. 21 (ed. pr.). Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 38 fig. 21 (dr.).

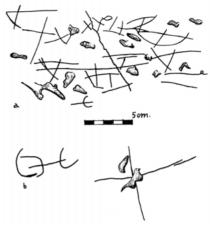


fig. 3350

WA

#### 3351. Aramaic graffito, 1 c. CE (?)

Four letters incised in the plaster of a wall, above a symbol of the cross and the number six in Roman letters.

Meas.: w ca. 8.5 cm; final letter ca. 5 cm.

Findspot: Tepidarium (Room 28), on the central square, no. 4; see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 28.

אלהא

Translit.: 'lh'

The(?) God.

Comm.: The ed. pr. read the letters 'lyh, translating it as "o Dio mio" ("my God"). An alternative reading – 'lh' – seems more fitting the forms of the "Jewish" script of this period. The letters *lamed* and *he* are apparently inscribed

MAN

fig 3351

in a ligature – *lamed* joining the serif at the left end of the "roof" of *he*. The final letter, although looking different from the initial *alef*, is perhaps also *alef* rather than *he* (if the reading of the preceding *he* is correct), its diagonal being short and not reaching the bottom of the right down-stroke. However, the reading offered here is conjectural. (See Testa's explanation for the number VI on his p. 39.)

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 39 no. 23 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 40 fig. 23 (dr.).

AY

# 3352. Greek graffiti

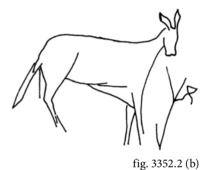
Two groups of scratches, group (a) above (b).

Meas.: (b) mule: h 12, w 15 cm; scratches in front of it: h 6 cm.

Findspot: Tepidarium (Room 28); see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 28.



fig. 3352.1 (a)





Comm.: (a) "Una grossa A che ingloba una  $\Omega$  oppure una O chiusa alla base a coda di rondine, sulla rottura dell'intonaco (= $A\Omega$  ...); sotto, sulla linea orizzontale, le due lettere IH, legate fra loro, e un po' più in alto una grossa  $\Sigma$  (scil. square sigma), da cui pendono le due lettere OY, in

modo da avere il genitivo del nome IH $\Sigma$ O $\Upsilon$ ; finalmente, di nuovo sulla linea orizzontale, un altro 'nome sacro' abbreviato con X e Y, per indicare X( $\rho$ 1 $\sigma$ 7 $\sigma$ 0)Y. L'intero monogramma potrebbe leggersi A $\Omega$  (il principio e la fine) di Gesù Cristo." Testa's

reading seems hardly to be identifiable in the drawing.

(b) "Si tratta di un 'mulo' che guarda la gente che entra nel tepidarium, indifferente a una pianticella che gli cresce, invero molto stremenzita, avanti al muso. ... Nel riquadro ... che si trova proprio sotto a quello del mulo, c'è una iscrizione che

potrebbe ben essere il commento del graffito superiore. Vi sono scritte le lettere  $\overline{\text{IC X}}$ , con il segno dell' abbreviazione sopra. Si tratta dei nomina sacra 'I(ησοῦ)C X(ριστός), Gesù Cristo, che, nel Talmud, fu chiamato degli Ebrei per disprezzo, il 'mulo' e fortemente odiato dai seguaci di Bar Kochba ... A completare il graffito blasfemo, l'autore tra l'asino o il mulo e l'iscrizione, ha disegnato un simbolo pornografico: il phallus che si affaccia anch'esso da un pertugio." Keel - Küchler sum this up: "Ein Maulesel über einem Koitussymbol betrachtet die Abkürzung ICX ... Wenn man in Betracht zieht, daß ... nach dem Zeugnis des ... Justin 'Barchochebas die Christen schrecklichen Strafen zu unterwerfen befahl, wenn sie nicht Jesus Christus verleugneten und lästerten' ... so liegt es nahe, in diesem Graffito eine blasphemische Darstellung Jesu und seiner Verehrer zu sehen." All this is even more fantastic than usual.

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 39 no. 24 (ed. pr.). – Keel - Küchler 656f., fig. 431; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 415.

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 41 figs. 24a-c (dr.).

WA

### 3353. Two Greek graffiti

Two groups of letters(?). Meas.: letters 4-6 cm.

(a) ΥΛΙΑΣ ΔΟΥΛΗ

ΚΥ+Υ

Findspot: Tepidarium (Room 28); see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 28.

fig. 3353.1 (a)

(b) "Ci sono altre quattro lettere ... che ci pare debbano esser lette POΥΘ. La O ... è sottoscritta." (Testa)

Comm.: (a) l.1: Testa took Hylias to be a personal name, but it seems that Hylias is only known as the name of a river. – l.2: δούλη is possible, with *omicron*, *upsilon* and *lambda* written in ligature. – l.3: Testa read Κυρ[ίο]υ.

(b) What Testa saw cannot be seen in the drawing. Only the *upsilon* seems certain.

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 39f. no. 25 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 42 figs. 25 a, b (dr.).



fig. 3353.2 (b)

WA

Meas.: letters ca. 1-8 cm.

Findspot: Tepidarium (Room 28); see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 28.

IOΥΛΑΕΣΟΝΙΟ+ ΧΑΡΑΘ[.]ΙΥΙΙ(?)ΑΙΟ



fig. 3354

Comm.: l.1: Testa: "Nella prima linea, leggiamo un verbo e un termino ripetuto, ci pare, due volte. La forma verbale, λάεσον, è l'imperativo aor. I di λάω, che significa rimira, contempla; il termine è ἰός usato la prima volta al genitivo e la seconda ci sembra all'accusativo ... cioè: 'Della freccia contempla la ruggine', dato che il termine in questione può significare tanto freccia, quanto ruggine." – l.2: Testa reads χαρ $\tilde{\alpha}$  θ[ε]ίαις, "per la gioia con le zie." XAPAI is not impossible, and the *theta* could be an *epsilon*. Last letter *sigma*?

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 42f. no. 26 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 43 fig. 26 (dr.).

WA

#### 3355. Two Greek graffiti remembering the Lord

Meas.: letters ca. 3-12 cm.

Findspot: Tepidarium (Room 28); see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 28.

(a) ΜΝΗΣΤΙΚΎΡΙΕ ΤΩΝΘΎΤ+[..] ΟΙΚΙΑΝΚΑΙΤΩΝ ΜΕΘΗΤΕΩΝΑΝΕΛ ΘΩΣΙΝΙ

(b) КҮРІЕ



fig. 3355

- (a) μνήστι, κύριε, | τῶν ΘΥΤ+[..]|ΟΙΚΙΑΝ καὶ τῶν | μεθ' ἡ μ'ῶν ἀνελ|θῶσιν
- (b) κύριε
- (a) Remember, Lord, ... and those who went up with us.
- (b) Lord.

Comm.: (a) 1.1: =μνήσθητι. - 11.2f. τῶν θυτέ[ων] οἰκίαν Testa, "che devono sacrificare (misticamente) la casa"; the preserved traces at the end of l.2 would accord with κατ', too. – ll.4f.: μεθητέων ἀνελθῶσιν "che devono stare fra coloro che sono saliti quassù" Testa; he derives μεθητέων from μέθημαι and refers to Hom. Od. 1,118. άνέργομαι can mean: go up to church or to heaven. (b) Testa thought this a repetition of the last word in (a) l.1, but the letters suggest a different writer (lunar epsilon, *rho* with a longer vertical hasta, and even *kappa* and *upsilon* are not the same).

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 43f. no. 27 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 43 fig. 27 (dr.).

WA

#### 3356. Greek Graffito with Abecedary(?) and some letters

Findspot: Tepidarium (Room 28); see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 28.

- (a)  $AB\Delta + \Theta +$
- (b) ΕΥ ΕΙ ΥΣ ΥΥ +ΠΡΟ

Comm.: (a) Part of an abecedary? Testa believes the last letter to be digamma. "Writing exercise," Heszer. (b) Between EY (read by Testa as EN) and EI, Testa identifies two Hebrew letters(?).

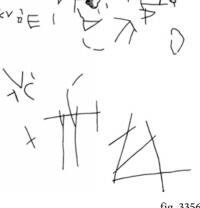


fig. 3356

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 44 no. 28 (ed. pr.). - Hezser, Jewish Literacy 415.

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 45 fig. 28 (dr.).

Meas.: letters ca. 2-6 cm.

Findspot: Tepidarium (Room 28); see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 28.

### ΜΑΘΑΙΩΥ+++ ΚΥΜ+Α ΕΙ

Comm.: Testa sees two lines and tries to incorporate every letter in his reading (Μαθαιῷ ὕει[α?] | οὖ κύντατα ἤει, "Per Matteo (merce) porcina; di cui arrivava la più inverecon-



fig. 3357

da"). l.1: *Omega* is not certain, but *theta* is equally dubious; no certain letters after *upsilon*. – l.2: The scratch Testa took to be the horizontal hasta of *tau* appears to be a small size parallel to the long scratch below. *Eta* is possible, but one could argue for a cross and a vertical bar.

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 44ff. no. 29 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 45 fig. 29 (dr.).

WA

### 3358. Greek graffito

Below the letters a cross (9.5x5.5 cm) inside an irregular oval (19x24 cm). Meas: letters 5-10 cm.

Findspot: Frigidarium (Room 30), north wall of the pool; see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 30.

AYM

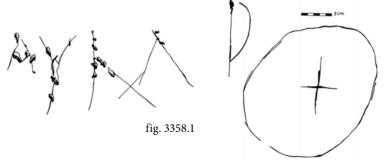


fig. 3358.2

Comm.: Testa understands the cross (fig. 2) in the oval as a "croce cosmica."

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 46 no. 30 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 47 figs. 30 a, b (dr.).

WA

### 3359. Greek graffito of Anatolius with the invocation of the One God

Tabula ansata (only partially visible); the inscription is merely scratched into the stone, as befits a graffito. The damaged stone has been repaired with concrete at its edges so as to fix it onto a wall.

Meas.: h 58, w 65, d 4.5 cm; letters 2-3 cm.

Findspot: Caldarium (Room 29); see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 29. Pres. loc.: SBF Museum, Jerusalem. Autopsy: 7 October 2013 (WE/DK); 4 June 2014 (WE).



fig. 3359.1

ΕΝΜΙΝΗΤΟΟΝ[..]ΑΚΥΡΟΥΠΑΡΙ ΓΟΡΙΟΥΚΑΙΤΟΥΟΙΚΙΟΥΑ+[..]Υ ΑΝΑΤΟΛΙΟ+ΕΥΧΟΜΕΝΟΣΥΠΕΡ ΥΓΙΑΣΑΥΤΟ[.]ΚΑΙΤΩΝΦΙΛΟΥΝ ΤΩΝΑΥΤΟΝΕΙΣΘΕΟΣ

ένμίνη τὸ ὄν[ομ]α κύρου Παρι|γορίου καὶ τοῦ οἰκίου αὐ[το]ῦ. | Ἀνατόλιος εὐχόμενος ὑπὲρ | ὑγίας αὐτο[ῦ] καὶ τῶν Φιλούν|των αὐτόν. εἶς θεός

Let the name of the lord Parigorius and of his house last! Anatolius having made a vow for his own health and (the health) of those who love him. One God!



fig. 3359.2

Comm.: Testa wrote: ἐνμ[ε]ίνη τὸ ὄν[ομ]α Κύρου παριγορίου καὶ τοῦ οἰκίου αὐ[το]ῦ άνατολίου. Εὐχόμενος κτλ. He understood: "Perduri il nome di Ciro il consolatore e della sua casa orientale. Facendo voti per la salute di lui e di quelli che lo amano. Un solo Dio!" A. Chaniotis apud Peterson - Markschies suggested the following reading of the first sentence: ἐνμείνη τὸ ὄνομα κυροῦ Παρηγορίου καὶ τοῦ οἰκίου αὐτοῦ 'Aνατολίου which is certainly better, taking into account that both Paregorius and Anatolius are personal names typical of Late Antiquity. However, it is difficult to understand how Chaniotis connects ἀνατολίου with the rest of the sentence. The meaning is much improved if one takes the name to be in the nominative case as done in the present edition, namely, if one reads Άνατόλιος instead of Άνατολίου. The scratch which Testa took to be the left hasta of the upsilon seems in fact to be a flaw in the plaster that connects with a lunar sigma. If this is correct, we have two intellegible sentences. There are still difficulties left in ll.1f., e.g.: οἰκίον instead of οἶκος is new in this formula; for the persistence of a name cf. Merkelbach - Stauber, Steinepigramme 1 no. 01/10/02 (Keramos): ἀλλὰ θεὸς πανάχραντος ἐπὶ χρόνον οὔνομα τούτο[υ] καὶ τεκέων ἀλόχου τε μένειν νεύοι Θεοδώρης. - Il.4f.: Cf. SEG 41, 1263 (Termessos): εὐτύχε[ι], ... μετὰ τῶν τέκνων σου καὶ τῶν Φιλούντων σε ἀληθῶς. – The text is not mentioned in Di Segni's list of  $\varepsilon$   $\hat{\xi}$   $\theta$   $\varepsilon$   $\hat{\xi}$  inscriptions.

Bibl.: E. Testa, Herodion IV 49-53 no. 33 (ed. pr.). – Peterson - Markschies, Heis Theos 420f. no. 86,15. – Cf. V. Corbo, Herodion 1, 1989, 49; L. Di Segni, SCI 13, 1994, 94ff.; W. Horbury, PEQ 129, 1997, 135ff.

Photo: WE; Testa, Herodion IV 50 fig. 33 (dr.).

WA

### 3360. Greek graffito of Thecla

Meas.: letters 3-4 cm.

Findspot: On the northern wall of the Caldarium (Room 29), at the entrance to the rectangular exedra; see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 29.

ΧΟ ΙΎ ΘΕΚΛΑ ΝΑΥΠΙΣ

Χ(ριστ)ὸ(ς) Ἰ(ησο)ῦ(ς) | Θέκλα | ΝΑΥΠΙΣ

Jesus Christ. Thecla. ...

Comm.: Testa quotes Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations for this abbreviation in the 6 c. AD, but it does not appear in Avi-Yonah. It would be much easi-



fig. 3360

er if we could understand the *omicron* as a failed effort to produce a lunar *sigma*. l.3: "Il nome Naupis è un po' più raro." Again, no example.  $\nu\alpha\nu\pi\nu\gamma(\delta\varsigma)$  seems impossible too.

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 53ff. no 34 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 55 fig. 34 (dr.).

WA

# 3361. Greek graffito

Very small inscription, "di cui purtroppo è stato smarrito il calco e la foto." Text given after the excavation diary by V. Corbo.

Findspot: On the northern wall of the Caldarium (Room 29), at the entrance to the rectangular exedra; see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 29.

 $MNH[--]TOY\Pi A[--]ANO\Sigma[--]$ 

Comm.: Graffito in three lines?  $\mu\nu\eta[\sigma\theta\eta\tau\iota]$  τοῦ  $\pi\alpha[\tau\rho\delta\varsigma]$  Aνοσ[--] Testa. He took Anos... to be the beginning of a name, "del pa(dre?) di Anos (...)." The beginning may very well be right, but there is no clue as to the length of the lacuna: everything is just speculation (LGPN, so far, knows only two names starting with 'Aνοσ[--]: IG  $1^3$ , 1025 [6/5 c. BC] and SEG 43, 510 [Phanogoreia]).

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 55, 57 no. 35 (ed. pr.). – Hezser, Jewish Literacy 415.

WA

### 3362. Two Greek graffiti, one mentioning the palace (?)

A palm branch below graffito (a). Meas.: (a) letters ca. 1-3 cm.

Findspot: On the southern wall of the Caldarium, at the eastern corner of the entrance to the rectangular exedra; see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 29.



fig. 3362.1

- (a) ΕΓ[--]+[--]ΟΔΩΡΩ ΕΙΣΗ[--]ΔΕΙΟΝ+ΔΙΝΤΟΟΝ ΕΙΣΤΟ+ΤΟΠΟΝΒΑΣΙ ΛΥΕΟΥ
- (b) K,  $\Lambda$ , O,  $\Upsilon$ , A, (cross), M; at another place O, Y
- (a)  $E\Gamma[--]+[--Θε]οδώρω | εἰς Ἡ[ρω]δεῖον +ΔΙΝΤΟΟΝ| εἰς τὸν τόπον <math>BAΣΙ|ΛΥΕΟΥ$
- ... Theodorus ... to the Herodium ... to the place ...

Comm.: (a) l.1: *Epsilon*, *pi* is at least as possible as *epsilon*, *gamma*; ἐγ[γράφομεν Θε]οδώρω is only one of many possibilities (ἐγγράφειν τινι εἰς τι: to register someone among the state debtors). – l.2: [α]δινιόο[ν] Testa, without further explanation (to be derived from ἀδινός?), he translates "Herodion fortificato (?)." – ll.3f.: Βασι|λε[ί]ου Testa, perhaps correct.

(b) Testa read: ΚΟΛΑΖΕ AON and took it, together with the omicron, upsilon, to read οὖ (why not οὐ?) κολάζε α(ὑτ)όν.



fig. 3362.2

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 57f. no. 36 (ed. pr.). – G. Foerster, EAEHL 2, 1976, 510; V. Corbo, Herodion 1, 1989 pl. 1 no. 2; G. Foerster, NEAEHL 2, 1993, 621; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 415.

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 56 ph. 17, 57 fig. 36 (dr.).

#### 3363. Various Greek graffiti

Graffito (c) in a tabula ansata.

Meas.: letters: (b) ca. 1.5-3 cm; (c) ca. 1.5 cm; (d) ca. 1.5-4 cm.

Findspot: Caldarium, on the central wall of the rectangular exedra on the south side; see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 29.

- (a) AKII
- (b) AΠΟΤΗ[--] ΚΩΗΡΑΚΛ+[--]
- (c)  $\Lambda APO\Sigma E\Gamma E[--]$  (hedera)  $\Theta I\Sigma +[--]$
- (d) EYTY+[--]
- (b) ΑΠΟΤΗ[--]|ΚΩ 'Ηρακλ+[--]
- (d)  $\varepsilon \dot{\upsilon} \tau \upsilon \chi [\tilde{\omega} \varsigma]$ ?
- (b) ... Heracl...
- (d) Good luck! (?)

Comm.: (a) Testa read ἀικτήρ ("molto legata"), swift-rushing, darting, and ἴς, sinew, tendon, rib, strip (of papyrus). He combines this to "l'impetuoso prode."

(b) ἀποτήκω Ἡρακλ[έα] Testa; "il verbo ἀποτήκω appartiene al vocabolario degli innamorati, e significa: liquefaccio, consumo poco a poco. È parallelo all' 'amore langueo' della sposa dei Cantici (2,5 [στηρίσατέ με ἐν ἀμόραις, στοιβάσατέ με ἐν μήλοις, ὅτι τετρωμένη ἀγάπης ἐγώ]; 5,8 [ἐὰν εὕρητε τὸν ἀδελφιδόν μου, τί ἀπαγγείλητε αὐτῷ; ὅτι τετρωμένη ἀγάπης εἰμὶ ἐγώ]). Qui l'innamorata consuma poco a poco Ἡρακλέα, nome conosciuto nelle iscrizioni palestinesi." At least the examples quoted by LSJ s.v. do not strengthen the idea that ἀποτήκω belongs



fig. 3363.1



fig. 3363.2

specifically to the language of love. We have no idea how long the lacuna on the right side is. At the end,  $H\rho\alpha\kappa\lambda[\tilde{\eta}_{\varsigma}]$  or any other form of the name is possible.

- (c) Again, we do not know how far the tabula extended to the right. Λαρός ἔγε(ρσις) | θίς [ταράσσεται] Testa, who translates: "un dolce eccitamento come cumolo si turba." He refers to Aristoph. Vesp. 696: ὡς μοῦ τὸν θῖνα ταράττεις (ed. MacDowell ad loc. comments: "θῖνα: mud or sand under water, and so metaphorically 'depths'."). According to the lexica, λαρός and θίς are only used in poetry. The reference to Aristophanes is accepted by Heszer.
- (d) Εὐτύχ[ιος, -ία] Testa, which is not impossible, even though these names usually belong to a later period; Εὐτυχίδης?

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 59-62 no. 37 (ed. pr.). – Keel - Küchler 653f.; V. Corbo, Herodion 1, 1989, 49 DF 92 pl. 10 no. 3; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 415.

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 59 fig. 37 (dr.), 61 ph. 19.

WA

#### 3364. Greek graffito

Findspot: Caldarium: "Nella stessa rientranza sud, nella facciata ovest" (Testa), cf. nos. 3362, 3363; see introduction to nos. 3332-3364 fig. A, no. 29.

 $XTO\Lambda$ 



fig. 3364.1

Comm.: Third letter omega?

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 62 no. 38 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 62 ph. 20 and fig. 38 (dr.).



fig. 3364.2

### 3365.-3372. Plaster fragments with letters

Plaster fragments with letters, found "fuori livello"; some of the graffiti are found on Herodian plaster, and others are on plaster of different colors. No more precise specification of these "texts" is possible.

### 3365. Greek graffito

On a black cornice, partly covered by a painting from another hand; difficult to read.

BOTH[.]

βοτή[ρ]

Herdsman.

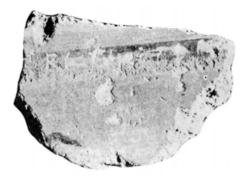


fig. 3365.1

Comm.: The word is mostly poetic, but was also used in later prose. It is perhaps not impossible here, since one could argue that it was used as a label for a person in a painting(?). The personal name  $B\acute{o}$ τη[ $\varsigma$ ] is not really probable either.

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 85 no. 62a (ed. pr.).

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 86 fig. 62a (dr.), 89 ph. 31.



fig. 3365.2

WA

One very large letter, the rest undecipherable.

M

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 86 no. 62b (ed. pr.).

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 86 fig. 62b (dr.).



fig. 3366

WA

# 3367. Greek graffito

Meas.: letters 1-2 cm.

ΚΥΡΙΟΣ

κύριος

Lord.

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 86 no. 62c (ed. pr.).

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 86 fig. 62c (dr.).

fig. 3367

WA

Meas.: letters 4.5-6 cm.

[.]++ΣΘΕ[--] [.]ΟΥΑΡΚΙΒΟΥ [.]ΝΗΣΘΙΤ+



fig. 3368.1

## [.]++ΣΘΕ[--|.]ΟΥΑΡΚΙΒΟΥ | [ $\mu$ ]νήσθιτι

... remember!

Comm.: ll.1f.: [μνή]σθε[τι] | [τ]ου Αρκιβοῦ | [μ]νήσθη[τι] Testa; [μνη]σθεῖ? Testa comments: "il termine ἀρκίβου è ignorato dalla onomastica sia greca che ebraica. Il greco inoltre ignora completamente la nostra radice"; therefore Testa looks for a Hebrew root and finds herkeb, harkabah, "che designa quell'individuo che porta sopra le spalle l'agnello pasquale, per essere immolato, nel Tempio." ᾿Αρκι-β<ι>ου? – l.3: [μ]νήσθη[τι] Testa.

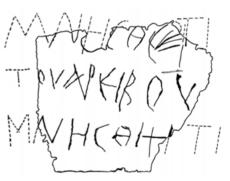


fig. 3368.2

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 86ff. no. 62d (ed. pr.).

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 86 fig. 62d (dr.), 89 ph. 31.

On a colored band of the Herodian epoch. Meas.: letters 3-5 cm.

#### **PHIA**

Comm.: 'Paia or 'P $\eta$ ia (='P $\epsilon$ ia) Testa, who believes this to be a name and quotes Ezra 2,47; 1 Chron 4,2; 5,5 for Rhaia.

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 88 no. 62e (ed. pr.).

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 88 fig. 62e (dr.).



fig. 3369

WA

#### 3370. Greek Graffito

On a piece of Herodian plaster. Meas.: letter 5 cm.

M

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 90 no. 62f (ed. pr.). Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 88 fig. 62f (dr.).



fig. 3370

WA

Crosses and letters.



Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 90 no. 62g (ed. pr.).

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 88 fig. 62g (dr.).

fig. 3371

WA

# 3372. Greek graffito

Herodian plaster.

Comm.: Testa: "Resti di lettere, forse una γ greca."

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 90 no. 62i (ed. pr.).

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 88 fig. 62i (dr.).



fig. 3372

WA

# 3373.-3379. Mason's marks from Herod's palace

Cf. introduction to nos. 3404-3425.

# 3373. Mason's mark with letters alpha and epsilon

Meas.: letters 4.5 cm.

Findspot: "Su un rocco della esedra sud" (Testa).

#### ΑE

Alpha epsilon.

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 85 no. 61a (ed. pr.).

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 85 fig. 61a (dr.).



fig. 3373

WA

#### 3374. Mason's mark with letters $\Gamma$ SI

Meas.: letters 6.5 cm.

Findspot: "Su una base dell'esedra di nord" (Testa).



 $\Gamma SI$ 

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 85 no. 61b (ed. pr.).

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 85 fig. 61b (dr.), 87 ph. 30.



fig. 3374.2

WA

#### 3375. Mason's mark on column with letter delta

Meas.: column section: h 45, ø 54 cm; letter 2.5 cm.

Δ

Delta.

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 85 no. 61c (ed. pr.).

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 85 fig. 61c (dr.).



C

fig. 3375

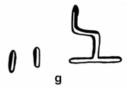
WA

#### 3376. Mason's mark on column with letter bet

Meas.: column section: h 50, ø 35 cm; letter 2.2 cm; bars 1.2 cm.

IΙ⊐

Translit.: b II



Bet 2. fig. 3376

Comm.: The ed. pr. presents the mason's mark upside down and mistakenly interprets it as Greek.

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 85 no. 61g (ed. pr.). – Naveh, On Sherd and Papyrus 39 (Hebr.).

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 85 fig. 61g (dr.).

JJP

#### 3377. Mason's mark on column with letter dalet

Meas.: column section: h 57, ø 45 cm; letter 4 cm; bars 1.5 cm.

II٦

Translit.: d II



Dalet 2. fig. 3377

Comm.: The ed. pr. presents the mason's mark upside down and mistakenly interprets it as Greek.

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 85 no. 61d (ed. pr.). - Naveh, On Sherd and Papyrus 39 (Hebr.).

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 85 fig. 61d (dr.).

JJP

### 3378. Mason's mark on column with letter zayin

Meas.: column section: h 38, ø 45 cm; letter 3.7 cm; bars 1.5 cm.

III t

Translit.: z III

Zayin 3.



fig. 3378.1

Comm.: The ed. pr. mistakenly interprets this mason's mark as Greek.

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 85 no. 61f (ed. pr.).

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 85 fig. 61f (dr.), 87 ph. 30.

000

fig. 3378.2

JJP

# 3379. Mason's mark on column with letter ayin

Meas.: column section: h 58, ø 58 cm; letter 6 cm; bar 2 cm.

Ιυ

Translit.: 'I

Ayin 1.



fig. 3379

Comm.: The ed. pr. presents the mason's mark upside down and mistakenly interprets it as Greek.

Bibl.: Testa, Herodion IV 85 no. 61e (ed. pr.). - Naveh, On Sherd and Papyrus 39.

Photo: Testa, Herodion IV 85 fig. 61e (dr.).

#### 3380.-3391. Mason's marks from Herod's mausoleum

Cf. introduction to nos. 3404-3425.

#### 3380. Mason's mark with letter alef, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: h 6.6, w 5.4 cm.

Pres. loc.: Hebr. Univ. Inst. Arch., Jerusalem, inv. no. LA 2887-8058.

#### ×

Translit.: '

Alef.

Comm.: This and the following 11 inscriptions served as mason's marks for correct placement of the upper blocks of the cornice of the tholos of Herod's mausoleum at Herodion.



fig. 3380

Bibl.: E. Eshel, in: Herodium I 464f. no. 6 (ed. pr.).

Photo: T. Rogowski.

IIP

### 3381. Mason's mark with letter bet, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: h 5, w 5.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Hebr. Univ. Inst. Arch., Jerusalem, inv. no. LA 2887-8057.

ב

Translit.: b

Bet.

Bibl.: E. Eshel, in: Herodium I 466 no. 7 (ed. pr.).

Photo: T. Rogowski.



fig. 3381

### 3382. Mason's mark with letter gimel, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: h 6.2, w 6 cm.

Pres. loc.: Hebr. Univ. Inst. Arch., Jerusalem, inv. no. LA 2883-8305.

Z

Translit.: g

Gimel.

Bibl.: E. Eshel, in: Herodium I 466 no. 8 (ed. pr.).

Photo: T. Rogowski.



fig. 3382

JJP

## 3383. Mason's mark with letter dalet, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: h 7, w 4.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Hebr. Univ. Inst. Arch., Jerusalem, inv. no.: LA 2887-8059.

٦

Translit.: d

Dalet.

Bibl.: E. Eshel, in: Herodium I 466 no. 9 (ed. pr.).

Photo: T. Rogowski.



fig. 3383

JJP

#### 3384. Mason's mark with letter he, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: letter h 5.2, w 3.7 cm; bars h 4, w 2.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Hebr. Univ. Inst. Arch., Jerusalem, inv. no. LA 2800-7480.

Πħ

Translit.: h 2

He 2.

Comm.: The bars after the letter *he* resemble those found in the mason's marks at Masada, see nos. 3906-3971.

Bibl.: E. Eshel, in: Herodium I 466 no. 10 (ed. pr.).

Photo: T. Rogowski.



fig. 3384

JJP

### 3385. Mason's mark with letter vav, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: h 6.1, w 1.9 cm.

Pres. loc.: Hebr. Univ. Inst. Arch., Jerusalem, inv. no. LA 2808-8734.

٦

Translit.: w

Vav.

Comm.: *Vav* is a letter absent from the mason's marks at Masada, nos. 3906-3971.

Bibl.: E. Eshel, in: Herodium I 466 no. 11 (ed. pr.).

Photo: T. Rogowski.



fig. 3385

JJP

### 3386. Mason's mark with letter zayin, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: h 6.1, w 1.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Hebr. Univ. Inst. Arch., Jerusalem, inv. no. LA 2577-8717.

T

Translit.: z

Zayin.

Comm.: *Zayin* is a letter absent from the mason's marks at Masada, see nos. 3906-3971.

Bibl.: E. Eshel, in: Herodium I 467 no. 12 (ed. pr.).

Photo: T. Rogowski.



fig. 3386

JJP

# 3387. Mason's mark with letter het, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: h 5, w 3.1 cm.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. LA 2769-8739.

П

Translit.: h

Het.



fig. 3387

Bibl.: E. Eshel, in: Herodium I 467 no. 13 (ed. pr.). – E. Netzer - Y. Kalman - R. Porath - R. Chachy-Laureys, JRA 23, 2010, 85-108 at 91 (ph. only).

Photo: E. Netzer - Y. Kalman - R. Porath - R. Chachy-Laureys, JRA 23, 2010, 91 fig. 9.

### 3388. Mason's mark with letter yod, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: h 3.6, w 1.8 cm.

Pres. loc.: Hebr. Univ. Inst. Arch., Jerusalem, inv. no. LA 2599-8743.

Translit.: y

Yod.







fig. 3388.2

Bibl.: E. Eshel, in: Herodium I 468 no. 14 (ed. pr.).

Photo: T. Rogowski; C. Cohen (dr.).

JJP

# 3389. Mason's mark with letter kaf, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: letter h 6.4, w 7 cm; diagonal mark h 7, w 1.3 cm. Pres. loc.: Hebr. Univ. Inst. Arch., Jerusalem, inv. no. LA 2798-7534.

Ι⊃

Translit.: k 1

*Kaf 1.* 

Bibl.: E. Eshel, in: Herodium I 469 no. 15 (ed. pr.).

Photo: T. Rogowski.



fig. 3389

JJP

#### 3390. Mason's mark with letter lamed, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: h 8, w 2.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Hebr. Univ. Inst. Arch., Jerusalem.

5

Translit .: 1

Lamed.

Bibl.: E. Eshel, in: Herodium I 469 no. 16 (ed. pr.).

Photo: T. Rogowski.



fig. 3390 JJP

#### 3391. Mason's mark with letter shin, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: letter h 6.5, w 6 cm; bars h 3.1, w 2.9 cm.

Findspot: The stone was found in Lower Herodion.

Pres. loc.: Hebr. Univ. Inst. Arch., Jerusalem.

וו ש

Translit.: § 2

Shin 2.

Bibl.: E. Eshel, in: Herodium I 469 no. 17 (ed. pr.).

Photo: T. Rogowski.



fig. 3391

JJP

### 3392. Limestone block with three letters in Jewish script, 1 c. BCE

Three letters in Jewish script inscribed on a hard limestone block used in the terrace walls of the garden surrounding Herod's mausoleum at Herodion.

Meas.: w 25.35 cm; letters 8.25 cm.

Findspot: See description.

Pres. loc.: In situ, reg. no. W 1735b/1.



fig. 3392

+לום

שלום

Translit.: šlwm

Peace.

Comm.: This inscription and no. 3393 with identical text were probably inscribed "prior to the quarrying of the blocks, and ... they were curtailed and damaged in the latter process, prior to their insertion in the terrace walls," according to the ed. pr.

Bibl.: E. Eshel, in: Herodium I 470 no. 18 (ed. pr.).

Photo: R. Porat, by courtesy of Hebr. Univ. Inst. Arch.

IJΡ

### 3393. Limestone block with three letters in Jewish script, 1 c. BCE

Three letters in Jewish script inscribed on a hard limestone block used in the terrace walls of the garden surrounding Herod's mausoleum at Herodion.

Meas.: w 19.9 cm; letters 12.6-14.7 cm.

Pres. loc.: In situ, reg. no. W 1735/1.

[.]לום

[ש]לום

Translit.: [š]lwm

Peace.



fig. 3393

Comm.: See comm. on no. 3392.

Bibl.: E. Eshel, in: Herodium I 470 no. 19 (ed. pr.).

Photo: R. Porat, by courtesy of Hebr. Univ. Inst. Arch.

### CIII. Drusias (mod. H. Midras)

#### 3394.-3395. Burial cave

Rock-cut burial cave in a quarry; the "cave is oval in shape, 4.50 m in diameter at its widest point; it contained three vaulted burial couches" (A. Kloner, IEJ 27, 1977, 252).

### 3394. Greek funerary inscription

"In one place we found a Greek inscription," Kloner, IEJ.

*The bones of ...* (Kloner)

Comm.: The Greek text is not published and no photograph has been seen; possibly something like τὰ ὀστᾶ τοῦ κτλ., cf. e.g. CIIP II 1518.

Bibl.: HA 59/60, 1976, 38f. (Hebr.); A. Kloner, IEJ 27, 1977, 252; id., Qadmoniot 11, 1978, 115-9 (Hebr.).

WA

#### 3395. Byzantine crosses with inscriptions

"Sixteen different Byzantine crosses were incised and painted on the walls and the ceiling of the cave, some with ... letters ..." (Kloner, IEJ). The photograph in Kloner, Qadmoniot 119 shows two crosses with inscriptions, with the first letters above, and the others below the horizontal bar of the cross.

- (a) AΩ IX (b) [--]
- (b) [--] IX
- (a) ἄ(λφα), ὧ (μέγα) | Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός)
   (b) [ἄ(λφα), ὧ (μέγα)] | Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός)
- (a) and (b) Alpha (and) Omega. Jesus Christ.



fig. 3395

Comm.: Kloner believes that the place was occupied by a small monastic community. It is hard to offer a date for the crosses.

Bibl.: A. Kloner, IEJ 27, 1977, 251ff. (ed. pr.). – Id., Qadmoniot 11, 1978, 115-9 (Hebr.); Meimaris, Sacred Names 44 no. 233, 54 no. 322.

Photo: A. Kloner, Qadmoniot 11, 1978, 119.

WA

### CIV. Beit Sha'ar

## 3396. Greek mosaic for Ioannis Zacharias, Ioanis Abesombus and Ioanis, benefactors of a church

The "Altarraum" was separated from the central nave by a chancel screen (partly seen by Schneider); mosaic with drinking animals and the inscription. Parts of the mosaic were destroyed during the excavation.

Meas.: h ca. 50, w 115 cm.

Findspot: On the route from Jerusalem to Hebron ("bei km 20 der Straße Jerusalem – Hebron, etwa 300 m westlich von ihr auf einer kleinen Anhöhe" Schneider). Small church, typologically a "Dreiapsidenbau," but instead of a southern apsis, a rectangular room was built; nave, narthex (basilica: 9.6x9 m; narthex: 9x3.2 m). Vincent thought of "une petite installation monastique," comparing it to Umm er-Ras. This suggestion was taken up by Dauphin, who mentions some other ruins on the hill, including a cistern(?) and an olive press.



fig. 3396.1 (Vincent)

- $[--]+TI\Lambda H[--]\Omega NKAP\Pi O\Phi \Omega POYN[--]$
- $[--]\Theta KA\Sigma I\Omega NK [I\Omega ANNI+ZAXAPI [--]$
- [--]ANINABE $\Sigma$ OMBONK[I $\Omega$ ANINK[+[--]
- [--]AΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΙΤΟΕΡΓΟΝΕΤ[--]

[ὑπὲρ ἀ]ντιλή[μψεως τ]ῶν καρποφωρούν[των |--]ΘΚΑΣΙΩΝ κ(αὶ) Ἰωάννιν Ζαχαρί[αν | κ(αὶ) Ἰω]άνιν Αβέσομβον κ(αὶ) Ἰωάνιν κ(αὶ) +[--]--]Α ἐτελιώθι τὸ ἔργον ἔτ(ους) [--]

For the succor of the donors ... and Ioannis Zacharias and Ioanis Abesombus and Ioanis ... the work was finished in the year ...

Comm.: When first discovered, this text was taken to be a proof that Beit Sha'ar was John the Baptist's birthplace; but almost all the first editors objected to (e.g. Vincent, Barton, Meistermann, Germer-Durand). From the letter forms, Germer-Durand inferred a date in the late 6 c.



fig. 3396.2 (Germer-Durand)

AD. Ovadiah, Corpus 28f. still says: "Dedicated to St. Zechariah (inscription)," even though he himself edited the text in 1933; in Corpus 52 he calls this a "burial inscription." Barton had his own, very idiosyncratic reconstruction of the text, rephrasing it so that it runs more smoothly (e.g. Πλήσιππος instead of  $\Pi$ λησί $\pi$ πων), printed without brackets: ἄγ(ιος) Πλήσιππος Καρποφό|ρου, καθώς κύριος Ἰωάννης Ζαχαρίας, Ίωάννης Άββᾶ συνέβη Κύριον Ίωάννην, κύριος |



fig. 3396.3 (Barton)

έτελεύτα, τελέσας ρ' τῶν ἐτέων ("Saint Plesippos, son of Karpophoros, like Saint John, the son of Zacharias, [John, the Abbot, agreed with Saint John], the Saint died, having completed 100 years"); Barton's text has been accepted by Avi-Yonah 154f. no. 67, and by Bagatti. – l.1: Germer-Durand: "La première copie que j'ai eue sous les yeux, au temps de la découverte, contenait la syllable POYN à la fin de la ligne"; since neither the drawing published by Vincent nor his own drawing show these letters, Germer-Durand must have been in the possession of a third copy of the text. The diplomatic text given here is a synopsis of the different copies. – l.2: Germer-Durand reads  $K\alpha\sigma$ (ων, which he understands as a form of the Latin Cassius (and the letter before kappa is taken to be an abbreviated praenomen). Note the change from genitive to accusative. – l.3: for Abesombus cf. comm. no. 2676. – ll.3f.: K..ρ..α Germer-Durand. – l.4: ἔργον: either the mosaic or the building.

Bibl.: The Graphic. An Illustrated Weekly Newspaper 1717 (25th October), 1902, 554 with ph. (from a drawing); L. Vincent, RB 12, 1903, 613f. (no text, but a dr.); G. Barton, JBL 22, 1903, 41ff. with ph. ("made from a drawing, and the spacing of the letters may not be absolutely accurate") (edd. prr.). – B. Meistermann, La patrie de St. Jean Baptiste, 1904, 92ff., fig. 5; J. Germer-Durand, EO 11, 1908, 303ff.; M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 2, 1933, 149 no. 26, 154f. no. 67 (repr. in: id., Art in Ancient Palestine, 1981, 296 no. 26, 301f. no. 67); SEG 8, 238; B. Bagatti, SBF 3, 1952/3, 136 no. 47. – Cf. PEQ 63, 1903, 280; BE 1909, p. 320; RB 18, 1909, 333; R. Horning, ZDPV 32, 1909, 133; A. Mader, Altchristliche Basiliken und Lokaltraditionen in Südjudäa, 1918, 204f.; A. Alt, Pjb 30, 1934, 76; A. Schneider, ZDPV 61, 1938, 96ff. no. 1; Ovadiah, Corpus 28f. no. 17, 52 no. 41; Bagatti, Judaea 52; Dauphin, Palestine Byzantine 925; Ribak, Religious Communities 137f.; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christianity II 145f., fig. 248,1, 156; Madden, Corpus 28f. no. 26, 56 no. 70.

Photo: L. Vincent, RB 12, 1903, 614 (dr.); J. Germer-Durand, EO 11, 1908, 304 fig. 1 (dr.); G. Barton, JBL 22, 1903, 42 (dr.).

### CV. Suca (mod. Kh. Khureitun)

#### 3397. Cross with Greek nomina sacra

Crosses and other paintings on the wall (perhaps also a single *omega*); the crosses and letters are painted, mostly in red and black.

Meas.: 16x16 cm (arms of cross).

Findspot: A bell-shaped niche above the cells of the monastery (of Chariton?); the cross on its eastern wall. Another inscription below a second cross could not be deciphered (Greek or Syriac?).

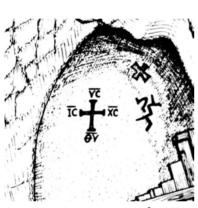


fig. 3397.1

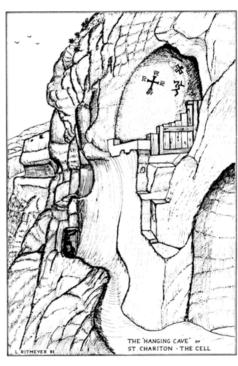


fig. 3397.2

(before and after the horizontal arm of the cross)  $\overline{I\Sigma} \, \overline{X\Sigma}$  (above and below the vertical arm of the cross)  $\overline{\Upsilon\Sigma} \, \overline{\Theta\Upsilon}$ 

 $\stackrel{\cdot}{I}(\eta\sigma\circ\tilde{\upsilon})\varsigma\,X(\rho\iota\sigma\tau\delta)\varsigma \\ \upsilon(\dot{\iota}\dot{\delta})\varsigma\,\theta(\epsilon\circ)\tilde{\upsilon}$ 

Jesus Christ, son of God.

Bibl.: Y. Hirschfeld, Map of Herodium (108/2), 1985 no. 26 fig. 37 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – Id., Judean Desert Monasteries 133. – Cf. Ribak, Religious Communities 170; Greenberg - Keinan 2009, 125 no. 849.

Photo: L. Ritmeyer, in: Hirschfeld, Judean Desert Monasteries 233 fig. 130 (dr.).

WA

### CVI. Tel Lavnin

#### 3398.-3400. Burial cave

In 1996 a rock hewn burial cave was dicovered on the western slope of Tell Ḥ. Lavnin, an ancient site located on the western bank of Naḥal Ḥakhlil. The structure consists of a courtyard (almost completely destroyed by a bell-shaped quarry established at the site at a later date), an antechamber and two burial chambers. The main chamber contains nine loculi, four in each lateral wall and one at the rear wall. Next to this an arched passage leads to the second chamber with three arcosolia in its walls. Three inscriptions – one in Hebrew (no. 3398), two in Greek (nos. 3399, 3400) – were found scratched into the walls of the antechamber. "The plan of the cave and specifically the plan of the inner *arcosolia* room indicate that the cave should probably be dated to the 1st century CE" (B. Zissu, HA-ESI 113, 2001, 104\*).

### 3398. Hebrew wall inscription

Well-formed Hebrew letters.

Findspot: On the southern wall of the antechamber, above the entrance to the burial chamber together with Greek inscription no. 3399 and geometric designs. Pres. loc.: See findspot. Autopsy: October 2013 (AE, B. Zissu, K. Stern).

יה

Translit.: yh

Yah (=God).



fig. 3398.1

Comm.: The two Hebrew letters, with the retrograde  $\Theta EO\Sigma$  in no. 3399, were incised on the southern wall of the entry hall above the entrance to the burial chamber. The surface of the wall breaks right above the *yod*, so that it is uncertain whether the inscription is complete, thus forming a name of God common in later magical texts, or (as Zissu suggests) the end of a theophoric name. It does make



sense as a name of God when read with the Greek  $\Theta EO\Sigma$ . For examples of  $\pi$  as a frequent name of God in later magical texts, see S. Shaked et al., Aramaic Bowl Spells I, 2013, index s.v.  $\pi$ . Not the entrance but inscriptions on the ossuaries or the loculi would have identified the names of the deceased. Both  $\Theta EO\Sigma$  and  $\pi$ , together with the geometric designs and retrograde Greek alphabet no. 3400 on the western wall, could have been intended to protect the dead interred within, as well as (perhaps) a kind of warning to anyone crossing into the burial chamber.

Bibl.: B. Zissu, ESI - HA 113, 2001, 104\* (ES), 153f. (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – Cf. Baltes 2014, 44 n.31; E. Klein - I. Shai, Tel Aviv 43, 2016, 221-38 at 221, 223.

Photo: B. Zissu (ph. and dr.).

JJP

### 3399. Greek graffito "God" in mirror writing

Findspot: On the southern wall of the entry room, above the passage to the main chamber; near to the Hebrew inscription no. 3398.

Pres. loc.: See findspot. Autopsy: October 2013 (AE, B. Zissu, K. Stern).

ΣΟΕΘ

θεός

God.



fig. 3399.1

Comm.: The letters are mirrored. "The people who incised the inscriptions may have attributed to them a magical sense" (Zissu), which may be supported by some of the rough, geometrical drawings on the same wall; cf. comm. to nos. 3398, 3400.

Bibl.: B. Zissu, ESI - HA 113, 2001, 104\* (ES), 153f. (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – Baltes 2014, 44 n.31; E. Klein – I. Shai, Tel Aviv 43, 2016, 221ff.

Photo: B. Zissu (ph. and dr.).

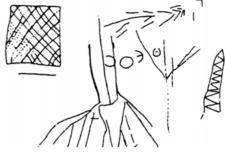


fig. 3399.2

WA

### 3400. Greek abecedary, 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE

A single line of text containing a reversed Greek alphabet inscribed on the west wall of the antechamber of a rock-cut tomb. The letters are shallowly scratched onto the smoothed surface of the rock where the other pictorial graffiti are incised. They are clearer on the left than on the right. The size of the letters decreases as the line progresses from left to right; w-shaped *omega*; lunate *sigma*.

Meas.: w 51 cm of clear letters up to the letter *lambda*, 21 cm of additional illegible incisions (not necessarily letters); letters *omega* to *rho* 5-8 cm, *pi* to *lambda* ca. 3 cm.

Findspot: On the west wall of the antechamber, 41 cm from its corner with the southern wall, 115 cm above floor level.

Pres. loc.: See findspot. Autopsy: October 2013.



Comm.: The letter after *pi* seems like a *chi* but is probably a *xi*. The following letter is unclear. The writer may have confused the order, and the attempt to correct this made the *omicron* and *xi* to be illegible. The shape of the letters is similar to that found on the ossuaries from Jerusalem and to



fig. 3400.1



fig. 3400.2

the reversed alphabet found in Herodion (no. 3329); hence a date between the late 1 c. BCE and mid 1 c. CE which would be compatible with the type of tomb and finds from Tel Lavnin (Zissu, ESI). Complete or partial Greek and Hebrew/Aramaic alphabets appear in mortuary contexts in Palestine, and are commonly interpreted as apotropaic, or otherwise "magical"; see CIIP I 699 and further references there. For other abecedaries from the region covered in this vol., see nos. 2788, 2803, 2828, 3329, 3736, 3843. It is unclear whether or not the alphabet here was complete. If indeed it continued no further, then it is tempting to suggest a similarity to late antique oil lamps that bear retrograde alphabets in Samaritan letters and in Greek beginning with *alef* and *alpha* and ending with *nun* and *nu* (see J. Naveh, IEJ 38, 1988, 36-43 nos. 5, 6).

The abecedary was found among many pictorial graffiti and is discussed in its proper fuller context in a forthcoming article by B. Zissu, K. Stern and A. Ecker.

Bibl.: B. Zissu, ESI 113, 2001, 104 (ES), 153f. (Hebr.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: B. Zissu; AE (dr.).

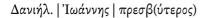
ΑE

### 3401. Greek graffito on a wall

Crosses and three words on the rock; to the right of ll.1f. a lioness. The drawing of her face seems to imply that she was added after l.1 was engraved. "To the left of the inscription another lion seems to have been carved, but very few lines and circles – probably the eyes or the ears – remain" (Zissu).

Findspot: Two rock-cut, bell-shaped caves, to which may belong some foundations and an oil press. The northern cave was used as a cistern, parts of which were plastered, but the graffito is on the rock of the western wall; some monastic cells were found in the southern cave.

(cross)  $\begin{array}{l} \Delta ANIH\Lambda \\ \text{(cross)} \ I\Omega ANNH\Sigma \\ \Pi PE\Sigma B \end{array}$ 



Daniel. Ioannes, the priest.



fig. 3401.1

Comm.: Zissu dates the cave and the engravings to the 5 c. or 6 c. AD. "It appears that the artists intended to depict the biblical story of Daniel in the lion's den (Dn 6,16-24), but as a combination of a cross (identified as Daniel) and the figure of a lioness" (Zissu; cf. Hachlili 79ff. on the iconography of Daniel in the lion's den). According to this interpretation, Ioannes may have been one of the artists, perhaps living in the other cave. But it seems much more



fig. 3401.2

probable that Daniel was one of the monks living at the place. -1.3: The abbreviation is indicated by the diagonal line. Most likely this designation refers to Ioannes.

Bibl.: B. Zissu, RB 106, 1999, 564-8 (ed. pr.). – SEG 49, 2088. – Cf. I. Taxel, BAIAS 26, 2008, 64; R. Hachlili, AMP 80f., fig. IV,17; B. Zissu - A. Kloner, Opera Ipogea 16, 2014, 56f.; E. Klein – I. Shai, Tel Aviv 43, 2016, 221.

Photo: B. Zissu, RB 106, 1999 pl. IIa, 566 fig. 1 (dr.).

WA

## CVII. Thecoa (mod. Teqo'a, Kh. et-Tuqu')

### 3402. Magical amulet on silver plate with Aramaic inscription, 5-7 c. CE

A silver plate with 16 narrowly spaced, incised lines, most of which (11 and a half) are in Hebrew letters.

Meas.: h 6, w 2.4 cm.

Pres. loc.: SBF Museum, Jerusalem.

לשם מרתין ברתה דקוראל משבע אנה על מרתין ברתה דקורלא בשם אגירת מרתי פ ללא ויבך (4 lines of magic characters) סטרסוק שאפתי נקימנס וסקאי חטרב איתה ניחה שלום



fig. 3402.1

Translit.: lšm mrtyn | brth dqwr'l | mšb' 'nh | 'l mrtyn brth | dqwrl' bšm | 'gyrt mrty p|ll' wybk | (4 lines of magic characters) | (magic characters) nḥrb 'n{h} | sţrswq š'pty | nqymns wsq'y | ḥţrb 'yth | nyhh šlwm

To the name of Marten daughter of Qoriel I adjure against Marten daughter of Qwrl' (=Qoriel). In the name of Agirat, my lady, ... (4 and a half lines of magic characters) I destroy(?) (magic words?) bring(?) rest(?). Peace.

Comm.: According to Naveh - Shaked 78, the amulet "was bought in the antiquities market" and according to the dealer its provenance is Tego'a, south of Bethlehem. It was first published in 1967 by E. Testa and dealt with the same year by J. Milik, who identified it as an amulet. It has been newly collated by Naveh -Shaked on the basis of a new examination of the original, aided by a new photograph. Some of the letters have a peculiar form, and only part of the text is intelligible. According to the interpretation suggested by Naveh - Shaked, no client seems to be mentioned in this amulet. which is "addressed at the name of the demon Marten ("our lady"?), daughter of Qoriel" (according to Naveh - Shaked 79, "Qoriel is a well known name of an angel").

ll.1-2: *lšm* ("To the name of") – a *lamed* is used here instead of the more common *bet*. These lines seem to be superfluous in view of the following lines. ll.3-5: The words *mšb* '*n{h}* 'l ("I adjure against") begin a new sentence and are in fact the beginning of the text. This is also indicated by the repetition of the name Marten ("our lady"), one of a triad of deities known in Hatra (Naveh - Shaked 79).

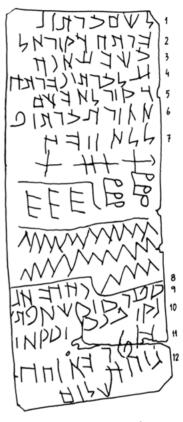


fig. 3402.2

In 1.5, a metathesis occurs in the name *Qwrl*'. ll.5-6. *bšm* 'gyrt mrty ("in the name of Agirat my lady") – according to Naveh - Shaked 79, Agirat as well as the following words are names of angels (*pll*'=*pl*'!? [ll.6-7]). Between l.7 and the middle of l.8, two lines of magic signs and two and a half lines of a zigzag pattern appear. ll.8-12: These lines mostly contain magic words, parts of which may be corrupt. At the end of the text in l.12 is the Hebrew word Shalom, which is unusual in amulets (while common in epitaphs and dedicatory inscriptions, as noted in Naveh - Shaked 79). This may indicate its connection to a deceased person, as may perhaps also be concluded from the preceding word, *nyḥh* ("rest," if the reading is correct).

Bibl.: E. Testa, L'Huile da la Foi, 1967, 22; J. Milik, Biblica 48, 1967, 450f. (edd. prr.). – J. Starcky, RB 75, 1968, 278-81; E. Testa, La Terra Santa 44, 1968, 55-8; J. Naveh - S. Shaked, Amulets and

Magic Bowls, 1985, 78ff. no. 8; Beyer, Aramäische Texte, Ergänzungsband 258 no. ggXX 4; H. Eshel - R. Leiman, Journal of Ancient Judaism 1, 2010, 189-99.

Photo: Testa, L'Huile de la Foi, 1967, 22 fig. 4; J. Naveh - S. Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, 1985, 80 pl. 7 fig. 9 (dr.).

ΑY

## CVIII. Tell el-Judeiyida (Tel Goded)

### 3403. Greek graffito inside a water conduit

A graffito in Greek letters was incised on one of the covering slabs at the base of the retaining wall, at the west end of the rock-cut part of a conduit.

Meas.: w ca. 29 cm; letters 2.5-5 cm.

Findspot: Conduit which brought water "from springs at the foot of Tel Goded" (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: In the conduit.

DAYΛΟΥΠΟ fig. 3403

>XT>01TO

Comm.: The Greek letters were read as: (centuria) Αὔλου Πο(μπηίου)/Πο(μπωνίου)/ Πο(ντίου), that is to say a Roman centuria identified by the name of its centurion, who, according to L. Di Segni (p. 51) was "a Roman citizen of old western stock." The entire interpretation is wrong: Greek letters were never used for a Roman military centuria, nor would a centurio have been mentioned with a fully written praenomen but an abbreviated nomen gentile. Furthermore, according to the excavators the conduit and the covering slab with the graffito on it were built in the Late Roman and Byzantine periods when praenomina were no longer in use, and the centuria no longer existed as a unit in the Roman army. In short neither the date given by SEG and AE: "before the early 3rd cent. AD" nor the conclusion that a military unit built the aqueduct or part of it are possible. The meaning of the letters must be left open.

Bibl.: N. Sagiv - B. Zissu - D. Amit, ESI 18, 1998, 99f. (dr.) (=HA 106, 1996, 149ff. [Hebr.]) (ed. pr.). – SEG 48, 1899; Di Segni, Aqueducts 51; Sagiv - Zissu - Amit, ibid. 177-86 at 185; AE 2002, 1561; SEG 52, 1619.

Photo: Sagiv - Zissu - Amit, Aqueducts 184 fig. 9,7 (dr.).

WE

# 3404.-3425. Mason's marks on column drums in a villa of the Hellenistic or Roman period

During their excavations at Tell el-Judeiyida (Kh. Jedeideh/Tel Goded) in 1900 F. Bliss and R. Macalister exposed building structures at the center of the Tell which they took to be the remains of a villa of the Hellenistic or Roman period. According

to S. Gibson, the remains can be assigned to three separate building phases: "The earliest phase is represented by a square building (13.7x13.7 m) with nine rooms surrounding a small central court ... Access to the structure was indirect ... and the entrance itself was protected by a guardroom ... suggesting that the original building had a military function ... It seems probable that this structure was built as a freestanding fortified tower. However, without suitable dating evidence it is unclear whether this tower existed as a fortified building within the Hellenistic town or whether it was built in the late Hellenistic period following the abandonment or destruction of the earlier Hellenistic town ... The second building phase is represented by a structure to the east, measuring 16.6x17 m. The earlier tower was incorporated into this new structure, separated from it by a narrow hallway ... with doorways at either end. The structure consisted of a range of rooms ... around a court with a columned pool at its centre ... The pool was rectangular with four steps leading down from the southwest corner. A narrow bench existed on three sides of the pool ... The top of the pool walls would also have served as a proper stylobate for the column bases ... The capitals and Attic column bases are clearly of Early Roman style ... This second building phase is dated to the Early Roman period ... The third building phase consists mainly of structural extensions to the north and south of the earlier structure which continued to be in use. Modifications also took place within the earlier structure ... This phase is tentatively dated to the Early Byzantine period" (Gibson 213ff.; for the original ground plan of the building, see Bliss 1900 pl. 3=Bliss - Macalister, pl. 12; updated ground plans with corrections and additions: Gibson 214 fig. 12, 217 fig. 15; drawings of the bases and capitals of the columns: Bliss 1900 pl. IV=Bliss - Macalister, pl. 13).

Many of the drums of which the columns surrounding the pool were built bore mason's marks on one of their surfaces. Of the 25 marks documented by Bliss and Macalister, 18 consist of a Greek letter, which in 12 cases is followed by one or more vertical strokes (nos. 3406-3420, 3423-3425). In two other cases, what seems to be a Latin L is used, once alone, once accompanied by vertical strokes (nos. 3421-3422). Two other column drums show only vertical strokes (nos. 3404-3405); in the three remaining cases the signs forming the mark are unlikely to be letters (Bliss 1900 pl. 4 nos. 23-25=Bliss - Macalister, pl. 14 nos. 23-25). No. 23 resembles a somewhat bulky theta and the shape of nos. 24 and 25 is reminiscent of a delta. However, such identifications are excluded with respect to the assumed underlying system, since unequivocal delta and theta are already present on other drums, and each single letter should appear only once (see below). Bliss and Macalister rebuilt six of the columns from the capitals and drums they found on the bases they supposed to be in situ (on this last point, cf. Gibson 215; photographs of the rebuilt columns in Bliss 1900, fig. in front of p. 205=Bliss - Macalister 48 fig. 24; Gibson 216 figs. 13f.) and Macalister stated concerning the meaning of the mason's marks: "The attractive theory that the letters were denotations of the individual columns, and the strokes represented the numerical order of the drums in each, was negatived by trial, it being found that drums

consecutively numbered do not fit together. We are, therefore, obliged to fall back on considering the letters as mason's marks, and the strokes as indicating the number of the drums executed by each. The Greek letters may be indications of the nationality of the workmen, or else may be mere affectations" (Bliss 1900, 206=Bliss - Macalister 49). However, findings at other places have vindicated the theory that the marks are there to fix the position of the different architectural elements in their correct architectural formation; especially the excavation of the main theater in Petra 1961-62. There, the columns of the scaenae frons had been toppled by the earthquake of 363 AD, and fallen in almost straight lines from their original position so that the column drums, many of which bore mason's marks consisting of the combination of a letter and a number formed by diagonal bars, were found precisely in their original order (on mason's marks as part of a marking system used in building processes, see Foerster, Masada V 98 and Hammond [on Petra esp. 124f.]). The letter seems to identify the column, while the numeral given by the number of strokes designates the position within the column. Bliss and Macalister may have discarded this system either because they did not try all possibilities of combining the drums or by the extensive damage to the surface.

The combination of a letter with vertical strokes as digits of numbers as mason's marks on column drums to denote their position can also be found at other sites in Iudaea, namely the Herodian palaces at Masada (nos. 3906-3971), Herodion (nos. 3373-3379, cf. nos. 3380-3391 on architectural elements of Herod's mausoleum) and Jericho (nos. 2840-2843) as well as the so called "Palace of Hilkiya" at Kh. el-Muraq (nos. 3814, 3815). Especially at Masada, a large number of column drums were found bearing mason's marks. It is instructive to find out that the erection of the villa at Tell el-Judeiyida seems to be roughly contemporary with the period of origin of these large Herodian complexes as well as with the rural estate at Kh. el-Murag also dated to the Herodian period, which Gibson 215 mentions as best parallel to the villa on Tell el-Judeiyida. As in the present case also in the case of Masada, Herodion and Kh. el-Muraq the elements which make up the marks are not entirely uniform. While in Tell el-Judeiyida the letters are usually taken from the Greek alphabet with the exception of the Latin L, the Hebrew alphabet dominates on Masada and is also predominant in Herodion. However, in Masada (no. 3970) and Herodion (no. 3375) one also finds Greek letters, as well as in Jericho. Of the two column drums from Kh. el-Muraq, one bears a Greek delta and the other a Hebrew lamed followed by strokes (on the use of different scripts, cf. Gibson - Taylor). Finally, on Masada there are also examples of marks consisting merely of strokes (nos. 3963-3969), and others consisting of signs instead of letters (see Foerster, Masada V 82 no. 58, 96 fig. 161), which may also be the case at Tell el-Judeiyida (see above).

Bibl.: F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 199-222 at 202-6; Bliss - Macalister 47-50; S. Gibson - J. Taylor, Beneath the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, 1994, 21-3; S. Gibson, Tel Aviv 21, 1994,

194-234 at 213-7; P. Hammond, PEQ 132, 2000, 123-30; U. Weber, Versatzmarken im antiken griechischen Bauwesen, 2013.

### 3404. Mason's mark on column drum with vertical stroke, early Roman

Meas.: letter ca. 7.6 cm (according to drawing in ed. pr.).

I

1.

Bibl.: F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 199-222 at 206 pl. 4 no. 1 (ed. pr.). – Bliss - Macalister 49.

Photo: Bliss - Macalister pl. 14 fig. 1.

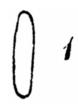


fig. 3404

DK

#### 3405. Mason's mark on column drum with two vertical strokes, early Roman

Meas.: letters ca. 5.1 cm (according to drawing in ed. pr.).

Π

2.

Bibl.: F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 199-222 at 206 pl. 4 no. 2 (ed. pr.). – Bliss - Macalister 49.

Photo: Bliss - Macalister pl. 14 fig. 2.

00

2

fig. 3405

DK

### 3406. Mason's mark on column drum with Greek letter alpha, early Roman

Meas.: letter ca. 9.5 cm (according to drawing in ed. pr.).

Α

Alpha.

Bibl.: F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 199-222 at 206 pl. 4 no. 3 (ed. pr.). – Bliss - Macalister 49.

Photo: Bliss - Macalister pl. 14 fig. 3.



fig. 3406

# 3407. Mason's mark on column drum with Greek letter *alpha* followed by two vertical strokes, early Roman

Meas.: letters ca. 4.4-7.6 cm (according to drawing in ed. pr.).

A II

Alpha 2.

Bibl.: F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 199-222 at 206 pl. 4 no. 4 (ed. pr.). –

Bliss - Macalister 49.

Photo: Bliss - Macalister pl. 14 fig. 4.



fig. 3407

DK

### 3408. Mason's mark on column drum with Greek letter beta, early Roman

Meas.: letter ca. 8.3 cm (according to drawing in ed. pr.).

В

Beta.

13

fig. 3408

Bibl.: F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 199-222 at 206 pl. 4 no. 5 (ed. pr.). - Bliss - Macalister 49.

Photo: Bliss - Macalister pl. 14 fig. 5.

DK

# 3409. Mason's mark on column drum with Greek letter *beta* followed by a vertical stroke repeated twice, early Roman

Meas.: letters ca. 4.4-8.3 cm (according to drawing in ed. pr.).

BIBI

Beta 1, Beta 1.



fig. 3409

Comm.: For some reason the combination of a letter denoting the column and a numeral designating the position of the drum within it were incised twice.

Bibl.: F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 199-222 at 206 pl. 4 no. 6 (ed. pr.). - Bliss - Macalister 49.

Photo: Bliss - Macalister pl. 14 fig. 6.

## 3410. Mason's mark on column drum with Greek letter *beta*(?) and three vertical strokes, early Roman

Meas.: letters ca. 3.2-7 cm (according to drawing in ed. pr.).

B(?) III

Beta(?) III.



fig. 3410

Comm.: It is not clear if this is really a *beta*, since it looks quite different from the clear *betas* in nos. 3408 and 3409: according to the drawing the vertical hasta of the letter would be missing and the two loops would not join.

Bibl.: F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 199-222 at 206 pl. 4 no. 7 (ed. pr.). - Bliss - Macalister 49.

Photo: Bliss - Macalister pl. 14 fig. 7.

DK

### 3411. Mason's mark on column drum with Greek letter delta, early Roman

Meas.: letter ca. 5.7 cm (according to drawing in ed. pr.).

Δ



Delta.

fig. 3411

Bibl.: F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 199-222 at 206 pl. 4 no. 8 (ed. pr.). - Bliss - Macalister 49.

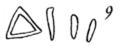
Photo: Bliss - Macalister pl. 14 fig. 8.

DK

# 3412. Mason's mark on column drum with Greek letter *delta* followed by three vertical strokes, early Roman

Meas.: letters ca. 4.4-5.7 cm (according to drawing in ed. pr.).

ΔIII



Delta 3.

fig. 3412

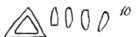
Bibl.: F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 199-222 at 206 pl. 4 no. 9 (ed. pr.). – Bliss - Macalister 49.

Photo: Bliss - Macalister pl. 14 fig. 9.

## 3413. Mason's mark on column drum with Greek letter *delta* followed by four vertical strokes, early Roman

Meas.: letters ca. 3.2-5.7 cm (according to drawing in ed. pr.).

ΔIIII



Delta 4. fig. 3413

Bibl.: F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 199-222 at 206 pl. 4 no. 10 (ed. pr.). - Bliss - Macalister 49.

Photo: Bliss - Macalister pl. 14 fig. 10.

DK

# 3414. Mason's mark on column drum with Greek letter *epsilon* followed by two vertical strokes, early Roman

Meas.: letters ca. 4.4-8.3 cm (according to drawing in ed. pr.).

ΕII

€00

Epsilon 2.

fig. 3414

Bibl.: F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 199-222 at 206 pl. 4 no. 11 (ed. pr.). – Bliss - Macalister 49.

Photo: Bliss - Macalister pl. 14 fig. 11.

DK

# 3415. Mason's mark on column drum with Greek letter *eta* followed by three vertical strokes, early Roman

Meas.: letters ca. 3.8-5.7 cm (according to drawing in ed. pr.).

H III

H100 12

Eta 3.

fig 3415

Bibl.: F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 199-222 at 206 pl. 4 no. 12 (ed. pr.). - Bliss - Macalister 49.

Photo: Bliss - Macalister pl. 14 fig. 12.

### 3416. Mason's mark on column drum with Greek letter theta, early Roman

Meas.: letter ca. 6.3 cm (according to drawing in ed. pr.).

Θ

fig. 3416

13

Theta.

Bibl.: F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 199-222 at 206 pl. 4 no. 13 (ed. pr.). – Bliss - Macalister 49.

Photo: Bliss - Macalister pl. 14 fig. 13.

DK

## 3417. Mason's mark on column drum with Greek letter *theta* followed by four vertical strokes, early Roman

Meas.: letters ca. 4.8-6.3 cm (according to drawing in ed. pr.).

ΘΙΙΙΙ

@ 1000°

Theta 4.

fig. 3417

Bibl.: F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 199-222 at 206 pl. 4 no. 14 (ed. pr.). – Bliss - Macalister 49.

Photo: Bliss - Macalister pl. 14 fig. 14.

DK

### 3418. Mason's mark on column drum with Greek letter kappa, early Roman

Meas.: letter ca. 8.3 cm (according to drawing in ed. pr.).

K

2

Карра.

fig. 3418

Bibl.: F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 199-222 at 206 pl. 4 no. 15 (ed. pr.). - Bliss - Macalister 49.

Photo: Bliss - Macalister pl. 14 fig. 15.

## 3419. Mason's mark on column drum with Greek letter *kappa* followed by one vertical stroke, early Roman

Meas.: letters ca. 3.8-7.6 cm (according to drawing in ed. pr.).

ΚI

Kappa 1. fig. 3419

Bibl.: F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 199-222 at 206 pl. 4 no. 16 (ed. pr.). – Bliss - Macalister 49.

Photo: Bliss - Macalister pl. 14 fig. 16.

DK

# 3420. Mason's mark on column drum with Greek letter *kappa* followed by two vertical strokes, early Roman

Meas.: letters ca. 4.1-7.6 cm (according to drawing in ed. pr.).

K II

Kappa 2. fig. 3420

Bibl.: F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 199-222 at 206 pl. 4 no. 17 (ed. pr.). - Bliss - Macalister 49.

Photo: Bliss - Macalister pl. 14 fig. 17.

DK

### 3421. Mason's mark on column drum with Latin letter L (?), early Roman

Meas.: letter ca. 5.7 cm (according to drawing in ed. pr.).

L(?)

18

fig. 3421

Comm.: One could argue that the letter should be turned around and read as a Greek *gamma*. However, on another column drum (no. 3422) the L sign is combined with two vertical strokes to the right. Since on all the other column drums a letter is always followed by a stroke, it is certain that in this case it is a L, which in turn makes it very likely that the same applies to the present mark. One could ponder whether

the marks in nos. 3421 and 3422 should be viewed as turned around and were to be understood as the Hebrew letters *dalet* or *resh*. In view of the other mason's marks from the region, this, however, seems unlikely, since the horizontal hastae of these letters are always equipped with serifs (cf. nos. 3377, 3383, 3913). – This is not the only instance in which letters of two alphabets are used in mason's marks of the same building structure, cf. introduction to nos. 3404-3425.

Bibl.: F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 199-222 at 206 pl. 4 no. 18 (ed. pr.). - Bliss - Macalister 49.

Photo: Bliss - Macalister pl. 14 fig. 18.

DK

## 3422. Mason's mark on column drum with Latin letter L followed by two vertical strokes, early Roman

Meas.: letters ca. 4.4-6.4 cm (according to drawing in ed. pr.).

LII

L 2.

fig. 3422

Comm.: Cf. comm. to no. 3421.

Bibl.: F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 199-222 at 206 pl. 4 no. 19 (ed. pr.). - Bliss - Macalister 49.

Photo: Bliss - Macalister pl. 14 fig. 19.

DK

## 3423. Mason's mark on column drum with Greek letter *nu* followed by one stroke, early Roman

Meas.: letters ca. 4.4-5.7 cm (according to drawing in ed. pr.).

ΝI

Nu 1.

N 120

fig. 342

Bibl.: F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 199-222 at 206 pl. 4 no. 20 (ed. pr.). - Bliss - Macalister 49.

Photo: Bliss - Macalister pl. 14 fig. 20.

### 3424. Mason's mark on column drum with Greek letter omicron, early Roman

Meas.: letter ca. 5.7 cm (according to drawing in ed. pr.).

O



fig. 3424

21

Omicron.

Bibl.: F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 199-222 at 206 pl. 4 no. 21 (ed. pr.). – Bliss - Macalister 49.

Photo: Bliss - Macalister pl. 14 fig. 21.

DK

# 3425. Mason's mark on column drum with Greek letter *omicron* followed by two vertical strokes, early Roman

Meas.: letters ca. 5-5.7 cm (according to drawing in ed. pr.).

O II



Lh

Omicron 2.

fig. 3425

Bibl.: F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 199-222 at 206 pl. 4 no. 22 (ed. pr.). - Bliss - Macalister 49.

Photo: Bliss - Macalister pl. 14 fig. 22.

### CIX. H. Alim

### 3426. Hebrew lead weight of Bar Kochba administration, 132-136 CE

Rectangular lead weight with perforated trapezoidal handle; each side has a rosette inside a double circle, with an Aramaic inscription written around all sides of each rosette. Side A has a beveled edge.

Meas.: h 11, w 7.8, th 0.9 cm; wt 803.6 g.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1987-1541. Autopsy: 15 October 2013 (WE/DK).

Side A: שמעונבנ כוסבאנשי ישראל ופרנשו [--] נשיפרס [--]ש[--]

Side B: בנכוסבא נשי ישראל ופרנשו שמעונִדְסִנוּ פרס



fig. 3426.1 (side A)



fig. 3426.2 (side B)

Side A: [--]ש[--] | נשי פרס | [--] ופרנשו | ישראל | ישראל | בן | כוסבא נשי | ישראל | ופרנשו | שמעון דסנו | פרס | בן כוסבא | נשי | ישראל | ופרנשו | שמעון דסנו | פרס

Translit.: Side A: šm'wn bn | kwsb' nśy | yśr'l | wprnśw [--] | nśy prs | [--]š[--] Side B: bn kwsb' | nśy | yśr'l | wprnśw | šm'wn dsnw | prs

Side A: Shim'on ben Kosba (or Kosiba), Prince of Israel, and his parnas ... Prince, prs. Side B: Ben Kosba (Kosiba), Prince of Israel, and his parnas Shim'on Dsnw, prs.



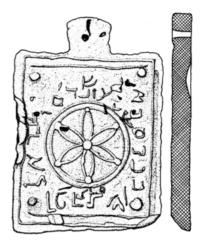


fig. 3426.3 (side A)

fig. 3426.4 (side B)

Comm.: The weight was discovered in 1987 in an underground hiding complex at Horvat Alim. It is the only one of several known lead weights of the Bar Kochba administration discovered in controlled excavations and therefore with known provenance (Zissu - Ganor mention six, but four others have come to light since and remain unpublished). The name of Shim on Ben Kosba / Ben Kosiba / Bar Kochba, and his title *nsy*, have been long known, in variant spellings, from papyri found in the Judaean Desert (see reff. in Kloner). The *parnas* was a kind of administrator with varying functions, apparently the one mentioned here was responsible for the issue of the weight. The term *prs*, probably pronounced *peras*="half," was the actual weight of the object, which Kloner calculates as equal to 60 Tyrian shekels or one *maneh*.

Bibl.: A. Kloner, EI 20, 1989, 345-51 (Hebr.); id., IEJ 40, 1990, 58-67 at 58-62 (edd. prr.). – ESI 6, 1987/8, 1 (=HA 90, 51 [Hebr.]); A. Kloner, Qadmoniot 21, 1988, 44-8 (Hebr.); id., BAR 14, 1988, 12-7 nos. a, b; Beyer, Aramäische Texte, Ergänzungsband 213 no. ySK; H.-P. Kuhnen - E. Riemer - F. Unruh, in: H.-P. Kuhnen ed., Mit Thora und Todesmut. Judäa im Widerstand gegen die Römer von Herodes bis Bar-Kochba, 1994, 166 fig. 60; Yardeni, Textbook A 185, B 69 with fig.; R. Deutsch, INJ 14, 2000/2, 125-8; S. Qedar, in: O. Rimon ed., Measuring and Weighing in Ancient Times, 2001, 23\*ff. (ES) 33-7 (Hebr.) at 25\*, 35, 37; A. Kloner - B. Zissu, in: P. Schäfer ed., The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered, 2003, 181-216 at 214; Beyer, Aramäische Texte II 283 no. ySK; B. Zissu - A. Ganor, IEJ 56, 2006, 178-82 at 178f.; A. Kloner - B. Zissu, NEAEHL 5, 2008, 1892; T. Opper, Hadrian. Empire and Conflict, 2008, 90, 231; A. Kloner - B. Zissu, Opera Ipogea 11, 2009, 9-28 at 27 fig. 25; S. Fraade, in: A. Baumgarten - H. Eshel - R. Katzoff - S. Tzoref eds., Halakhah in Light of Epigraphy, 2011, 155-73 at 167-71.

Photo: WE; AY (dr.).

## CX. H. Tannim

### 3427. Greek staurogram

"On the western side of the cave, near the northwestern corner, was the engraving of a cross, at the upper end were two loops, possibly intended to represent the figure of a man or the Christian symbol XP" (Zissu).

Findspot: Cave for funerary use, decorated with reliefs and engravings.

ΧP

Χρ(ιστός)

Christ.

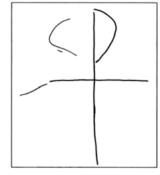


fig. 3427

Bibl.: B. Zissu, ESI - HA 110, 1999, 95f. (Hebr.), 75 (ES) (ed. pr.).

Photo: B. Zissu, ESI - HA 110, 1999, 96 fig. 135,4 (dr.).

WA

## CXI. H. Burgin

### 3428. Cave inscription mentioning Shelamzion, 1-2 c. CE

Three lines of cursive Jewish script scratched on the lintel and pillars of the entrance to Room B7 in an extensive hiding complex.

Meas.: letters 5-10 cm.

Pres. loc.: In situ.

שלם צין בת(?)

Translit.: šlm|şyn | bt(?)

Shelamzion daughter of ...



fig. 3428.1

Comm.: The extensive, double-branched hiding complex had been previously published (B. Zissu - A. Ganor, Atiqot 58, 2008, 15-48 [Hebr.]), but the inscription was uncovered only in more recent excavations. The lintel and pillars are marked by zigzags and other designs, in addition to the inscribed name. The readings here are the ones proposed by the excavators; the inscriptions are difficult to decipher from their photographs and drawings, but their rendering seems reasonable. The third line is the most difficult to



fig. 3428.2

make out, but *bt* seems better than the alternative *rm* proposed by the excavators. Shelamzion's father's or mother's name has not been preserved; it could have been either on the same pillar, underneath the third line of the present text, or on the opposite pillar. According to the excavators: "Given the narrowness of the burrow, the author would have had to lie on his stomach or side while writing." These were tem-

### 844 CXI. Ḥ. Burgin

porary quarters, possibly (but not undoubtedly) from the time of the Bar Kochba revolt.

Bibl.: B. Zissu - A. Ganor - E. Klein - A. Klein, PEQ 145, 2013, 29-52 at 32, 36-9 figs. 3, 6 (ed. pr.).

Photo: B. Zissu (ph. and dr.).

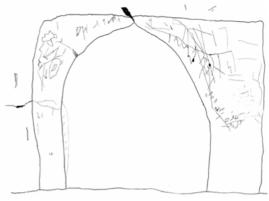


fig. 3428.3

JJP

# CXII. Enadab (mod. Kh. 'Ain Dab, Beit 'Itab)

# 3429. Greek mosaic inscription of Georgis

Meas.: ø (inner medallion) 0.5 m; letters 6 cm.

Findspot: A Byzantine basilica with mosaic floors, most probably built in the 6 c. AD (Peleg 38 fig. 1); in its northern aisle is a large medallion, 1.83 m in diameter, with a smaller medallion in its center that contains the inscription: black letters on

a white background.

OAΓΙΕΓΕ +PΓΙΒΟΗΘΓ ΓΕΟΡΓΙΝΤΟ ΝΠΡΕΣΒΥ ΤΕΡΟΝΑΜ +NKΥP



fig. 3429.1

ỗ ἄγιε Γε|όργι, βοήθ(ι) | Γεόργιν, τὸ|ν πρεσβύ|τερον. ἀμ|ήν. κύρ(ιος)

Oh St. Georgius, help Georgis, the priest. Amen. Lord.

Comm.: l.3: The saint invoked and the priest share the same name.

Bibl.: Y. Peleg, Christians and Christianity IV 37ff. (ed. pr.).

Photo: Y. Peleg, Christians and Christianity IV 44 fig. 13 (ph. and dr.).



fig. 3429.2

# CXIII. Kh. el-'Ein

## 3430. Three illegible inscriptions, perhaps Greek(?)

The "inscription is divided into three frames by incised lines: upper-left frame (A), lower-left frame (B), and right frame (C). Frame A (c. 8x25 ...) is the best preserved of the three ... The Greek letters are arranged in nine rows, apparently without a coherent meaning. A large X was drawn in the upper right corner of the frame. Frame B (c. 4x23 cm ...) is also quite well preserved ... The Greek letters are arranged in five rows, again apparently without any clear meaning. In the middle of the frame a large X was scratched. Frame C (c. 18x10 cm) is poorly preserved owing to damage from tiny plant roots ...; very few letters are discernible. In the lower left corner of the frame, again, a large X was incised" (Zissu, Atiqot 33). Below these frames there is a drawing of a burial monument(?), and on the northern jamb there is a similar drawing. Zissu identifies both drawings as nefashot, as "tomb markers built above burial caves" (35).

Findspot: Burial cave south of Kh. el-'Ein, 2 km northeast of Beit Guvrin. On the southern jamb of the entrance there was an inscription, below the inscription a drawing. Six kokhim were in two walls each. Some fragments of ossuaries were found.



fig. 3430.1



fig. 3430.2

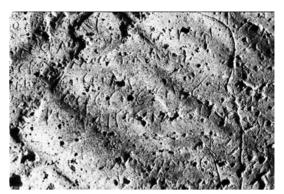


fig. 3430.3

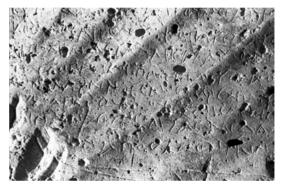


fig. 3430.4

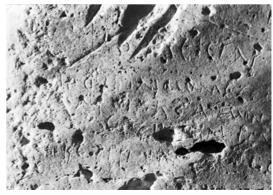


fig. 3430.5



fig. 3430.6



fig. 3430.7



fig. 3430.8

Comm.: Zissu believes the text to have had magical purposes. Architecture and material finds date the tomb to the 1 c. AD (Zissu, Atiqot 35); the letters could certainly be later than that. If we accept the date of the burial cave as the date for the inscription, the early use of Greek letters in magic should be noted.

Bibl.: Y. Dagan, ESI 10, 1991, 151 (=HA 97, 80 [Hebr.]); B. Zissu, ESI - HA 109, 1999, 86\*f., 131f. (Hebr.); id., Atiqot 50, 2005, 33f.; SEG 55, 1705; BE 2006, 478; Baltes 2014, 44 n.30.

Photo: IAA; B. Zissu, Atiqot 50, 2005, 32ff. figs. 9 (dr.), 10 (dr.), 12.

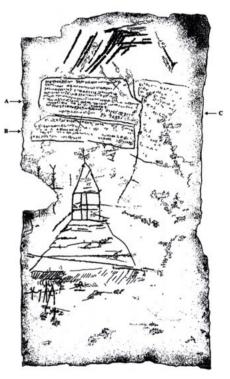


fig. 3430.9

WA

# CXIV. Qiriath 'Arbaia (mod. 'Ein 'Arrub)

# 3431. Imperial prohibition on land-cultivation near an aqueduct

Soft brownish-yellow limestone slab, fully preserved with the exception of the upper right corner. Below the text a foot (=pes or  $\pi o \tilde{v} \varsigma$ ), measuring precisely 30.089 cm, is engraved. A cross at the beginning and the end of the text. Abreviation marks are used from time to time.

Meas.: h 59, w 38, d 6.3 cm; letters 1.4-2.1 cm.



fig. 3431

(cross)  $\Phi\Lambda$ [AINIA $\Sigma\Sigma$ I $\Lambda$ ENTIA[..] ΟΣΚΤΗΤΟΡΣΙΝΙΕΓΛΗΜΠ ΤΟΡΣΙΝΚΑΙΓΕΩΡΓΟΙΣΓΙΝΩ[.] ΚΕΤΕΩΣΟΘΙΟΤΑΤΟΣΚΑΙΕΥΣΕ Β[ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣΟΛΗΣΟΙΚΟΥΜΕ ΝΗΣΕΘΕΣΠΙΣΕΝΜΗΕΞΕΙΝΑ ΙΤΙΝΕΙΑΠΟΙΕΠΟΕΞΕΚΑΤΕΡ ΟΥΜΕΡΟΥΣΤΟΥΥΔΡΑΓΩΓΙΟ ΥΚΑΤΑΤΑΣΘΙΑΣΔΙΑΤΑΞΙΣ ΕΠΙΤΑΕΣΩΜΕΡΗΣΠΙΡΙΝΗ ΦΟΙΤΕΥΕΙΝΕΙΔΕΤΙΣΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΠΙΧΙΡΗΣΗΠΟΙΗΣΑΙΚΕΦΑ ΛΙΚΗΝΥΠΟΜΕΝΙΤΙΜΩΡΙ ANKAITOKTHMAAYTO ΥΔΗΜΕΥΕΤΕΤΟΔΕΜΕΤΡΟ ΝΤΟΥΠΟΔΟΣΥΠΟΤΕΤΑΚ ΤΑΙΤΟΥΤΟΙΣΤΟΙΣΤΥΠΟΙΣ (cross)

Φλ(άουιος) Αἰνίας σιλεντιά[ρι]|ος κτήτορσιν, {ι} ἐγλήμπ|τορσιν καὶ γεωργοῖς· γινώ[σ]|κετε, ὡς ὁ θιότατος καὶ εὐσε|β(έστατος) δεσπότης ὅλης οἰκουμέ|νης ἐθέσπισεν μὴ ἐξεῖνα|ί τινει ἀπὸ ιε' πο(δῶν) ἐξ ἐκατέρ|ου μέρους τοῦ ὑδραγωγίο|υ κατὰ τὰς θίας διατάξις | ἐπὶ τὰ ἔσω μέρη σπίριν ἢ | φοιτεύειν. εἰ δέ τις τοῦτο | ἐπιχιρήση ποιῆσαι, κεφα|λικὴν ὑπομένι τιμωρί|αν καὶ τὸ κτῆμα αὐτο|ῦ δημεύετε. τὸ δὲ μέτρο|ν τοῦ ποδὸς ὑποτέτακ|ται τούτοις τοῖς τύποις

Flavius Aeneas, silentiarius, to landowners, contractors and peasants: know, that the most divine and pious lord of the whole world has ordered that, according to the imperial prescriptions, nobody is permitted to sow or plant inside the inner space within 15 feet from each side of the aqueduct. But if someone should try to do that, he will suffer the death penalty and his property will be confiscated. The size of the length of the foot is placed below this decree. (Other translations: Abel 284; Eck 1987, 90; Di Segni 59).

Comm.: l.2: I after κτήτορσιν does not seem to make sense, cf. Peterson against Svensson. – The inscription belongs to a long series of texts set up near aqueducts to protect them from misuse and damage caused by buildings, planting or sowing nearby. All these texts forbid the use of land for agriculture within the space of 8-15 feet on both sides of the aqueduct. The most detailed rules are formulated in a law of 9 BC (Frontinus 129,7f.). We have more such similar regulations by Augustus for Venafrum (CIL 10, 4842=ILS 5743; 10, 4843=ILS 5744; AE 1999, 460), by Hadrian in the provincia Narbonensis (CIL 13, 1623; AE 1999, 1053), by two proconsuls of Asia under Trajan and Hadrian (IK 17,1, 3217 [Ephesus]), as well as by a governor of Pontus-Bithynia (IK 9, 1 [Nikaia]), by Constantine (c.Th. 15,2,1) and by Zeno

(c.Just. 11,43,10). Whoever violates these rules would suffer fiscal penalties and his own property would be confiscated. It is true that the imperial constitution, to which the *silentiarius* Flavius Aeneas is referring, threatens trespassers not only with confiscation of their property, but rather with capital punishment (however cf. Jones, referring to Feissel in BE 2005, 527: "capital punishment' implies only loss of citizen rights ... not necessarily death.") There is no scholarly agreement on the identity of the emperor who issued the constitution to which the *silentiarius* is referring. Jones prefers Anastasius; Di Segni argued that the constitution must be later than Justinian. Be that as it may, the threat with capital punishment is characteristic of the Later Roman Empire. Contrary to what Feissel, followed by Jones thought, the seriousness of the threat is made clearer by giving the measure of the length of a foot at the end of the text: no one can plead ignorance of the distance of 15 feet stipulated in the decree.

The *silentiarius* Flavius Aeneas is not otherwise attested. His *nomen gentile* Flavius makes it clear that he is part of the imperial administration; *the silentiarii* of the 5 c. and 6 c. are high ranking officials in the imperial palace who were used for confidential missions as well (Jones, LRE II 571f.). Fl. Aeneas could have been sent to Jerusalem when the Emperor Anastasius built an aqueduct for the holy city as Procopius of Gaza tells us (so Jones). However, it is still possible that he was a local landlord who wanted to protect his own aqueduct; had he been on an official mission, he would probably have given the precise wording of the imperial constitution rather than merely referring to its contents.

The precise place where the inscription was found is not transmitted. The Swedish antique dealer told Svensson, one of the first editors, that the stone was found by a peasant near Bethlehem; according to Abel, who received the information from the Greek Archbishop of Nazareth, the stone was at the time property of the American colony in Jerusalem. Since there is no certainty about the findspot, the possibility that the warning belonged to a private aqueduct cannot be excluded.

Bibl.: N. Svensson, Årsber. kungl. human. vetenskapssamf. Lund, 1925/6, 65-72 (ph.); F.-M. Abel, RB 35, 1926, 283-8; A. Alt, ZDPV 49, 1926, 353f. (edd. prr.). – E. Peterson, ThLZ 52, 1927, 177f.; V. Laurent, EO 27, 1928, 506; SEG 8, 171; H. Leclercq, DACL 14, 1939, 818-21 at 819f.; M. Amelotti - L. Migliardi Zingale, Le costituzioni giustinianee nei papiri e nelle epigrafi, 1985, 113f. no. 8; W. Eck, in: Frontinus-Gesellschaft e.V. ed., Die Wasserversorgung antiker Städte, 1987, 49-101 at 90; D. Chen, CAHL 523-34 at 534 (ph.); PLRE 3a, 20 Aeneas 2; K. Geißler, Die öffentliche Wasserversorgung im römischen Recht, 1998, 122ff.; Di Segni, Aqueducts 37-67 at 58f.; BE 2005, 527; C. Jones, GRBS 47, 2007, 455-67 at 464-7; Milson, Art and Architecture 551 fig. A1; SEG 57, 1829; BE 2008, 564; W. Eck, Roms Wassermanagement im Osten, 2008, 22-5 fig. 1 (ph.); P. Biavaschi, Glossae 14, 2017, 175-97.

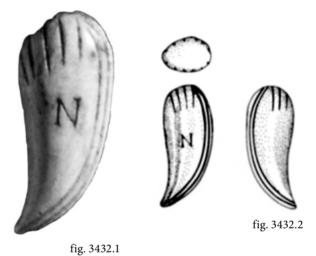
Photo: F. Abel, RB 35, 1926 pl. 5.

#### 3432. Tooth with Greek or Latin letter

An animal tooth, decorated with incised lines and with a carefully incised letter. Meas.: h at least 5 cm; wt 3.45 g.

Findspot: Hall II of a subterranean hiding complex some 600 m north of 'Ein 'Arrub spring. The main period of use of the complex was dated to the time between the First Jewish Revolt and the Bar Kochba revolt on the basis of the finds from the caves (Tsafrir - Zissu 14).

Z or N



Comm.: According to Tsafrir, this was either an ornament (the tooth cannot be suspended, but Tsafrir - Zissu suggest it might have been inlaid in metal) or a ticket for a theater. The size of the tooth could make it either an old heirloom or an import.

Bibl.: Y. Tsafrir, Qadmoniot 8, 1975, 25, 27 (ph.) (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – Y. Tsafrir - B. Zissu, in: Near East 3, 28ff.

Photo: Y. Tsafrir - B. Zissu, in: Near East 3, 30 fig. 19,1 (ph. and dr.).

WA

# CXV. Beit Fajjar

## 3433. Bronze stamp in form of a sole of foot

Bronze stamp in form of a sole of a foot (*planta pedis*), with a handle. The toe-tips are only summarily indicated. The letters are embossed. The I stands before  $\Phi$ ; N is *retrograde*. The inscription as a whole is produced in the positive, which leads to a *retrogade* imprint.

Meas.: length of foot 8.4 cm.

Findspot: Said to come from Beit Fajjar, ca. 9 km south of Bethlehem. Pres. loc.: Dagon Grain Museum, Haifa, inv. no. R-1144. Autopsy: 2 June 2014.

#### ΡΟΥΦΙΝΟΥ

'Ρουφίνου

(Product) of Rufinus.



fig. 3433.1



fig. 3433.2

Comm.: Stamps in the form of a planta pedis are common throughout the Roman Empire. See for example the remarks of J. Poblome, in: M. Waelkens - L. Loots eds., Sagalassos V 2000, 688f. They were used for marking pottery. According to Rahmani the stamp should belong to the 3 or 4 c. AD.

Bibl.: L. Rahmani, Atiqot 14, 1980, 103ff., pl. 22,2 (ph.) (ed. pr.). - SEG 30, 1684.

Photo: WE.

# CXVI. Sde Moshe

# 3434. Fragmentary Greek funerary inscription mentioning Abbiba

Limestone; the right and left edges are probably preserved, but the stone is broken at the top and at the bottom. The back was not worked; deeply hewn guidelines. The last line was only very thinly scratched. Nos. 3434-3445 form an ensemble: the stones were evidently found together and show the same general layout and the same letter-forms. To that extent the stones closely resemble the inscriptions from Zoora (Jordan). The large number of indigenous names in this group points in the same direction.

Meas.: h 31, w 27.1, d 13.2 cm; h of lines: 4.3-4.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1995-5584. Autopsy: 14 October 2013 (WE/DK).

[--]+ $\dot{\Upsilon}$ [--]+ $\dot{\Upsilon}$ TE $\Sigma$ ENABBIBA  $\Sigma$ EP $\Omega$ MIN[.] E++[.] $\Pi$  (cross) H[--]+N [--]



fig. 3434

[--] ἐτ|[ελ]εύτεσ|εν Ἀββιβα | ΣΕΡΩΜΙΝ[.] | ἐτῆ[ν](?) π', | H[--]+N|[--]

... died, Abbiba ..., at the age of 80 years(?).

Comm.: The date is lacking. – l.1: First visible letter, probably an *epsilon*; thereafter either a *tau* or a cross. – l.2: the lower vertical bar of the *epsilon* is still visible. – l.3: On Abbiba, cf. Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 6f.; perhaps 'A $\beta\beta\iota\beta\alpha|\varsigma$ ? – l.5: A part of a *tau* and perhaps also of an *omicron* are visible.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.

## 3435. Greek funerary inscriptions of a Euphorius and other persons

Limestone, three fragments; upper edge and left edge are preserved. There is an inscription on the front (a) and two on the back (b1) and (b2); the inscriptions were not intended to be read at the same time: the back is inscribed in a different direction. (a) was set into a pre-fabricated stone with more guidelines than necessary. But the fact that the same name appears on both faces of the inscription shows at least that the stone (and the burial plot) was kept in the family.

Meas.: h: 39, w 37, d 13.5-15.5 cm; letters 3.2-3.8 cm (a), 2-2.7 cm (b1), 1.5-2.2 cm (b2). Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. nos. 1995-5577, 1995-5578, 1995-5586. Autopsy: 14 October 2013 (WE/DK).

- (a) (cross) ETO+[--]+ΞΧΙΝ[..] MHAPTE[.]ΕΣΙΟΥ[..] ΕΥΦΟΡΙΟΥΖ+[.] ΝΟΥΡΟΥΕΤΕΛ[..] ΤΕΣΕΝΕΤΩ[...]
- (b1) (cross) ETOY[..]+++[--]  $O\Sigma\overline{\Gamma} \text{ (cross) MH}\Delta\text{EKMMPIOYK} \\ ++\overline{\Gamma} \text{ (cross) EKYME}\Theta\text{HZ}\Omega\text{NH}[..] \\ \text{[..]}\Phi\text{OPIOYETONP (cross)}$
- (b2) (cross)
  ΕΤΟΥΣΟΧΙΜΗΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ
  ΒΙΝΔΘΕΚΥΜΕΘ[.]
  ΕΠΙΦ[...|ΣΣΠΟΡ



fig. 3435.1 (a)

- (a) ἔτου[ς ..]+ ξχ', ἰν[δ(ικτιῶνος) .], | μη(νὸς) Ἀρτε[μ]εσίου [..], | Εὐφορίου  $Z\alpha[\nu]$ |νούρου ἐτελ[εύ]|τεσεν, ἐτῶ[ν ..]
- (b1) ἔτου[ς .]+++[--]|ΟΣΓ, μη(νὸς) Δεκ ε μρίου κ|++Γ ἐκυμέθη Ζωνή[νος/νη | Εὐ]φορίου, ἐτῆν ρ'
- (b2) ἔτους οχι', μη(νὸς) Νοεμβρίου | β', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) θ', ἐκυμέθ[η] | ΕΠΙΦ[...]ΣΠΟΡ
- (a) In the year 660 (+x), indiction ..., in the month of Artemesios ...th, of Euphorius, son of Zannurus, died, at the age of ...
- (b1) Year ..., in the month of December, ... fell asleep Zonenus/Zonena son/daughter of Euphorius, 100 years (of age).
- (b2) In the year 670 (+10), November 2nd, indiction 9, fell asleep ...

Comm.: (a) 1.4 and the necessary supplement in l.1 show that one or two letters are missing at the end of each line. – l.1: Only a tiny part of the upper left hasta of the *upsilon* can be seen; we have the upper part of a lunar letter before the *xi*, but since there is no middle hasta, *epsilon* seems to be excluded, and the lacuna seems too long to fill in merely an ἔτους.



fig. 3435.2 (b1 and b2)

The era is certainly not the era of the provincia Arabia, but the era of Ascalon is perhaps not excluded (660 A.E.=556 AD); a date according to the era of Gaza would bring us to 600 AD – but see no. 3436 comm.: the era of Ascalon corresponds to the indiction mentioned there. – ll.3f.: Genitive instead of nominative, the usual form of the name is Εὐφορίων; LGPN knows Εὔφορος as a rare name and a single example of Εὐφοριανός in LGPN 3a; but cf. SEG 39, 1664 (Madaba): θάρσι, Εὐφόρι, ἄωρε. For the father's name cf. Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia I a, 306: μνημῖον Πέτρου Ζαννούρου; Meimaris comments: "Ζαννοῦρος which is as yet unparalleled in the epigraphy of Palestine and Arabia. In our opinion it may transcribe in Greek the Arabic compound name Du-an-nûr, 'master of light, bright'."

- (b1) l.1: are the traces consistent with ἔτους τῆς πόλεως? Cf. no. 3438. l.2: something like e.g. [ἰνδικτιῶ|ν]ος γ'? l.3: The ornament could be taken before the gamma as a fancy abbreviation mark (Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations 38 on the leaf as an abbreviation mark): ἡ(μέρ $\alpha$ ) (τρίτη). l.4: on Euphorius, cf. (a), ll.3f.
- (b2) l.1: *omicron* and *upsilon* in ligature. It is difficult to believe that (a) and (b) are dated according to the same era.  $o\chi\iota'$  is no correct numeral, but there seems to be no alternative to *iota*; *gamma* is excluded, because the tip of the vertical bar is still visible on the upper stone; 670+10, i.e. 680 era of Ascalon=576 AD, which in turn corresponds roughly with an indiction 9 (1.9.575 30.8.576). l.3: for the small pi, cf. *epsilon-tau* at the beginning of l.1. The name is most likely Επιφάνις, Επιφάνις, Επιφάνις etc. are not excluded. There seems to be no epigraphically attested parallel for the abbreviation at the end of the line.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: WE.

## 3436. Greek funerary inscription

Made of limestone; the lower edge is preserved, and perhaps the right one as well. It is almost impossible to convey an idea of the letter forms by our typographical means. The guidelines of the letters are neither very accurate, nor were they always taken into account.

Meas.: h 25, w 31, d 6.7 cm; h of lines: 1.9-2.6 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1995-5585. Autopsy: 14 October 2013 (WE/DK).



[..]+NO $\Sigma$ +I[--] (christogram?) K $\int$ TIPOT $\Omega$ +[..] (christogram?) MAPKIANOY $\Delta$ IA+[--] +KXETOY $\Sigma$ I[.] $\Delta$  $\int$ AI M $\int$ NOEMBPIO[.]  $\int$ ZK [..]+I $\Lambda$ O $\Sigma$ TIPE $\int$ ETE $\Lambda$ E $\Upsilon$ TE $\Sigma$ ++ [..]ON $\int$  $\int$  (cross) NB

fig. 3436.1

[..]+νος +Ι[--] | κ(αὶ) προτω+[..] | Μαρκιανοῦ διακ(όνου) +[--] | ακχ' ἔτους, ἰ[ν]δ(ικτιῶνος) (abbreviation marks?) αι', | μ(ηνὸς) Νοεμβρίου (abbreviation mark?) ζκ'.| [..]+ιλος πρε(σβύτερος) ἐτελεύτεσεν | [ἐτ]οῖν (abbreviation marks?) νβ'

...nus, ... and ..., son of Marcianus, the deacon, in the year 621, indiction 11, November 27th. ...ilus, priest, died, at the age of 52 years.

Comm.: It seems that all the lines were written at the same time and by the same hand. There are different abbreviation-marks: letters with diagonal stroke, vertical stroke combined with an s-sign, two vertical strokes combined with an s-line, s-sign and double s-sign. It seems that the symbol, which covers the beginnings of ll.2-3, is a christogram. – l.1f.: The letters here are somewhat larger, suggest-

ing a kind of heading; [--]νος is possibly the name of the dead person; the last two letters are either *alpha-iota* or *delta-iota* (the only certain *delta* is in l.3; the last letter of l.1 is certainly no *rho*); in view of the  $\kappa[\alpha i]$  in the following line, one expects two titles, either abbreviated or in the nominative, explaining [--]nus. διακών  $\kappa(\alpha i)$  προτωκ(ομήτης) or πρωτοπ(ολίτης) (on the term cf. no. 3847)? No other titles would go with the vertical hasta after



fig. 3436.2

omega. There also seems to be no suitable word starting with AI[--] or AEI[--] to go either with προτωκ(ομήτης) or πρωτοπ(ολίτης). If we accept διακών, a restoration like πρωτοπ(ρεσβύτερος) is excluded.

l.3: the father of the clergyman was a deacon too. – l.4: the first letter is most probably an *alpha*, perhaps *delta*; second to last letter is most probably an *alpha*, perhaps a *delta*: year 621 (or 624) Ascalonitan era=517 AD, indiction 11 (or 14). 517 AD belongs to indiction 10, but since the latter changes on September 1st, the month of November 517 (Ascalonitan era) belongs already to indiction 11 (compare the similar problem in no. 3435 b2). The indiction, then, seems to be an argument for the use of the Ascalonitan era in this text.

l.6: the mason had a problem with the planning of the text which mentions a second person. The two last letters, *epsilon* and *nu*, are only half the size of the other letters; only the left vertical bar of *nu* is visible; at the beginning either [--] $\rho$ iλος or [--]βίλος; both can be supplemented to perfectly normal, if rare, names (e.g. Χοιρίλος, Βῖλος), but [Κύ]ριλος seems preferable. – l.7: For the double serpentine symbol, cf. Inscriptions of Palaestina Tertia I a, p. 74.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: WE.

WA

# 3437. Fragment of a Greek funerary inscription

Limestone, left and right edges probably preserved, but broken at the top and at the bottom; the back was barely touched. The stone was evidently pre-fabricated, because the number of guidelines exceeds the necessary number of lines for the text by far.

Meas.: h 24, w 29, d 10.5 cm at the right, 13.5 cm at the left side; h of lines: 2.9-3.2 cm. Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1995-5587. Autopsy: 14 October 2013 (WE/DK).

[--] ΩΝΚΕΕΝΜΗΦΕΥ ΡΟΥΒΑΡΙΟΥΙΑ (cross)



fig. 3437.1

[-- ἐτ] Ιῶν κε', ἐν μη(νὸς) Φευ |ρουβαρίου ια'

... (died) at the age of 25, on February 11th.

Comm.: No traces of letters can be seen before l.1. – l.1f.: For the spelling Φευρουαρίου cf. IK 23, 560 (Smyrna; 534 AD); and cf. Gignac I 69, at least a parallel for our inscription: "β is occasionally ... added to ... in connection with the second element of an αυ or ευ diphtong, mainly in the Byzantine period."

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: WE.



fig. 3437.2

WA

# 3438. Fragmentary Greek funerary inscription

Limestone; upper and left edges preserved; guidelines.

Meas.: h 12.3, w 15.5, d 4.2 cm; letters 1.8-2.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1995-5580. Autopsy: 14 October 2013 (WE/DK).

(cross) ETOYS++[--]  $\dot{\Lambda} E\Omega\Sigma + [--] \\ [.]\Pi PI\dot{\Lambda}[--]$ 



fig. 3438.1

ἔτους ++[--] $|\Lambda E \Omega \Sigma$ +[--|A|πριλ[ίου --]

In the year ... April ...



Comm.: l.1: *Eta* after *sigma*? Or perhaps two vertical bars? – l.2: ἔτους τῆς πόλεως? Cf. no. 3435 (b1).

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: WE.

fig. 3438.2

WA

# 3439. Fragment of a Greek funerary inscription

Limestone, broken on all sides; the back is chipped off. The letters are between guidelines.

Meas.: h 11.5, w 10.5, d 4.3 cm; letters 1.8-2.3 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1995-5579. Autopsy: 14 October 2013 (WE/DK).

[--]+E[--]

[--]ET[--]

... died ...



fig. 3439.1

Comm.: Probably part of no. 3440. – l.2: last letter epsilon or theta;  $[\dot{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon]\lambda\epsilon[\dot{\nu}\tau\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu]$ ? – l.3: or  $\ddot{\epsilon}\tau[ou\varsigma$ ?].

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA; WE.

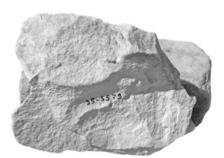


fig. 3439.2

WA

# 3440. Fragmentary Greek inscription

Soft limestone; left edge preserved, broken on all other sides; back roughly smoothed; letters between guidelines.

Meas.: h 12, w 9, d 6.3 cm; letters 1.8 cm. Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1995-5581. Autopsy: 14 October 2013 (WE/DK).



fig. 3440

Comm.: Probably part of the same monument as no. 3439. – l.1: No *delta*, but an oblique hasta and the guideline. – l.2: A date? – l.3: First letter *epsilon*?  $\xi\tau[\omega\nu]$ ?

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.

WA

## 3441. Fragmentary Greek inscription

Fragment of limestone with very deep guidelines; only the right edge is preserved. Meas.: h 20, w 31.5, d 11.3 cm; h of lines: 4-4.3 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1995-5588. Autopsy: 14 October 2013 (WE/DK).

[--]+I+ZA+[.]+Q+[--] [--]AIANOΥΕΤΕ+[--] [--]+ΕΩΝΤΙ[--]



fig. 3441

Comm.: l.2: Aἰανοῦ, [Γ]αιανοῦ etc.? Even though there is something like a curve behind the last *epsilon*, a word like ἐτέων seems improbable, because it had been used almost exclusively in poems.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.

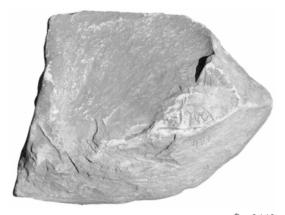
WA

# 3442. Fragmentary Greek inscription

Limestone, broken on all sides; to judge by the look of the back, it might have been in secondary use.

Meas.: h 10.7, w 24, d 10 cm; h of lines: 2.9 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth-Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1995-5583. Autopsy: 14 October 2013 (WE/DK).



Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: WE.

fig. 3442 WA

# 3443. Fragmentary Greek inscription

Broken on all sides, even on the back; guidelines.

Meas.: h 9.3, w 6.3, d 1.4 cm; letters 1.9 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1955-5582. Autopsy: 14 October 2013 (WE/DK).

 $\begin{array}{c} [-\text{--}]\Omega[\text{--}] \\ [-\text{--}] + N[\text{--}] \end{array}$ 



Comm.: Cf. no. 3444.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.

fig. 3443

WA

# 3444. Fragment of a Greek inscription

Fragment of limestone, broken on all sides. Below the letter, a line, perhaps part of a frame.

Meas.: h 3.6, w 5.8, d 1.1 cm; letters 1.4 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, no inv. no. Autopsy: 14 October 2013 (WE/DK).

# $[--]\Omega[--]$

Comm.: The stone resembles no. 3443, but the letter height is different.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: WE.



fig. 3444

WA

# 3445. Fragment of a Greek inscription

Meas.: h 3, w 2.1, d 7 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, no inv. no. Autopsy: 14 October 2013 (WE/DK).



fig. 3445

Comm.: Line with a letter standing on it? Part of a letter, e.g. eta? Cf. no. 3443.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: WE.

WA

# CXVII. 'Iyye Neḥash

## 3446.-3449. Burial cave with Hebrew/Aramaic graffiti on the wall of the cave

The inscriptions were found in 1996 in a burial cave consisting of an outer courtyard, an antechamber and a burial chamber with nine loculi. The cave had been looted. The exavators date the use of the cave to "the end of the Second Temple period" on the basis of the form and construction of the cave.

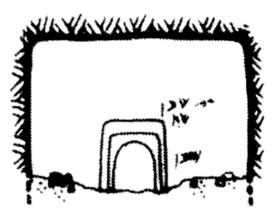


fig. 3446.A Overview, B. Zissu - E. Hajaj - Y. Alon, in: Y. Eshel ed., Judea and Samaria Research Studies 17, 2008, 84

### 3446. Hebrew/Aramaic graffito of Shafan, 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE

Square Jewish script incised on wall of cave.

Meas.: letters 3-9 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: Above and to the right of the entrance; below is no. 3447 visible on the photograph.

Pres. loc.: In situ.

שפן

Translit.: špn

Shafan.

Comm.: The name in this inscription, which appears as well in



fig. 3446.1

nos. 3447 and 3448, is biblical, i.e. the name of a scribe of King Josiah, who was sent on a certain mission reported in 2 Kgs 22,3-20 and 2 Chron 34,8-21; further, the

patronym of different figures mentioned in Jer 26,24, 29,3, 36,10 and Ez 8,11. Finally, a certain Yehoḥanan son of Shafana (שְׁפַנָּה špnh) appears in a papyrus from Jericho (H. Eshel - H. Misgav, IEJ 38, 1988, 158-76; Yardeni, Textbook A 374). The name was apparently pronounced Shafan. There is little warrant for making a connection between the family in this tomb and any biblical character.



fig. 3446.2

Bibl.: B. Zissu - E. Hajaj - Y. Alon, in: Y. Eshel ed., Judea and Samaria Research Studies 17, 2008, 83-91 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – B. Zissu - A. Ganor - E. Klein - A. Klein, PEQ 145, 2013, 29-52 at 32, 36-9.

Photo: B. Zissu (ph. and dr.).

JJP

## 3447. Hebrew/Aramaic graffito of Shafan, 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE

Square Jewish script incised on wall of cave. For photograph see no. 3446. Meas.: letters 3-9 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: Beneath no. 3446 (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: In situ.

שפ[.]

שפוז

Translit.: šp[n]

Shafan.



fig. 3447

Comm.: The *pe* is incomplete and the final *nun* is missing.

Bibl.: B. Zissu - E. Hajaj - Y. Alon, in: Y. Eshel ed., Judea and Samaria Research Studies 17, 2008, 83-91 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – B. Zissu - A. Ganor - E. Klein - A. Klein, PEQ 145, 2013, 29-52 at 32, 36-9.

Photo: B. Zissu (dr.).

## 3448. Hebrew/Aramaic graffito of Shafan, 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE

Square Jewish script incised on wall of cave.

Meas.: letters 4.5-18 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: About 45 cm beneath no. 3447 (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: In situ.

שפן IIII

Translit.: špn

Shafan (4?).



fig. 3448.1

Comm.: The *shin* is formed by four roughly vertical lines, whereas the *pe* and *nun* are quite clear. To the left of the name appear four vertical lines; it is unclear whether they were intended as part of the same inscription, signify the letter *shin* again or the number 4 (as the editors suggest), or really have any meaning.

Bibl.: B. Zissu - E. Hajaj - Y. Alon, in: Y. Eshel ed., Judea and Samaria Research Studies 17, 2008, 83-91 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). - B. Zissu - A. Ganor - E. Klein - A. Klein, PEQ 145, 2013, 29-52 at 32, 36-9.

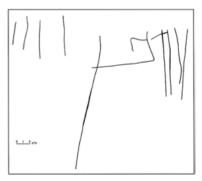


fig. 3448.2

Photo: B. Zissu (ph. and dr.).

JJP

### 3449. Hebrew/Aramaic graffito of Yonatan, 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE

Palaeo-Hebrew script incised on the wall of the cave.

Meas.: letters 1-1.4 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: 21 cm to the right of no. 3446 (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: In situ.

ינתן

Translit.: yntn

Yonatan.



fig. 3449.1

Comm.: This is the only inscription of the four in Palaeo-Hebrew script, which is very rare in burial caves from the period (cf. CIIP I 55; and the ossuaries CIIP I 62, 207, 242); the editors compare the style of the letters to that used on Hasmonaean coins.



fig. 3449.2

Bibl.: B. Zissu - E. Hajaj - Y. Alon, in: Y. Eshel ed., Judea and Samaria Research Studies 17, 2008, 83-91 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – B. Zissu - A. Ganor - E. Klein - A. Klein, PEQ 145, 2013, 29-52 at 32, 36-9.

Photo: B. Zissu (ph. and dr.).

# CXVIII. H. Gibor

# 3450. Greek wall inscriptions with the names of Macrinus and Abudas

Two single names on a wall. Inscription (a) is incised into the wall in large letters ca. 3.5 m above the present ground level of the cave, inscription (b) in even larger, deeply carved letters ca. 1.3 m above the floor level (for an inscription of comparably large size in a bell-shaped cave, cf. no. 3304). Around 45 cm left of inscription (b), a single letter *alpha* of equal scale, but not quite as deeply incised, can be seen (c).

Meas.: (a) w ca. 125 cm; letters ca. 11-20 cm (from scale on drawing); (b) w ca. 140 cm; letters ca. 14-24 cm (from scale on photograph).

Findspot: On the wall of a bell-shaped cave used as a quarry for limestone blocks (on this kind of quarries and the construction technique, see introduction to nos. 3303-3306).

Pres. loc.: In situ.



(b) AΒΟΥΔΑΣ

- (c) A
- (a) Μακρῖνος
- (b) Αβουδας
- (a) Macrinus.
- (b) Abudas.



fig. 3450.1 (b)

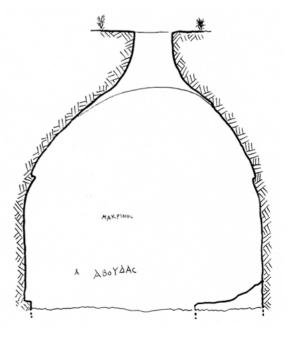


fig. 3450.2 (a-c)

# 874 CXVIII. H. Gibor

Comm.: (b) On names with the stem Abu- cf. Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 10, including a genitive Aboudou. SEG 45, 1592 (H. Kenes) read from a photograph gives:  $\text{Muhh} \tilde{\eta}$  | Aboude (mos) de (mos

Bibl.: B. Zissu - A. Kloner, Opera Ipogea 16, 2014, 50 fig. 4 (ph. and dr.) (ed. pr.). Photo: B. Zissu (ph. and dr.).

WA

# CXIX. Kh. Za'aquqa

#### 3451.-3466. Burial cave

A large burial cave was found; "the rectangular burial chamber has a narrow shelf running along three walls, from which 14 large loculi ... were hewn into the walls ... the loculi ... appear to have been intended to accomodate wooden coffins" (Kloner, Maresha 2008, 179). The walls of the cave were covered with inscriptions and drawings (a boat, portraits, architecture), not always directly related to a specific loculus. There are more inscriptions in this cave, but only the published ones are presented here (nos. 3451-3466). The order of inscriptions here, adopted from the ed. pr., is spatial following the sequence of loculi above or next to which they were written. That the inscriptions belong to the early Hellenistic period is obvious. Ceramics and other small finds are said to belong to the late 4 c. and early 3 c. BC.

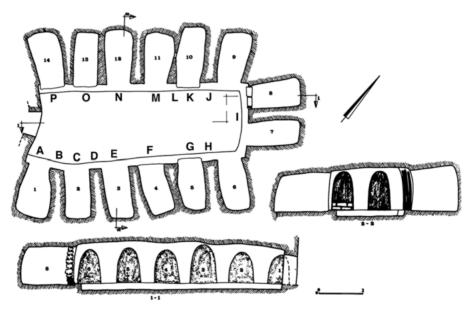


fig. 3451.A Ground plan, A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 27\*

#### 3451. Greek graffito of Butas in a tomb

Findspot: Above the opening of Loculus 1; see introduction to nos. 3451-3466 fig. A, no. A.

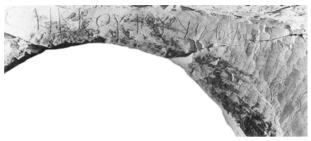


fig. 3451

#### ΕΤΙΒΒΟΥΤΟΥΔΗΜΟΦΙΛΟΥ

ἔτ(ους) ιβ', Βούτου Δημοφίλου

In the 12th year (of Ptolemaeus II, i.e. 272/1 BC) of Butas, son of Demophilus.

Comm.: Of early Hellenistic times, the reign of Ptolemaeus II seems to present the best context for a 12th year, i.e. 272/1 BC. The graffiti resemble – according to the first editors – paleographically those from the eastern cemetery of Marisa (nos. 3534-3612).

Assuming that all of the persons named in the graffiti of this cave belong to the same family, the following would suggest itself:

First generation: Bryon, father of Demophilus; Athenion, mother of Demophilus; Second generation: Demophilus, son of Bryon; father of Butas, Diodotus, Rhodion.

Third generation: Butas, son of Demophilus; Diodotus, son of Demophilus; Rhodion, daughter of Demophilus; Athenion, daughter of Demophilus.

Different families(?): Philoclea, wife of Dorotheus; Demophilus, son of Dorotheus; Botrichus, son of Dorotheus; Botrichus, son of Botrichus. Since he named his son Demophilus, Dorotheus, husband of Philoclea, is perhaps the link between the two families (or Philoclea is).

Some of the others have at least an onomastic connection to the family of Demophilus: i.e. Bryon, the son of Hermias' wife; Bryon, son of Geron.

For the name Butas, see L. Robert, Noms indigènes dans l'Asie mineure grécoromaine, 1963, 175.

Bibl.: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 37\* no. 1 (Hebr.), 175ff. (ES) (ed. pr.). – ESI 5, 1986, 116 (=HA 88, 26 [Hebr.]); SEG 42, 1439; R. Milman Baron, SCI 13, 1994, 152f. no. 21,1; Sartre 2001, 273; Kloner, Maresha 2008, 179ff.

Photo: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 37\* fig. 16.

## 3452. Two Greek graffiti

Findspot: Between Loculus 1 and 2; see introduction to nos. 3451-3466 fig. A, no. B.

- (a) ΣI+KB++ +NΥKI++ ΥΙΕΥ
- (b) EΥ[--]
- (b) Eὐ[--]
- (b) Eu...

Comm.: (a) ἔτ(ους) ιβ', B[--|--] | υἱοῦ Kloner - Regev - Rappaport; 1.2 NΥΚΙΩ[--] was read by SEG. - 1.1: One can see no middle hasta of the first letter on the photograph: lunar sigma? The second letter seems to lack a horizontal hasta. Third letter consists of just a vertical hasta – *iota*? The upper parts of two vertical hastae are visible behind the beta. - 1.2: the photograph shows part of a circular letter before the nu. The signs after the iota are not quite clear; perhaps a large, lunar sigma or an epsilon (a shade of a middle hasta may be visible); the following scratches may belong to a letter, but a much smaller one: mu? lunar omega? -1.3: the third letter is not an omicron but there could be the shade of a middle hasta of a lunar *epsilon*. – (b) The beginning of a name?

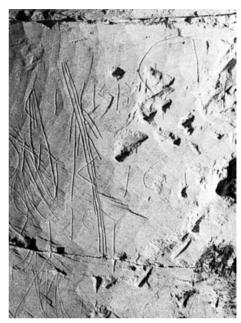


fig. 3452.1 (a)



fig. 3452.2 (b)

Bibl.: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 38\* no. 2a-b (Hebr.), 175ff. (ES) (ed. pr.). – ESI 5, 1986, 116 (=HA 88, 26 [Hebr.]); SEG 42, 1440; R. Milman Baron, SCI 13, 1994, 152f. nos. 21,2a-b; Sartre 2001, 273; Kloner, Maresha 2008, 179ff.

Photo: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 38\* figs. 17, 18.

## 3453. Greek graffito of Diodotus above a loculus

Findspot: Above Loculus 2; see introduction to nos. 3451-3466 fig. A, no. C.

#### ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΣΔΗΜΟΦΙΛΟΥ

Διόδοτος Δημοφίλου

Diodotus, son of Demophilus.



fig. 3453

Comm.: See no. 3451.

Bibl.: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 39\* no. 3 (Hebr.), 175ff. (ES) (ed. pr.). – ESI 5, 1986, 116 (=HA 88, 26 [Hebr.]); SEG 42, 1441; R. Milman Baron, SCI 13, 1994, 152f. no. 21,3; Sartre 2001, 273; Kloner, Maresha 2008, 179ff.

Photo: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 39\* fig. 19.

WA

# 3454. Greek graffiti of Rhodion and Bryon

Findspot: Between Loculus 2 and 3; see introduction to nos. 3451-3466 fig. A, no. D.

- (a) ΚΑΙΡΟΔΙΟΥΤΗΣΓ[--] ΔΑΜΟΦΙΛΟΥ
- (b)  $BP\Upsilon\Omega NO\Sigma$  $\Upsilon IO\Upsilon B[--]$
- (a) καὶ Ῥοδίου τῆς Γ[--] | Δαμοφίλου
- (b) Βρύωνος | υἱοῦ Β[--]
- (a) And of Rhodion, daughter of G...(?), of Damophilus.
- (b) Of Bryon, son of B...



fig. 3454 (b)

Comm.: (a) τῆς γ[υναικός]? Pleket apud SEG; (b) On the name Bryon, see Bechtel, Personennamen 101; L. Robert, Noms indigènes dans l'Asie mineure gréco-ro-

maine, 1963, 164f. – There should be little doubt that Rhodion, daughter of Damophilus, is the same as Rhodion, daughter of Demophilus in no. 3455. On the family of Demophilos, see no. 3451.

Bibl.: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 39\* no. 4a-b (Hebr.), 175ff. (ES) (ed. pr.). – ESI 5, 1986, 116 (=HA 88, 26 [Hebr.]); SEG 42, 1442; R. Milman Baron, SCI 13, 1994, 152f. no. 21,4a-b; Sartre 2001, 273; Kloner, Maresha 2008, 179ff.

Photo: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 39\* fig. 20.

WA

# 3455. Greek graffiti of Demophilus and Rhodion

Findspot: Above Loculus 3; see introduction to nos. 3451-3466 fig. A, no. E.



fig. 3455

- (a) ΔΗΜΟΦΙΛΟΥ ΒΡΥΩΝΟΣ
- (b) ΚΑΙΡΟΔΙΟΥΤΗΣΘΥΓΑΤΡΟΔΗΜΟΦΙΛΟΥ
- (a) Δημοφίλου | Βρύωνος
- (b) καὶ Ῥοδίου τῆς θυγατρὸ<ς> Δημοφίλου
- (a) Of Demophilos, son of Bryon.
- (b) And of Rhodion, daughter of Demophilus.

Comm.: (a) Cf. Generally no. 3451. – (b) Cf. no. 3454, where the same person seems to be mentioned.

Bibl.: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 40\* no. 5a-b (Hebr.), 175ff. (ES) (ed. pr.). – ESI 5, 1986, 116 (=HA 88, 26 [Hebr.]); SEG 42, 1443; R. Milman Baron, SCI 13, 1994, 152f. no. 21,5a-b; Sartre 2001, 273; Kloner, Maresha 2008, 179ff.

Photo: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 40\* fig. 21.

WA

## 3456. Greek graffito of Botrichus and Dorotheus

Findspot: Above Loculus 4; see introduction to nos. 3451-3466 fig. A, no. F.



fig. 3456

#### ΒΟΤΡΙΧΟΥΚΑΙΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΥΤΟΥΠΑΤΡΟΣΑΥΤΟΥ

Βοτρίχου καὶ Δωροθέου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ

Of Botrichus, and of Dorotheus his father.

Comm.: Botrichus is a rare name, most often attested at Kos, but not confined to any particular region (cf. Bechtel, Personennamen 592). Cf. no. 3461. Δορωθέου ed. pr., corr. SEG.

Bibl.: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 40\*f. no. 6 (Hebr.), 175ff. (ES) (ed. pr.). – ESI 5, 1986, 116 (=HA 88, 26 [Hebr.]); SEG 42, 1444; R. Milman Baron, SCI 13, 1994, 152f. no. 21,6; Sartre 2001, 273; Kloner, Maresha 2008, 179ff.

Photo: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 40\* fig. 22.

WA

### 3457. Greek graffito of Athenion, mother of Demophilus

Findspot: Above Loculus 5; see introduction to nos. 3451-3466 fig. A, no. G.



fig. 3457

- (a) ΑΘΗΝΙΟΥΤΗΣ ΔΗΜΟΦΙΛΟΥΜΗΤΡ[..]
- (b) ION
- (a) Άθηνίου τῆς | Δημοφίλου μητρ[ός]
- (b) ION
- (a) Of Athenion, mother of Demophilus.

Comm.: (a) l.2 fin.:  $\mu$ ?γ-ρ ed. pr., corr. Bingen apud SEG. – (b) It is a bit early for "Ιον="Ιων – and we cannot be sure that this is the beginning, rather than the end of the line. ['Αθην]ίον? Cf. no. 3458.

Bibl.: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 41\* no. 7a-b (Hebr.), 175ff. (ES) (ed. pr.). – ESI 5, 1986, 116 (=HA 88, 26 [Hebr.]); SEG 42, 1445; R. Milman Baron, SCI 13, 1994, 152f. no. 21,7a-b; Sartre 2001, 273; Kloner, Maresha 2008, 179ff.

Photo: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 41\* fig. 23.

WA

### 3458. Greek graffito of Athenion

Findspot: Between Loculus 5 and 6; see introduction to nos. 3451-3466 fig. A, no. H.

ΑΘΗΝΙ ΟΥ

Άθηνί|ου

Of Athenion.

Comm.: Cf. no. 3457 (b).

Bibl.: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 41\*f. (Hebr.), 175ff. (ES) (ed. pr.). – ESI 5, 1986, 116 (=HA 88, 26 [Hebr.]); SEG 42, 1446; R. Milman Baron, SCI 13, 1994, 152f. no. 21,8; Sartre 2001, 273; Kloner, Maresha 2008, 179ff.

WA

## 3459. Greek graffiti of Athenion, Demophilus and others

Findspot: Between Loculus 7 and 8; see introduction to nos. 3451-3466 fig. A, no. I. Inscription (b) is below (a) and written in smaller letters; inscription (c) runs over the second line of (b); inscription (d) is below (c).



fig. 3459

- (a) AΘΗΝΙΟΥΤΗΣΔΗΜΟΦΙΛ ΟΥ
- (b) ΤΟΥΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ
- (c) ΔΗΜΟΦΙΛΟΥΠΑΤΡΟΣΠΑΝΤΩΝ
- (d) ΘΥΓΑΤΡΟΣ
- (a) Άθηνίου τῆς Δημοφίλ|ου
- (b) τοῦ πατρὸς | πάντων
- (c) Δημοφίλου πατρὸς πάντων
- (d) θυγατρός
- (a) Of Athenion, daughter of Demophilus.
- (b) *Of the father of everyone.*
- (c) Of Demophilus, the father of everyone.
- (d) Of the daughter.

Comm.: (a) Or perhaps Ἀθηνίου τῆς Δημοφίλου [μητρός], cf. no. 3457. (b) Is the name of Demophilus missing, or was this meant to stand alone (c/d)? Or is a different line division intended, i.e. Δημοφίλου | θυγατρός and πατρὸς πάντων?

Bibl.: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 42\* no. 9a-d (Hebr.), 175ff. (ES) (ed. pr.). – ESI 5, 1986, 116 (=HA 88, 26 [Hebr.]); SEG 42, 1447; R. Milman Baron, SCI 13, 1994, 152f. no. 21,9a-d; Sartre 2001, 273; Kloner, Maresha 2008, 179ff.

Photo: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 42\* fig. 24.

WA

## 3460. Greek graffito of Nicobule

Findspot: Between Loculus 9 and 10; see introduction to nos. 3451-3466 fig. A, no. J.

ΝΙΚΟΒΟΎ ΛΗΣ

Νικοβού|λης

Of Nicobule.



fig. 3460

Comm.: Νικόβου | Λυσ[ιμάχου] ed. pr.; corr. Bingen apud SEG.

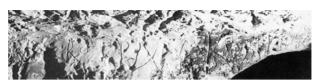
Bibl.: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 43\* no. 10 (Hebr.), 175ff. (ES) (ed. pr.). - ESI 5, 1986, 116 (=HA 88, 26 [Hebr.]); SEG 42, 1448; BE 1993, 630; R. Milman Baron, SCI 13, 1994, 152f. no. 21,10; Sartre 2001, 273; Kloner, Maresha 2008, 179ff.

Photo: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 43\* fig. 25.

WA

## 3461. Greek graffito of Botrichus

Findspot: Above Loculus 10; see introduction to nos. 3451-3466 fig. A, no. K.



#### ΒΟΤΡΙΧΟΥΒΟΤΡΙΧ

fig. 3461

Βοτρίχου Βοτρίχ(ου)

Of Botrichus, son of Botrichus.

Comm.: On Botrichus, see no. 3456 (the father Botrichus of the text here could be the bearer of the name in no. 3456).

Bibl.: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 43\* no. 11 (Hebr.), 175ff. (ES) (ed. pr.). – ESI 5, 1986, 116 (=HA 88, 26 [Hebr.]); SEG 42, 1449; R. Milman Baron, SCI 13, 1994, 152f. no. 21,11; Sartre 2001, 273; Kloner, Maresha 2008, 179ff.

Photo: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 43\* fig. 26.

WA

#### 3462. Greek graffito of the son of Dorotheus

Findspot: Between Loculus 10 and 11; see introduction to nos. 3451-3466 fig. A, no. L.

## ΚΑΙΔΩΡΟΘΕ ΟΥΥΙΟΣ

καὶ Δωροθέ|ου υἱός

And the son of Dorotheus.

Bibl.: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 43\* no. 12 (Hebr.), 175ff. (ES) (ed. pr.). - ESI 5, 1986, 116 (=HA 88, 26 [Hebr.]); SEG 42, 1450; R. Milman Baron, SCI 13, 1994, 152f. no. 21,12; Sartre 2001, 273; Kloner, Maresha 2008, 179ff.



fig. 3462

Photo: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 43\* fig. 27.

## 3463. Greek graffiti of Baucis and Botrichus

Findspot: Above Loculus 11; see introduction to nos. 3451-3466 fig. A, no. M.

- (a) BAYKI[.]
- (b) BOTPIX
- (a) Βαῦκι[ς]
- (b) Βοτρίχ(ου)



fig. 3463

- (a) Baucis.
- (b) Of Botrichus.

Comm.: (a) Pleket apud SEG: "Genitive of Βαῦκις or Βαύκις)?; for Βαῦκις (masc.) and Βαύκις (fem.) cf. O. Masson, ZPE 102, 1994, 174-7, who prefers Βαύκι[ς]; Bingen thinks he sees Βαυκίων." (b) A nominative is not impossible; for the name, see nos. 3456, 3461.

Bibl.: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 44\* no. 13a-b (Hebr.), 175ff. (ES) (ed. pr.). – ESI 5, 1986, 116 (=HA 88, 26 [Hebr.]); SEG 42, 1451; R. Milman Baron, SCI 13, 1994, 152f. no. 21,13a-b; Sartre 2001, 273; Kloner; Maresha 2008, 179ff.

Photo: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 44\* fig. 28.

WA

#### 3464. Greek graffito of Philoclea

Findspot: Above Loculus 12; see introduction to nos. 3451-3466 fig. A, no. N.



fig. 3464

#### ΦΙΛΟΚΛΕΑΣΤΗΣΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΥΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ

Φιλοκλέας, τῆς Δωροθέου γυναικός

Of Philoclea, wife of Dorotheus.

Comm.: The male versions of names on  $\Phi\iota\lambda\omega\lambda$ - are much more popular than the female ones.

Bibl.: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 44\* no. 14 (Hebr.), 175ff. (ES) (ed. pr.). – ESI 5, 1986, 116 (=HA 88, 26 [Hebr.]); SEG 42, 1452; R. Milman Baron, SCI 13, 1994, 152f. no. 21,14; Sartre 2001, 273; Kloner, Maresha 2008, 179ff.

Photo: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 44\* fig. 29.

WA

## 3465. Greek graffiti of Demophilus, Hegesias and Bryon

Findspot: Above Loculus 13; see introduction to nos. 3451-3466 fig. A, no. O.

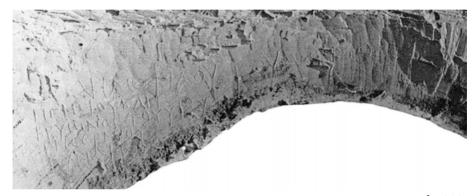


fig. 3465

- (a) ΔΗΜΟΦΙΛΟΥΤΟΥΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΥΥΙ[..]
- (b) ΗΓΗΣΙΟΥΚΑΙ ΒΡΥΩΝΟΣΤΟΥΥΙΟΥ ΤΗΣΕΡΜΙΟΥ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ
- (a) Δημοφίλου τοῦ Δωροθέου υί[οῦ]
- (b) Ἡγησίου καὶ | Βρύωνος τοῦ υἱοῦ | τῆς Ἑρμίου | γυναικός
- (a) Of Demophilus, son of Dorotheus.
- (b) Of Hegesias and Bryon (his/the) son of Hermias' wife.

Comm.: Cf. no. 3451. (b) ll.3f. are given in the ed. pr. as one line.

Bibl.: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 44\*f. no. 15a-b (Hebr.), 175\*ff. (ES) (ed. pr.). – ESI 5, 1986, 116 (=HA 88, 26 [Hebr.]); SEG 42, 1453; R. Milman Baron, SCI 13, 1994, 152f. no. 21,15a-b; Sartre 2001, 273; Kloner, Maresha 2008, 179ff.

Photo: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 45\* fig. 30.

## 3466. Greek graffiti of Bryon and Hedylion

Findspot: Between Loculus 13 and 14; see introduction to nos. 3451-3466 fig. A, no. P.

ΒΡΥΩΝΟΣΓΕ+ΟΝΙΟΣ ΗΔΥΛΙΟΥ



Βρύωνος Γερονιος. | Ήδυλίου

fig. 3466

Of Bryon, son of Geronius. Of Hedylion.

Comm.: l.1: Γεώνιος ed. pr., corr. Gatier, BE: Γε[ρ]οντος?; Bingen apud SEG saw Γερωντος(?). The most famous bearer of the name Geron in this region is the Athenian found by Wilhelm in 2 Macc 6,1 (A. Wilhelm, AAWW 1937, 20ff.).

Bibl.: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 44\* no. 16 (Hebr.), 175ff. (ES) (ed. pr.). - ESI 5, 1986, 116 (=HA 88, 26 [Hebr.]); SEG 42, 1454; BE 1993, 630; R. Milman Baron, SCI 13, 1994, 152f. no. 21,16; Sartre 2001, 273; Kloner, Maresha 2008, 179ff.

Photo: A. Kloner - D. Regev - U. Rappaport, Atiqot 21, 1992, 45\* fig. 31.

WA

## CXX. Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrin, mod. Beit Guvrin)

#### Introduction

## Literary sources1

In 68 Vespasian subjugated Idumaea where he captured "two villages, Betabris and Caphartoba in the middle of Idumaea." The former is usually identified with Beit Guvrin.<sup>2</sup> In the 2 c. it is mentioned by Ptolemy<sup>3</sup> and it appears on the Peutinger Table as "Betogabri" on the Aelia-Ascalon road. The *Itinerarium Antonini* lists it as the final station on the road from Caesarea via Diospolis to Eleutheropolis<sup>4</sup> and as a location on the Neapolis-Aelia-Ascalon road.<sup>5</sup> It is said to have been distant: 18 miles from Diospolis (Lydda), 20 miles from Aelia and 24 miles from Ascalon. To these roads may be added two more, namely one to Hebron and another, parallel to the Ascalon road, to Gaza. Eleutheropolis must therefore be regarded as one of the important cross-roads in the province. An army presence may be indicated by a monumental inscription that mentions a *Vexillatio leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae)*, said to come from Beit Guvrin (below, no. 3476). The strategic location of the town would make it a suitable station for a garrison, the more so since it had a good water supply.<sup>6</sup>

The village of Beit Guvrin obtained city status and the name of Eleutheropolis in AD 200 in the reign of Septimius Severus, at the same time as Lydda.<sup>7</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Early descriptions: Beit Jibrin was first identified with Beit Guvrin by E. Robinson, Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Petraea 2, 1841, 358-62, 404-20; Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea, 257f., 266; PEQ 11, 1879, 38; cf. F.-M. Abel, Géographie de la Palestine 2, 3rd ed. 1967, 272; Möller - Schmitt 42; NEAEHL 1, 1993, 195-201; 5, 2008, 1606-9, bibliography on p. 1609; TIR 118f.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. BJ 4,447: καταλαβόμενος δὲ δύο κώμας τὰς μεσαιτάτας τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, Βήταβριν καὶ Καφάρτοβαν ... It is, perhaps, not obvious that Beit Guvrin was in the middle of Idumaea, as it was understood in this period.

<sup>3</sup> Ptol. 5,15,6: Βαιτογαβρεῖ (ἢ Βαιτογαβρά).

<sup>4</sup> Itin. Anton. 199 (ed. Cuntz): Item a Caesarea Eleuteropolis m.p. lxxvii: Betaro m.p. xxxi Diospoli m.p. xxviii Eleuteropoli xviii.

<sup>5</sup> Itin. Anton. 199-200: Item a Neapoli Ascalona m.p. lxxiiii: Elia m.p. xxx Eleuteropoli m. p. xx Ascalona m.p. xxiiii.

<sup>6</sup> Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea 266-74 at 269: three wells. Two aqueducts have been traced: D. Amit, in: id. - Y. Patrich - Y. Hirschfeld eds., The Aqueducts of Israel, 2002, 169-76; N. Sagiv - B. Zissu - D. Amit, ibid. 177-86.

<sup>7</sup> Its era dates to 1 Jan. 200: S. Vailhé, EO 6, 1903, 310-4; EO 7, 1904, 215ff.; A. Spijkerman, SBF 22, 1972, 369-84; A. Kindler - A. Stein, A Bibliography of the City Coinage of Palestine, 1987, 112-6. It is sometimes asserted that Eleutheropolis, which is called Lucia Septimia Severiana Eleutheropolis on coins, received the status of a Roman colony (e.g. TIR 118). This is incorrect.

construction of an amphitheatre in the town appears to have preceded the grant of city-status (see below with n.18). This might be an indication that this grant reflected preceding urban development, rather than marking the start of it. Beit Guvrin's ascendance began with the destruction of Maresha in 40 BC.<sup>8</sup>

In the 4 c. Ammianus describes Palestine as having "some excellent cities, none of them inferior to any of the others, but they are rivals to one another as if on a strict equality. These are Caesarea ..., Eleutheropolis, and Neapolis, along with Ascalon and Gaza ..."

Eusebius mentions the city very often in his Onomasticon, sometimes as a simple point of reference: a village is described as lying a certain distance from Eleutheropolis. In ten cases he specifies that a location is within the territory of Eleutheropolis. This provides some valuable information about the extent of the territory of the city. It must be stressed that, in spite of desperate attempts by scholars in the past, this source cannot be stretched to give more information than it specifically does. A mere statement that a village is X miles from Eleutheropolis cannot be construed as indicating administrative significance. Eusebius is sometimes inconsistent in his information. Arguments from silence therefore have no validity in this case; in other words: if Eusebius does *not* mention that a site lies within the territory of Eleutheropolis, this cannot be interpreted as meaning it did *not* belong to that city.

The location of the city on a nodal point of the road-system, already described, is also brought out in Eusebius' Onomasticon. All the roads listed above are mentioned in this source, apart from the one to Ascalon (which happens to appear in the Itinerarium Antonini).<sup>11</sup>

A well-known sage of the 3 c. from the city was Rabbi Jonathan of Eleutheropolis who said: "Four languages are appropriately used in the world. And these are:

<sup>8</sup> Jos. BJ 1,269; AJ 14,364.

<sup>9</sup> Amm. 14,8,11: ... et civitates habens quasdam egregias, nullam nulli cedentem, sed sibi vicissim velut ad perpendiculum aemulas: Caesaream ... et Eleutheropolim et Neapolim, itidemque Ascalonem, Gazam ... The city is also mentioned by Suidas, s.v. Εὐτόκιος, Μαριανός.

<sup>10</sup> Eus. Onom. 26,8: Anab; 92,16: Ziph; 120,5: Lobana; 130,2: Masseba; 144,20: Robbo or Rebbo; 156,15: Saraa; 156,23: Sapheir; 160,9: Saaleim; 172,5: Chasbi. Usually this is formulated ἐν ὁρίοις Ἐλευθεροπόλεως (26,9), οr ὁρίου Ἐλευθεροπόλεως (86,21), but once ἐν τῆ Ἐλευθεροπολιτάνη (120,25). An erroneous statement concerns the village Sapheir (156,24): Σαφείρ (Josh 15,48). ἐν τῆ ὀρεινῆ κώμη ἐστὶν μεταξὺ Ἑλευθεροπόλεως καὶ ἀσκαλῶνος. If this village lies indeed between Eleutheropolis and Ascalon it was not in the hilly or mountainous country. It has been identified with Sawafir, see TIR 222.

<sup>11</sup> The roads to Aelia (Eus. Onom. 92,14; 94,29; 106,25; 130,2; 156,18); to Nicopolis-Emmaus (8,13; 156,15); to Hebron (106,15; 114,16); to Gaza (168,23). Curiously, Lacheis (Lakhish) is described as situated on the road to Daroma (12,19). In fact this road does not go to the South, but runs straight westward to the coast-road.

Greek for song. Latin for war. Syriac (Aramaic) for mourning. Hebrew for speaking." Zemer, in this instance means song in the broader sense of the word: poetry.<sup>12</sup>

At least one Christian martyr, possibly two, are said to have come from the city, in the years 308 and 309.<sup>13</sup> Also at Eleutheropolis was born Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus.<sup>14</sup> He established a monastery in the neighbourhood which is often mentioned in the polemics of St. Jerome with Rufinus and John, Bishop of Jerusalem.<sup>15</sup> There were in fact two monasteries, one for men: named after St. Thomas the Apostle, and one for women. The first attested bishop is Macrinus who participated at Nicaea in AD 325.<sup>16</sup> Between 379 and 395 Bishop Zebennus of Eleutheropolis found the bodies of Habakkuk and Micah at Ceila and Morashti.<sup>17</sup>

## Archaeological remains

Large-scale excavations have been carried out from the 1920s onward. The major structure excavated on the site is the amphitheatre. Also excavated was a third-century bath house that continued to be used in the Byzantine period. Furthermore there are remains of an inn near the ancient city. Some 200 m north of the ancient site a church was excavated. Southeast of the site mosaics were discov-

<sup>12</sup> y. Megilla I 71b, col. 748. S. Lieberman, Greek in Jewish Palestine, 1994, 21. For other Talmudic sources mentioning the city: Tos. Ohalot 18,16; y. Shebi'ith 38b; Bereshit Rabba 41 (42), 6 (p. 412,1); 67, 6 (p. 647,7). Cf. A. Neubauer, La géographie du Talmud, 1868, 122.

<sup>13</sup> Eusebius, de martyribus Palaestinae 9,5 (Zebinas); see also 10,2: Πέτρος ἀσκητής ὁ καὶ ἀψέλαμος ἀπὸ ἀνέας κώμης τῶν ὅρων Ἐλευθεροπόλεως διὰ πυρός. On Christianity in Eleutheropolis: B. Bagatti, SBF 22, 1972, 109-29; D. Baramki, ibid. 130-52; Bagatti, Judaea 127-31.

<sup>14</sup> Epiphanius, adv. Haer. 1,1.

<sup>15</sup> E.g. Hier. epist. 39, ad Theophilum: Monasterium S. Epiphanii in Eleutheropolitano territorio et non in Eliensi situm est.

<sup>16</sup> M. Le Quien, Oriens Christianus 3, 1740 (repr. 1958), 633f.

<sup>17</sup> Soz. 7,29 (PG 67, 1506). Peter the Deacon's Book on the Holy Places V 8 (CCSL 175, pp. 99f.): "In (the territory of Eleutheropolis) is Bycoyca where is the tomb of Abbacuc the Prophet. Fifteen miles from Eleutheropolis is the tomb of the holy prophet Ezra in a place called Asoa, and three miles away, at the place now called Chariasati but once Morastites, is the tomb of the holy prophet Micah." Cf. J. Wilkinson, Egeria's Travels, 1971, 202f. and his notes for the identification of these sites. Two sites are mentioned for Habbakuk's tomb by Eusebius: Onom. 70,10; 24 s.v. Gabatha and Onom. 114,15-19 s.v. Cela, Eccla. According to Jos. AJ 11,158, however, Ezra was buried in Jerusalem. Asoa may possibly be identified with Ishwa/Eshtaol.

<sup>18</sup> NEAEHL 1, 1993, 195f.; 5, 2008, 1606f.

<sup>19</sup> NEAEHL 5, 2008, 1607f.

<sup>20</sup> An inscription (below no. 3479), records its construction by the Dux Palaestinae.

<sup>21</sup> It was excavated by Baramki in 1941/2: Ovadiah, Corpus 31f. nos. 19, 20; NEAEHL 1, 1993, 196f.

ered in the 1920s at el-Maqerqesh. A synagogue was also found in Beit Guvrin. <sup>22</sup> A remarkable and very well-known feature of the site are the numerous limestone caves. Some of these were used for Jewish burials, others for Christian tombs, yet others were quarries. <sup>23</sup>

ΒI

<sup>22</sup> E. Sukenik, JPOS 10, 1930, 76ff.; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 51f.

<sup>23</sup> NEAEHL 1, 1993, 198-201.

## **Inscriptions**

#### A. Res sacrae

# 3467. Greek inscribed stone altar dedicated to the "God of Heliopolis" for the salvation of the Emperor Commodus, 180-192 AD

A limestone altar, with a socle, a shaft and a cornice. The inscription is divided between the socle (l.1), the shaft (ll.2-6) and the cornice (ll.7-8) – marked in the reading text by double-line.

Meas.: altar: h 68 cm; socle: h 17.3, w 40 cm; cornice: h 11, w 38 cm; shaft: h 34, w 29 cm; letters 3.5-5.5 cm.

Findspot: In the sub-structure of the sacellum in the amphitheater. Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1996-3525. Autopsy: 11 December 2013.

ΑΝΘΗΜΑ ΥΠΕΡΣΩ ΤΕΡΙΑΣ ΚΟΜΟΔ ΤΟΥΚΥΡ ΘΕΩΙΗΛΙ ΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΕΝΚΟ+++



fig. 3467

"Ανθημα || ὑπὲρ σω|τερίας | Κομόδ(ου) | τοῦ κυρ(ίου) | Θεῶι Ἡλι||οπόλεως | ἐν κο+++ For the salvation of (our) Lord Comodus, an offering to the God of Heliopolis ...

Comm.: l.1 ['Ayαθῆ τύχη] Di Segni; see Gatier in SEG contra Di Segni. – ll.1f.  $\sigma\omega$ |τηρίας Di Segni. – ll.6f. 'Ηλι|οπολε[ίτ]η Di Segni. – l.8 Έλκ[ίας?] Di Segni. Jupiter Heliopolitanus was the chief deity in Heliopolis (Baalbek) and the God of Heliopolis in our inscription seems to be also the Jupiter of Heliopolis. An inscription most likely found on Mt. Carmel and preserved there in a monastery, is dedicated to Διὶ 'Ηλιοπολίτη Καρμήλφ (SEG 14, 832). These are the only sources for the veneration of Jupiter Heliopolitanus in Palestine in the 2-3 c. AD. The dedication was made for the salvation of the Emperor Commodus.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, in: A. Kloner - A. Hübsch, Atiqot 30, 1996, 100f. (ed. pr.). – SEG 46, 1819; BE 1999, 571; Belayche, Pagan Cults 64f.; J. Moralee, For Salvation's Sake, 2004, 130 no. 60; A. Kloner - A. Hübsch - M. Cohen, Qadmoniot 40, 2007, 48-57 at 54f. (Hebr.); Ovadiah - Mucznik, Art and Cult 214f.; E. Meyers - M. Chancey, Alexander to Constantine, 2012, 251f.; Figueras, Pagan Image 50 figs. 272f.

Photo: WE.

DG

#### 3468. Aramaic dedication from Synagogue, 4-6 c. CE

Seven lines of Jewish script inscribed on the drum of limestone column, inside a round frame.

Meas.: drum: h 44, ø 36 cm; lines w 13-30 cm; letters 2-3 cm.

Findspot: E. Sukenik found this column in 1925 built in the wall of a private house in Beit Jibrin (Beit Guvrin).

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. I-4217. Autopsy: 3 February 2013 (DK).

דכיר לטבקוריס שִימִעייניחנפש בראוכסנטיס דזבןהדיןעמודא ליקרהדכנישתא שלום



fig. 3468.1

דכיר | לטב קוריס | שימעיי ניח נפש | בר אוכסנטיס | דזבן הדין עמודא | ליקרה דכנישתא | שלום | שלום

Translit.: dkyr | lṭb qwrys | šymʿyy nyḥ npš | br ʾwksnṭys | dzbn hdyn ʿmwdʾ | lyqrh dknyštʾ | šlwm

Remembered for the good be Kyrius Shim'ai (?), (whose) soul is resting in peace, son of Auxentius, who bought this column in honor of the synagogue. Peace.

Comm.: The synagogue that was once in or near Eleutheropolis is known by this inscription and two other building fragments, a Corinthian capital with a seven-branched menorah (earliest illustrations in Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea 269 and Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 442) and a decorated column. The exact location of the ancient building is not known. The name of the donor is uncertain since the beginning of 1.3 is unclear (Kyrius is best understood as a title). Naveh was the first to see the mem between the shin and the double yod, and his reading is followed here. If the reading is correct, the name is a form of Shemayah, which is frequent in the Jewish onomasticon (Ilan, Lexicon



fig. 3468.2

I, II and IV s.v.), meaning "God heard"; the spelling with two yods is unique, but note אמיני אַ אַמּי אַ at Ex 6,17. The expression ציח אַן אַר אַר אַר אַר (his) soul rests (in peace)" and is found in epitaphs (CIIP III 2200, 2205; CIJ 2, 988; with grammatical variations at Zoar, J. Naveh, Tarbiz 64, 1995, 478, 480, 492; Tarbiz 69, 2000, 620-4, 626 [Hebr.]); it is, however, rare in Jewish dedications, and indicates that the donor died between the time of the donation and the occasion of the inscription. The donor's father is Αὐξέντιος, a rare name for Jews, occurring also in an epitaph from Cilicia, cf. Ameling, IJO II no. 241 with commentary ad loc. If Naveh is correct that the second letter in 1.5 is zayin and not, as in previous editions, yod, the donor is said to have paid for and not built the synagogue (and see Naveh for inexact parallels from Palmyra). While synagogue inscriptions in the Diaspora frequently mention the synagogue itself, there are only a few surviving instances from Iudaea/Palaestina: see the instances of כנישתה לבנישתה לבנישתה Goder (Naveh, Stone and Mosaic, no. 34), and from an earlier period, συναγωγή in the Theodotus inscription, CIIP I 9.

Bibl.: E. Sukenik, JPOS 10, 1930, 76ff. at 76f., pl. 6 (first full reading) (ed. pr.). – Id., JJPES=Qobes 1, 1925, 143ff. (Hebr.); S. Klein, ZDPV 51, 1928, 135ff. at 135 no. 1; S. Cook, PEQ 62, 1930, 216-26 at 226; S. Krauss, REJ 89, 1930, 385-413 at 413; S. Klein, JPOS 12, 1932, 271; E. Sukenik, Ancient Synagogues 72; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 13 (Hebr.); CJJ 2, 1195; Goodenough, Jewish Symbols I 212 no. 15; Y. Kutscher, Sefer Henoch Yalon, 1963, 254 (Hebr.); D. Barag, IEJ 22, 1972, 147ff.; Saller, Catalogue 21 no. 15; J. Naveh, Leshonenu 38, 1973, 295-9 (Hebr.); H. Cavallin, Life After Death, 1974, 166f. no. 4.12.1; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 1, 51ff.; MPAT 258f., 284f. no. A12; Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 109ff. no. 71 (Hebr.); M. Sokoloff, Maarav 1, 1978, 79-84 at 82 no. 71; Keel-Küchler 863ff. no. 567; Beyer, Aramäische Texte 363 no. yyBG 1; D. Urman, in: E. Stern – D. Urman eds., Man and Environment in the Southern Shefelah, 1988, 151-62 at 156 (Hebr.); Naveh, On Sherd and Papyrus 136f., 140f. (Hebr.); A. Kloner, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 195ff. at 195; D. Urman, in: id. – P. Flesher eds., Ancient Synagogues 2, 1995, 373-617 at 602; Varia, in: S. Fine ed., Sacred Realm, 1996, 155-75 at 173 no. 78; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 400f.; B. Zissu, in: Y. Eshel ed., Judea and Samaria Research Studies 14, 2005, 97-112 at 108f. (Hebr.); Sorek 91f.; Hachlili, Ancient Synagogues 10-3, 519f.

Photo: IAA; Keel - Küchler 865 fig. 567 (dr.).

JJP/AY

## 3469. Greek poem in hexameters about the mosaics in a chapel, 5-6 c. AD

Mosaic pavement divided into two parts: at the top a poem is written above "two peacocks holding a garland in their beaks"; in the large field below it there are "vine trellis with grapes, tendrils and leaves developing out of an amphora and forming eight ... medallions," a stag appears on each one of the two medallions which appear on each side of the amphora, and birds are drawn on the six medallions above it (see Avi-Yonah 1933, 147).

Meas.: pavement: ca. h 3, w 2.25 m; mosaic with the inscription: h 1.17, w 2.87 m; field for the inscription h 50, w 73 cm; letters ca. 5 cm.

Findspot: In 1924 the École archéologique française excavated a chapel at the site of el-Maqerqesh; see the map in RB 22, 1924, pl. 10. For a more detailed description of the circumstances of discovery and for mosaic inscriptions from an earlier phase of the building complex, see no. 3497.

Pres. loc.: Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv (in the Garden), IAA inv. no. 1966-1732. Autopsy: 22 March 2012 and 20 October 2013.

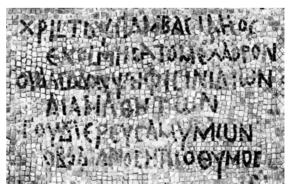


fig. 3469.1

ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥΠΑΜΒΑΣΙΛΗΟΣ ΕΚΟΣΜΗΣΑΤΟΜΕΛΑΘΡΟΝ ΟΥΔΑΣΟΔΟΝΨΉΦΙΣΙΝΙΔΙΩΝ ΔΙΑΜΑΘΉΤΩΝ ΤΟΥΔΙΕΡΕΥΣΑΜΥΜΩΝ ΟΒΟΔΙΑΝΟΣΗΠΙΟΘΥΜΟΣ

Χριστοῦ παμβασιλῆος | ἐκοσμήσατο μέλαθρον, | οὖδας, όδὸν ψηφῖσιν ἰδίων | διὰ μαθητῶν | τοῦδ' ἱερεὺς ἀμύμων | Ὀβοδιανὸς ἠπιόθυμος

The house of Christ, the monarch of the universe, the floor and the entrance, Obodianus, his blameless and gentle priest, has decorated with mosaics with the help of my disciples.

Other translations (in the first person singular, see comm.):

In German by Merkelbach - Stauber: In diesem Haus des Allkaisers Christus habe ich den Fussboden und den Weg durch meine Schüler mit Mosaiksteinen geschmückt, ich, sein Priester, der treffliche Obodianos gütigen Sinns.

In French by Abel: Du Christ Roi Universel j'ai orné la maison de mosaïques quant au sol et à l'entrée par mes propres disciples, (moi) son prêtre irréprochable Obodien le Débonnaire.

Comm.: The | marks the place where the end of the line coincides with the end of a verse. All editors before Agosti have read ἐκόσμησα τὸ in l.1, whereas the latter reads ἐκοσμήσατο, which has the advantage of removing the article from μέλαθρον which is absent from the following two other nouns: οὖδας and ὁδὸν. Furthermore, it is very common for the dedicator of a mosaic not to be mentioned in the first person, but rather in the third (Agosti 2005). - The dedicator of the mosaic, Obodianus, is otherwise



fig. 3469.2



fig. 3469.3

unknown; he calls himself ἱερεύς, which stands for either priest or bishop, which is quite possible, since only some of the Bishops of Eleutheropolis are known (see Abel 597). He has laid the mosaic assisted by his disciples. Donderer (1989) wishes to see here a joint work undertaken by a priest and his disciples: "Handwerksbe-

trieb ..., der in kirchlichem Rahmen wirkte und ausbildete."

To make clear that the text is a poem in three verses, the second part of each hexameter is put in a separate and indented line. For Χριστοῦ παμβασιλῆος cf. Anth. Pal. 1,8: Χριστὸν παμβασιλῆα. The krater with the vine trellis, grapes, tendrils and leaves is perhaps a reference to Jh 15,1: "I am the true vine ..."; the two stags and the birds may represent, in analogy to Ps 42,2, the souls of the believers (Keel - Küchler).

Bibl.: F.-M. Abel, RB 33, 1924, 583-604 at 596ff. no. 1 pl. 13 (ph.) (ed. pr.). – R. Dussaud, Syria 6, 1925, 203ff.; M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 2, 1933, 136-81 at 146ff. no. 23.8; SEG 8, 243; C. Kopp, Grabungen und Forschungen im Heiligen Land 1867/1938, 1939, 146; Ovadiah, Corpus 32 no. 20; M. Avi-Yonah, in: H. Stern – M. Le Glay eds., La mosaïque gréco-romaine II, 1975, 377-83 at 379,



fig. 3469.4

382 pl. 180; id., EI 12, 1975, 191ff. (Hebr.); id., Art in Ancient Palestine, 1981, 294, 375 no. 23,8 pl. 57; Keel - Küchler 863f., fig. 565; Meimaris, Sacred Names 50 no. 286, 202 no. 1019; M. Donderer, Die Mosaizisten der Antike und ihre wirtschaftliche und soziale Stellung, 1989, 72 no. A 30; M. Avi-Yonah, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 197; R. Hachlili, ZDPV 113, 1997, 92-122 at 106; Bagatti, Judaea 129; Merkelbach - Stauber, Steinepigramme 4, 329f. no. 21/09/02; A. Ovadiah, in: M. Fano Santi ed., Studi di archeologia in onore di Gustavo Traversari 2, 2004, 693-715 at 694; SEG 54, 1642; 55, 1704; BE 2006, 479; G. Agosti, Medievo Greco 5, 2005, 1-30 at 11ff. no. 4; M. Donderer, Die Mosaizisten der Antike II 2008, 117 no. A 30; Hachlili, AMP 246f.; G. Agosti, Segno e testo 8, 2010, 67-98 at 68ff.; Figueras, Pagan Image 51 fig. 279; Madden, Corpus 61f. no. 76, 215 fig. 11.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; Hachlili, AMP 247 fig. 12,3 (dr.); M. Avi-Yonah, in: H. Stern – M. Le Glay eds., La mosaïque gréco-romaine II pl. 153.

WE

## 3470.-3473. Church at Mahat el-Urd

Maḥat el-Urd is located near the top of a hill north of Beit Guvrin. During excavations in 1941/2 a church complex was exposed. This basilical church is oriented along an east-west axis and consisted of an atrium, a narthex and a prayer hall.

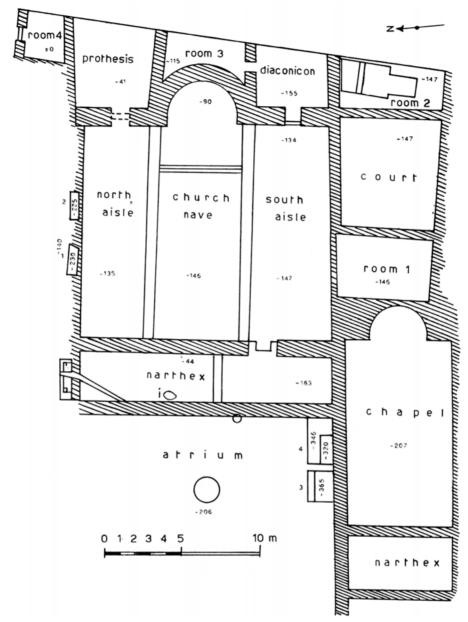


fig. 3470.A Ground plan, D. Baramki, SBF 22, 1972, 132 fig. 2

The latter was divided by colonnades in a central nave with chancel and semicircular apse and lateral aisles. Two rooms are flanking the apse, and a third one was attached to its rear. A fourth small room is located north of the one flanking the apse in the north. Another alignment of rooms adjoined the southern wall of the church, including a small open courtyard and an additional chapel with narthex

and semicircular apse in its southwestern part, parallel to the atrium and narthex of the main church (for a ground plan, cf. fig. A). The rooms of the church complex were paved with mosaic floors most of which were heavily damaged. In the aisles, however, vast portions of elaborate carpets with sophisticated patterns combining geometrical ornaments with figurative scenes have been preserved. Below the narthex of the main church a subterranean burial cave was found, consisting of three chambers housing eight graves in total; this had already been in use before the construction of the church had started (for a ground plan, cf. Baramki 147 fig. 16). The pottery found during the excavations ranges from the late antique to the early Islamic period. Earlier terra sigillata was found only in the burial cave.

Bibl.: Ovadiah, Corpus 31 no. 19; C. Baramki, SBF 22, 1972, 130-52; Madden, Corpus 60f. no. 75.

## 3470. Greek invocation to the Lord in a mosaic, 5-6 c. AD

Only the left-hand side of the framed mosaic inscription survived.

Findspot: Inside the diaconicon; see introduction to nos. 3470-3473 fig. A.

[(cross)]  $\overline{\text{KE}}$ [--] PIA+[--]  $\Theta$ +[--]  $\Gamma$  $\dot{\text{H}}$ [--]

K(ύρι)ε [--]|PIA+[--]|Θ+[--]|ΓH[--]

Lord ...

Comm.: l.1: Ovadiah has no restoration of a cross. – The fact that only a very narrow portion of the left-hand side of this inscription is preserved makes it impossible to ascertain the original length of its

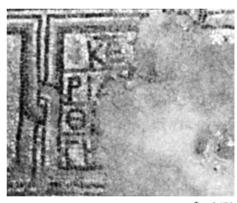


fig. 3470

lines. It seems quite logical to assume that the letters PIA are part of Mary's name,  $[M\alpha]|\rho!\alpha[\varsigma?--]$ , as this name is often mentioned in invocations addressed to Jesus. See IGLS 2,489; 4,1813; SEG 30, 1701 and 1716. However, this is by no means the only possible restoration; see the invocations made by people named Zacharia (SEG 8, 20 and 149), or the one in which Jesus is requested to accept a gift,  $\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\sigma\phi\omega\rho!\alpha\nu$  (no. 3326).

Bibl.: Ovadiah, MPI 18ff. no. 17 (ed. pr.). – G. Kirk, PEQ 78, 1946, 97f.; Ovadiah, Corpus 31 no. 19 J; D. Baramki, SBF 22, 1972, 130-52 at 141f.; Madden, Corpus 60f. no. 75.

Photo: D. Baramki, SBF 22, 1972, 142 fig. 11.

#### 3471. Biblical Ionas in a mosaic, 5-6 c. AD

Mosaic scene in an octagonal frame showing a reclining man; his head has been defaced. The man's body is framed, and there is a branch with leaves above the man's sprawled body. Below the latter a Greek caption identifies the figure.

Findspot: The mosaic floor of the northern aisle; see introduction to nos. 3470-3473 fig. A.

ΙΩΝΑΣ

Ίωνᾶς

Ionas.

Comm.: The frame around the body of Ionas was interpreted as showing him in the belly of the fish with his head sticking out (Baramki), but it is better to understand it as the shade created by the mysterious kikayon (perhaps to be identified with the gourd



fig. 3471

plant) over the body of the sleeping prophet (Ovadiah 1974). One of the scenes depicted in the mosaics of the southern aisle also recalls the Ionas story. In the third octagon from the east there is a mutilated picture of a boat with a mast and furled sails. A sitting sailor is rowing the boat. It has been claimed that the picture also shows another sailor casting a third person, Ionas, into the sea (Foerster). The picture is far from clear, but there can be no doubt that the boat is encircled by sea-monsters and that the Ionas story occupies a prominent place in church mosaics.

Bibl.: D. Baramki, SBF 22, 1972, 130-52 at 134f. (ed. pr.). – G. Kirk, PEQ 78, 1946, 97f.; C. Johns, PEQ 80, 1948, 96 pls. 6,1-2; R. Ovadiah, IEJ 24, 1974, 214f., pl. 46; G. Foerster, in: Atti del IX Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana II 1978, 289-94; Meimaris, Sacred Names 98 no. 585; Ovadiah, MPI 19 no. 17; A. Kloner, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 195ff.; Vriezen, Mosaic Pavements 256f.; Hachlili, AMP 91; Madden, Corpus 60f. no. 75.

Photo: Ovadiah, MPI pl. 10.

#### 3472. Three crosses with inscription, 5-6 c. AD

Three red painted crosses were found on the walls inside a grave: one on the northern side, a second one on its eastern flank (slightly damaged), and a third one was located on the southern part of the grave. The northern (a) and the southern cross (b) display two letters each above the two arms of the cross. The eastern cross (c) has an additional letter placed below each arm. No photographs exist.

Findspot: Burial cave under the narthex of the church; see introduction to nos. 3470-3473 fig. A. Grave 6, dug on the eastern side of Chamber C.

- (a) and (b)  $\overline{I\Sigma} \overline{X\Sigma}$
- (c)  $\overline{I\Sigma} \, \overline{X\Sigma}$

ΑΩ

- (a) and (b) Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς
- (c) Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς | Α Ω
- (a) and (b) Jesus Christ.
- (c) Jesus Christ alpha and omega (the beginning and the end).

Comm.: Compare with CIIP II 1154.

Bibl.: D. Baramki, SBF 22, 1972, 130-52 at 149 (ed. pr.). - A. Kloner, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 195ff.

DG

#### 3473. Three crosses with inscription, 5-6 c. AD

Red painted crosses were found on all four sides of a grave: three of them on the northern, southern and western flanks bear an identical inscription (a-c). Two pairs of letters are inscribed above the left and right arms of the crosses. No photographs exist.

Findspot: Burial cave under the narthex of the church; see introduction to nos. 3470-3473 fig. A. Grave 8, sunk in the floor of Chamber C.

- (a-c)  $\overline{I\Sigma} \overline{X\Sigma}$
- (a-c) Ί(ησοῦ)ς <math>X(ριστό)ς
- (a-c) Jesus Christ.

Bibl.: D. Baramki, SBF 22, 1972, 146-51 (ed. pr.). - A. Kloner, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 195ff.

#### 3474. An acclamation to Christ

A gray marble plaque with undamaged upper edge. In the lower right corner remains of a large cross.

Meas.: h 20.3, w 20.5, d 4 cm; letters 3-4.2 cm.

Findspot: "Area 250. A trial trench, cut west of and beneath the fortress gate ... exposed part of a bathhouse ... Many broken bricks, as well as fragments of clay pipes and chimneys, probably originating in the bathhouse, were found in the debris ... to the west and north of the fortress as well" (Kloner - Assaf).

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1996-3530. Autopsy: 9 October 2013 (WE/DK).

[..]ΪΣΤΟΣ ΝΊΧΑ

[Χρ]ιστὸς | νικᾶ

Christ triumphs!

Comm.: There are numerous inscriptions in which the verb form אוגע is accompanied by both name and title of Jesus Christ, usually in an abbreviated form; see G. Dagron - D. Feissel, Inscriptions de Cilicie, 1987, 105 no. 61; IGLS 5, 2461a; SEG 34, 1503.2. However, there are inscriptions in which a shorter version of this formula is used, as in the present case, Χριστὸς νικᾶ; see IGLS 4, 1492; 6, 2835; SEG 32, 1481. Since the four letters in 1.2 are more or less symmetrically arranged below the imaginary center of the longer l.1, there seems to be no need to restore the name of Jesus there.

Bibl.: Unpublished. – A. Kloner - E. Assaf, ESI 17, 1998, 144 (=HA 105, 1996, 134 [Hebr.]).

Photo: WE.



fig. 3474.1



fig. 3474.2

## 3475. Marble fragment with Greek inscription, 4-6 c. AD

A smooth white marble fragment which originally must have been part of an altar table. The upper rim is partly preserved. A double frame divided the plaque into an exterior part and a central one. The back was designed in the same way. Red paint was observed inside the characters of l.2.

Meas.: h 18.2, w 31.3, d 4.6 cm; letters 2-3.4 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1996-3531 (11/94 650 L-681 B-3075, A-19). Autopsy: 11 December 2013.

[--]İTAIIINONAMHN (cross) [--]+ONAMHN (cross)

904



fig. 3475.1

[--]Ι(?) ταπινόν, ἀμήν | [-- ταπι]νόν, ἀμήν

... humble, Amen ... humble, Amen.

Comm.: l.1: First letter nu? This is evidently the end of an acclamation to God or Christ to help or save his humble servants. The sentence will have had presumably the following structure: [ $\kappa$ ύριε,  $\sigma$ ῶσον τὸν δοῦλόν σου ..., τὸ]ν ταπεινόν. l.2 will have contained a similar acclamation.



fig. 3475.2

Photo: WE.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

DG/WA

## B. Inscriptions of public character and in architectural context

## 3476. Building inscription of a vexillatio of the legio VI Ferrata

Limestone plaque with an inscription inside a tabula ansata; the left ansa is partly destroyed. The surface of the inscription was originally covered by a thin plaster, visible even now in parts of the right ansa. Remains of red color in the last R. A profile on the left-hand side and at the bottom of the back shows that the plaque was reused for the present inscription, but originally belonged to the basis (ca. 20 cm high) of an altar or a statue.

Meas.: h 55, w 85.5, d (max.) 16.5 cm; field for the inscription: h 36.5, w 39 cm; letters 9.5 cm.

Findspot: Purchased by the Rockefeller Museum in 1931, and said to come from Beit Guvrin/Eleutheropolis (Iliffe).

Pres. loc.: Hecht Museum, Haifa, IAA inv. no. 1931-350. Autopsy: 10 October 2013.

VEXILLA TIO LEG VI FERR



Vexilla|tio leg(ionis) | VI Ferr(atae)

fig. 3476

A vexillation of the legio VI Ferrata (has built this).

Comm.: The inscription shows that the *legio VI Ferrata* has built a structure which, however, cannot be identified. Other inscriptions of the same type mentioning the *legio VI Ferrata* and the *legio X Fretensis* are known from Tel Shalem (N. Tzori, IEJ 21, 1971, 53f.), Abu Gosh (CIIP I 722, 723; cf. 724) and Caesarea Maritima (CIIP II 1203-1209). It is surprising to find the sixth legion, normally based in the north of Judaea, engaged in a building mission so far to the south.

Bibl.: J. Iliffe, QDAP 2, 1933, 120-6 at 121f. no. 2 (ed. pr.). – AE 1933, 158; L. Vincent, RB 42, 1933, 632-7 at 634; B. Lifshitz, BIES 23, 1959, 53-67 at 56 (Hebr.); id., Latomus 19, 1960, 109ff.; BE 1961, 815; Ringel, Césarée 70; Isaac, Roman Army 637f.; D. Urman, in: E. Stern - D. Urman eds., Man and Environment in the Southern Shefelah, 1988, 151-62 at 152f. (Hebr.); Isaac, Limits 432; Di Segni, Water Supply 51; AE 2002, 1541.

Photo: WE.

## 3477. Octagonal statue-base with Greek inscription

Octagonal base with a recessed shaft. The sides are relatively smooth, but the inscribed side is rough; it seems that a first inscription was erased, and the base was reused for another dedication. Remains of letters seem to be preserved between the lines of the second inscription. On the top, six holes partly filled with lead for fixing a statue.

Meas.: h 149, ø (at the top) ca. 48 cm; field for the inscription: h 51, w 22.5 cm; letters 2.8-4.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1996-3523. Autopsy: 9 October 2013.

ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΟΥΕΤΤΙΟΣ ΑΠΟΔΕΔΕΙ ΓΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΡΧΩΝ ΤΟΝΔΑΔΟΥ ΧΟΝΕΞΙΔΙ ΩΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ

'Αντώνιος | Οὐέττιος | ἀποδεδει|γμένος | ἄρχων | τὸν δαδοῦ|χον ἐξ ἰδί|ων | ἀνέθηκεν

Antonius Vettius, designated archon, has erected with his own money (the statue of) a dadouchos.

Comm.: The dedicator was certainly a Roman citizen of Eleutheropolis. The use of the nomen gentile Vettius as a cognomen is somewhat surprising. He is called ἀποδεδειγμένος ἄρχων. The ἀποδεδειγμένος designatus is a Roman concept used for Roman magistracies; in imperial

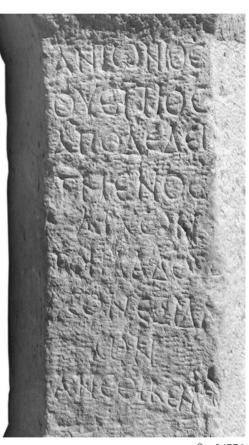


fig. 3477.1

times, however, the term is used also for offices in the Greek speaking communities. Since Beit Guvrin received the status of a city as well as the name Eleutheropolis by Septimius Severus in 199/200, and in addition was called Lucia Septimia Severa (BMC Palestine, LXVf., 141f., pl. 14,17-20), it would be easy to understand, why  $\dot{\alpha}\pi o \delta \epsilon \delta \epsilon_{\rm I} \gamma \mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu o \varsigma$  was used in the context of a municipal office. Archon can stand

for a variety of offices in the Greek and Roman context (cf. H. Mason, Greek Terms for Roman Institutions, 1974, 110ff.) but in the present context one can safely assume that it describes a high (or the highest) magistrate of the polis. It is almost certain that the dedication is to be dated after Beit Guvrin had become Eleutheropolis.

Antonius Vettius dedicated a statue of a δαδοῦχος which literally means the holder of a torch. Two inscriptions from Bostra attest the dedication of such a statue as a gift to a local goddess: IGLS 13,1, 9008: Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μάρκος Κρίσπος, ἀπὸ φλάμενος ἀστυνομήσας τὸν δαδοῦχον τῆ Κυρία Πατρίδι; 9009: Αὐρ(ήλιος) Σε[..]ι++ιαν[ὸς] Εὐνόμου, βου[λευτής], ἀπὸ Φλάμενος, [ἀσ]τυ[ν]ομήσας, τὸν δαδοῦχον τῆ Κυρία Πατρίδι. Another Greek dedication of a δαδοῦχος is known from Scythopolis (G. Foerster - Y. Tsafrir, ESI 11, 1993, 3-32 at 12). A Latin inscription from Baalbek-Heliopolis attests a statua lucifera (IGLS 6, 2716). For three further bases with Greek inscriptions from Gerasa dedicating such statues to Κύρια Πατρίς, see S. Agusta-Boularot - J. Seigne, ZPE 203, 2017, 144-56. All these dedications most probably were large-size bronze statues of torch-bearers which served as candelabra. Several such statues have been preserved from antiquity. One group consists of nearly life-sized statues fashioned as nude ephebes holding tendrilled racks to which the lamps were attached (see N. Lenski, in: M. George ed., Roman Slavery and Roman Material Culture, 2013, 136ff.). Another group, smaller in size and



fig. 3477.2

fashioned as Erotes, indeed hold torches as receptacle for the flame (see H. Hiller, in: G. Hellenkemper Salies - H.-H. von Prittwitz und Gaffron - G. Bauchhenß eds., Das Wrack 1, 1994, 515-30). For further remarks on the topics only touched on here see Koßmann - Eck.

Bibl.: D. Koßmann - W. Eck, ZPE 200, 2016, 282-6 (ph.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: WE.

#### 3478. Column donated by Entolia

Round column base of Attic type on a square plinth. On the top of the column a secondary notch. The inscription is placed on one of the faces of the plinth, its end being lost due to the breaking off of the corner of the plinth.

Meas.: h of column base 24 cm; ø of column 53 cm; plinth: h 7,5, w 63, d 63 cm; letters 3-4.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1996-3524. Autopsy: 9 October 2013 (WE/DK).

#### ΕΝΤΩΛΙΑΙΟΥΔΑΜΥΡΕ[--]

Ἐντωλία Ἰούδα ΜΥΡΕ[--] Entolia daughter of Iudas ...

Comm.: The name of the dedicant's father indicates that Entolia is Iewish and her own name points in the same direction, since it is, according to L. Robert, to be derived from "the Law": "Le nom Entolios n'est pas à tirer de Anatolios, mais de Ἐντολή, la Loi, les Commandements. L' Entolè est devenue chrétienne, et il y a eu des Entolios chrétiens" (L. Robert, Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes I 1964, 49 n.2; cf. G. Manganaro Perrone, ZPE 156, 2006, 132f.). The male name is attested in three inscriptions from Caesarea: CIIP II 1263 mentions a late antique governor Flavius Entolius, and



fig. 3478.1



fig. 3478.2

the two others, CIIP II 1466 and 1520, are epitaphs, the former unequivocally Jewish. A Christian Entolius mentioned in a Greek inscription from Tomis has the surname Κησαρεύς which may refer to Caesarea in Cappadocia or rather Caesarea in Palestine (Ε. Popescu, Inscriptiones intra fines Dacoromaniae repertae graecae et latinae anno CCLXXXIV recentiores, 1976, 80f. no. 44). These testimonies led Manganaro Perrone to think that the name "pare tipico di grecanici della Palestina." Another Entolius in connection with the dedication of a column in a Jewish context is attested in an inscription from Alexandria in Egypt: [ὑπ]ὲρ σωτηρίας κυρᾶς 'Ρουᾶς θυγατρὸς [τοῦ μα]καριστάτου 'Εντολίου Βοροὺχ Βαραχία του (CIJ 2, 1438 with ph.; JIGRE 15); the two-line inscription is also placed on one of the faces of the plinth.

Since no reference to the origin of Entolia or Juda can be supplied safely, the last word seems to be a profession: μυρεψός "one who boils and prepares unguents, perfumer" (LSJ s.v. μυρεψεῖον); see Ameling, IJO II 237, 239 (Korykos); Schwabe - Lifshitz, Beth Sheʿarim II 79, 168; remark by G. Dagron - D. Feissel, T&MByz 9, 1985, 457.

Bibl.: Unpublished. - Cf. L. Moretti, RFIC 93, 1965, 183ff. no. 10.

Photo: WE.

EDD

## 3479. Building inscription of a hostelry, with Flavius Quintianus as dux, 4-5 c. AD

A lintel consisting of a frieze and architrave. The frieze exhibits eleven elliptical medallions, alternately depicting various animals and armed winged erotes. The architrave has three fasciae, the borders of which are decorated. The inscription is written in the upper two fasciae, with a much longer first line. When found, there were still traces of red paint in the letters.

Meas.: h 75, w 275, d 54 cm; letters 8.5 cm.

Findspot: At the intersection of the Beth Shemesh-Kiryath Gath road with the access road to Kibbutz Beit Guvrin.

Pres. loc.: Kibbutz Beit Guvrin, near the dining hall. Autopsy: 18 August 2013.



fig. 3479

## ΕΠΙΦΛΚΥΝΤΙΑΝΟΥΤΟΥΛΑΜΠΡΚΟΜΚΑΙΔΟΥΚΟΣΤΟΑΠΑΝΤΗΤΗΡΙΝ ΕΚΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΝΕΚΤΙΣΘΗ

Έπὶ Φλ(αουίου) Κυντιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου) κόμ(ητος) καὶ δουκὸς τὸ ἀπαντητήρι<ο>ν | ἐκ θεμελίων ἐκτίσθη

Under Fl(avius) Quintianus, the most splendid comes and dux, the hostelry was constructed from its foundations.

Comm.: A Flavius Quintianus is mentioned here vir clarissimus (λαμπρότατος), comes and dux, who is otherwise unknown. Quintianus' title as dux indicates that the inscription postdates the military reforms of Diocletian (284-305 AD) and

Constantine I (306-337 AD), which brought about a virtual separation of powers between civil government and military command. The army commanders, duces, were posted to the empire's frontiers, as was Quintianus. However, our man is ranked vir clarissimus (λαμπρότατος), an honorary title originally reserved for the senatorial class, Indeed, Ammianus Marcellinus asserts that Constantius II (337-361 AD) did not allow a dux to be promoted to the rank of clarissimus (21,16,2), but there are exceptions during his reign (P.Oxy. 8, 1103 ll.3-360; Athan. Hist. Ar. 81 [PG 25b, col. 792D], 356). Later on, more duces became clarissimi (PLRE 1, 125 [Augustianus 1 - 365/67 AD], 577 [Maximinus 6 - 365/73 AD], 570 [Fl. Mauricius 2 – 365/75 AD], 853 [Stercorius – 369 AD]). Each of the first three duces mentioned is further addressed as comes, thus accumulating the same three titles held by Flavius Quintianus. It may be noted that somewhat later, ca. 400, we find other Roman military men also receiving these three honorary titles. Reference can be made here to a dux of Isauria (MAMA 3, 73, 395-408 AD), and to two duces of Arabia: M. Flavius Bonus, governor in 392 (Waddington, no. 2293 a; OGIS 613), and Flavius Pelagius Antipater, dux in 412, and possibly in the following year (IGLS 21,5, 92, 128). The second of these inscriptions attests to Pelagius' three titles, while the first only mentions him as dux. Flavius Quintianus' date could be as early as the time of the Emperor Valentinian I, but he could also have been dux in Palestine at the beginning of the 5 c.

The inscription here was set up to mark the foundation of a hostelry. Such an institution is mentioned in documents from the 5-7 c.: IGLS 4, 1316 (Apamea, 466 AD, lost); PSI 3, 175 l.5 (Oxyrhynchos, 462 AD); P.Iand. 2, 17 (6-7 c.). Our evidence in part suggests that hostels were built by the Church for strangers or pilgrims in need of accomodation (SEG 14, 812; cf. 36, 1222; 462 AD [Alahan, Isauria]; T. Mitford, Byzantion 20, 1950, 151ff. no. 17). But we know of some examples of  $\alpha \pi \alpha \nu \tau \eta \rho \alpha$ , where these buildings are used to accommodate soldiers on transit (J. Gascou, T&MByz 12, 1994, 323ff.; SEG 44, 1505). The same use should be attributed to the building mentioned here, since it is also connected to the military administration.

Bibl.: Y. Tsafrir, in: Y. Dagan ed., Shephelat Yehudah, 1982, 74ff. (ph.) (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – Y. Dagan, ibid., 73 (Hebr.); M. Fischer, ibid. 77-82 (Hebr.); SEG 32, 1496; Y. Dagan - M. Fischer - Y. Tsafrir, IEJ 35, 1985, 28-34 at 33 pl. 8a-b (ph.); SEG 35, 1537; AE 1986, 698; BE 1987, 525; D. Urman, in: E. Stern - D. Urman eds., Man and Environment in the Southern Shefelah, 1988, 151-62 at 155 (Hebr.); A. Kloner, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 195ff. at 196; L. Di Segni, in: Humphrey, Near East 312-32 at 321f.; DGI 661-5 no. 225 fig. 276; L. Di Segni, in: Humphrey, Near East 2, 149-78 at 153f.; Feissel, Chroniques 238 no. 763, 261ff. no. 831; Merrony, Mosaic Pavements 102f.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

## 3480. Greek inscription mentioning Doron

Block of gray stone. A two-line Greek inscription in raised letters in a recessed frame; beneath the inscription there is a – likewise raised – floral scroll decoration. Meas.: h 38.4, w 68 cm; letters 6.5-9 cm.

Findspot: Said to originate from Eleutheropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of St. Anne, Jerusalem, courtyard. Autopsy: 11 December 2013 (DG).

## ΔΩΡΟΝ ΠΡΟΣΗΓΑΓΑ

Δῶρον | προσήγαγα

I brought (this) hither as a gift.



fig. 3480

Comm.: The verb form is first person singular aorist of προσάγειν combining a second aorist stem with a first aorist ending – a phenomenon not uncommon in Roman imperial times; for a parallel cf. e.g. G. Petzl, Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens, 1994, 134f. no. 114 (ἀνήγαγα for ἀνήγαγον). The term δῶρον/δῶρα προσάγειν is also attested elsewhere: one encounters it already in the third Homeric hymn addressing Delian Apollon (1.272: ἀλλά τοι ὡς προσάγοιεν Ἰηπαιήονι δῶρα) and it can still be found in medieval times (13 c. AD) in an inscription on the lintel of the entrance to a Byzantine church at Heraclea under Latmos (H. Grégoire, Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure, fasc. I 1922 no. 226,9: σοὶ τῆ πανάγνω παντανάσση Παρθένω | δόμον προσάγω δῶρον ἱερωμένον ...). The absence of the donor's name in the inscription may suggest, that the stone was only part of a monument and that the donor's name has been recorded elsewhere.

Bibl.: L. Vincent, RB 9, 1900, 106-18 at 115 (ed. pr.).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

#### 3481. Architrave block with inscription (?)

Fully preserved architrave block; the straight backside is roughly worked, the frontside has a molding with a projecting upper part smoothed with a claw chisel, and the curved lower part is pecked. Several rectangular depressions in the front point to a later reuse of the piece of stone. On the left part of the curved section there are some blurred scratches which resemble remains of letters. However it must remain doubtful, whether or not these were really letters.

Meas.: h 43, w 296, d 59 cm.

Pres. loc.: Kibbutz Beit Guvrin, next to the dining hall. Autopsy: 18 October 2013 (WE/DK).



fig. 3481.1



fig. 3481.2

Bibl.: Unpublished.
Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

DK

## C. Funerary inscriptions

## 3482.-3483. Tomb east of the road leading from Beit Guvrin to Maresha

A rock-hewn tomb in Wadi Abu Leben to the east of the road leading from Beit Guvrin to Maresha was surveyed by C. Clermont-Ganneau in 1874 (ARP II 445f.). The tomb consists of an antechamber with two side loculi, see fig. A. The antechamber leads to a rectangular hall of about 7.01 m in length, and 3.5 m in width (23 feet by 11 and a ½ feet). Each of the two long walls of this hall opens to seven loculi, while the far wall, opposite the entrance from the antechamber, has three loculi. This arrangement of the tomb looks like a simplified version of the design of the

tombs E I and E II discovered in Maresha (see introductions to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F and 3575-3589 fig. A; the similarity in planning was already recognized by Goodenough, Jewish Symbols I 65f.). Another point of similarity is the triangular gabled shape of the entrance to the loculi. Therefore, the tomb seems to be of Hellenistic date, of the late 3 c. BC, like Maresha

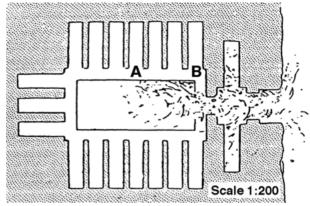


fig. 3482.A Ground plan, Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 445

Tombs E I and E II and in use until 2-1 c. BC. The plan of this tomb is also very similar to Tomb N VII (without inscriptions) published later by Oren - Rappaport 129f.

#### 3482. Tomb of Abuna, 2-1 c. BC

Findspot: Scratched above the opening to the fourth loculus on the right-hand side; see introduction to nos. 3482-3483 fig. A, no. A.

#### ΑΒΟΥΝΟΥ

Αβουνου

(Tomb of) Abuna.



fig. 3482

Comm.: The name seems to be a hellenized form of the Aramaic אבונה/אבונא 'bwnh/'bwn'. This is a Semitic name (Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 10, 124) which was prevalent among Jews (Kosovsky, Yer. 50-52; Ilan, Lexicon II 320-323, 472f., 497). Another form of the same name, 'bwn, appears in Aramaic inscriptions from 'Ein Nashot. It is obvious that the two men mentioned in these funerary inscriptions, Abun son of Yose, and Simon son of Abun, were Jews (Gregg - Urman 96 AF 40-41). However, an inscription from Jaffa (CIIP III 2230) mentioning three brothers, sons to ABBΩNEΣ, leaves the question of the religious and ethnic identity of the members of this family unresolved. The father's name seems to be a variation of the one found in Beit Guvrin/Maresha. Another variation to the name Abuna, Aβωνος/Aβωνα, is recorded in a tomb inscription of a woman

named Domettia, apparently the daughter of Abonus (Δο|μεττιά|ς Ậβω|νου; Gregg - Urman 181 no. 148). The name of the deceased there strongly suggests that both she and her father were non-Jews. Finally, the name Abuna, recorded in an identical form to the one found here, is attested in an inscription from the Hauran recording a dedication effected through the good services of two men, Πλάτωνος καὶ Αβουνου (IGR 3, 1147). The Abunus of this inscription was undoubtedly pagan. Consequently, it is impossible to tell whether the man buried in the tomb near Maresha/Beit Guvrin was Jewish or not.

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 445f. (ed. pr.). – Goodenough, Jewish Symbols I 65f.; Zissu - Kloner 2015, 111f.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 446.

DG

#### 3483. Tomb of Agatharchus, 2-1 c. BC

Findspot: Scratched above the opening to the first loculus on the right-hand side; see introduction to nos. 3482-3483 fig. A, no. B.

ΑΓΑΘΑΡΧΟΣ

Άγάθαρχος

Agatharchus.

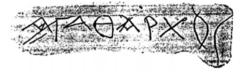


fig. 3483

Comm.: Clermont-Ganneau's sketch of the inscription is consistent with a 2 or 1 c. BC date for this inscription, pace Ilan, Lexicon II 192 who suggests a "Late Antique date."

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 445f. (ed. pr.). – Goodenough, Jewish Symbols I 65f.; Zissu - Kloner 2015, 111f.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 446.

DG

# 3484. Funerary inscription of Ioses son of Zenon and Thanuma son of Zacharias, 4-7 c. AD

Lintel, broken in three fragments. In the middle of the inscription a menorah. In the last three letters of the first name of l.2 traces of red color are preserved. Meas.: Frg. a: h 24, w 31, d 13.8 cm; frg. b: h 20, w 36.5, d 19.5 cm; frg. c: h 19.6, w 33, d 19.5 cm; letters 4.2-8 cm.

Findspot: Cave 1.33 within the south cemetery, which lies some 300 m to the south of the southern tip of Kibbutz Beit Guvrin.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1981-741. Autopsy: 11 December 2013.



fig. 3484.1

 $I\Omega\Sigma\dot{H}\Sigma$  (menorah) ZHNON[..?]  $\Theta ANOYMA$  (menorah) ZAXAP[...]

'Ιωσῆς Ζήν ω'ν[ος] | Θανοῦμα Ζαχαρ[ίου] οτ' Ιωσῆς Θανοῦμα | Ζήν ω'ν Ζαχαρ[ίου]

Ioses son of Zenon, Thanuma son of Zacharias or Ioses son of Thanuma, Zenon son of Zacharias.

Comm.: The findspot, a cave which forms part of an underground necropolis, suggests that the inscription is a funerary one. There are numerous tomb inscriptions decorated



fig. 3484.2

with a menorah, as is the case in our inscription (e.g. CIIP II 1445, 1466, 1499, 1548-1550; Schwabe - Lifshitz, Beth Sheʿarim II 30, 133, 149, 183, 202). The menorah symbol clearly defines the inscription as Jewish. This conclusion is supported by three of the four names mentioned in the inscription.

Zechariah/Zacharias is a Hebrew biblical name which is also attested in several Jerusalem inscriptions (CIIP I 92, 191, 629 [Aramaic/Hebrew], 189, 199, 959a [Greek]). Ioses is a Greek form of the Hebrew name Yosef (=Joseph; CIIP I 231, 583ab). Θανοῦμα is a transliteration of the Aramaic תנחומא (Tanḥuma), itself a rendering of the Hebrew name תנחום (Tanhum). Note however the presence of the name Tanḥum (*Tnḥw[m]*/[ם]) in Maresha (E. Eshel, in: Maresha III 64 no. 62), which may suggest that this name, like Nahum, was given not only to Jews, but to males of other Semitic origins. The Jerusalem Talmud mentions several Rabbis named Tanhuma (e.g. yBer. 1,1, 2b; cf. Kosovsky, Yer. 682f.). An identical spelling is attested in the 7 c. Doctrina Jacobi 3,1, ed. Déroche p. 153 (in: G. Dagron - V. Déroche, T&MByz 11, 1991, 17-273) when referring to Jacob's father (Οὐκ οἶδα Ἰάκωβον τὸν υίον τοῦ Θανουμᾶ). In the Doctrina Jacobi, as in the inscription here, the name was probably not declined. The fourth name, Zenon, is a Greek theophoric name derived from Zeus. Nevertheless, the Zenon of this inscription was a Jew, as the context indicates. This name, זינון zynwn, is specifically ascribed to a Jew, a cantor, said to have been present during a dispute between Rabban Gamaliel and Rabbi Joshua (yBer. 4,1, 7d; cf. Ilan, Lexicon I 281). In a Jewish tomb inscription from Jaffa commemorating a mother of three brothers and their sister, one of the brothers bears the name Zenon (CIIP III 2179;  $Z'\eta\nu\omega\nu\sigma\varsigma$ ). Other Jews carrying the name have been identified in the diaspora. For Cyrenaica, see Lüderitz - Reynolds 71 l.7; App. 4c; for Asia Minor, see Ameling, IJO II 14 B ll.4, 5, 28, 34, 36 (Aphrodisias); 72; 134 (Sardeis); 200 B l.5 (Hierapolis, Phrygia); and for Rome, see Noy, JIWE II 315. A homonymous person whose name is misspelled in exactly the same way as in the inscription here comes from neighboring Maresha (no. 3708). However, the name Zenon appears in Jewish as well as in Christian and pagan contexts throughout Palestine.

The four names can be read horizontally or vertically. Because the form  $\Theta \alpha \nu o \tilde{\upsilon} \mu \alpha$  is not declined, one can hardly identify the case. In addition, the right-hand side of the inscription is broken. However, in other Greek inscriptions where two lines or more flank a central symbol, be it a menorah, a cross or some other visual image, the text tends to be organized horizontally, not vertically (CIIP I 731, 789, 861b; II 1154, 1186, 2137b; CIJ 2, 867). Another solution, considered as less likely, would be to assume that the inscription records the burial of four unrelated individuals, all named in the nominative.

Bibl.: J. Magness - G. Avni, in: H. Lapin ed., Religious and Ethnic Communities in Later Roman Palestine, 1998, 87-114 at 101 (dr.) (ed. pr.). – ESI 5, 1986 14f. (=HA 88, 1986, 26f. [Hebr.]); G. Avni - U. Dahari - A. Kloner, IEJ 37, 1987, 72ff.; iid., Qadmoniot 20, 1987, 97-102 (Hebr.); A. Kloner, NEAEHL I 1993, 199f.; SEG 48, 1879; Avni - Kloner - Dahari, Necropolis 45-8.

Photo: IAA; Avni - Kloner - Dahari, Necropolis 46 fig. 2,66 (dr.).

DG

#### 3485. Pagan funerary inscription in a painted tomb

A report on the excavations of Tel Maresha and its surroundings at the beginning of the 20 c. describes a visit by Bliss - Macalister to a previously opened decorated tomb. Unfortunately, information concerning the exact locality of this subterranean complex, as well as a dozen additional tombs opened by Macalister, is missing. Consequently, the tomb in question has yet to be identified, although it has been suggested that it is to be located at the northern side of the south cemetery (Avni - Dahari - Kloner 78). Therefore, Macalister's description of Tomb 1.76 (the identifying number given to it by Avni - Dahari - Kloner) is the only first-hand source. The entrance to the tomb was through a shaft about 1.9x0.9 m. The shaft led to a rectangular vestibule (2.8x2.55 m). Openings on either side of the entrance to the room led to two very small square cubicles (40x40 cm). The room's other three walls opened to three barrel-vaulted chambers. The entrance to each chamber was through a short central aisle flanked by benches designed to serve as a resting place for the dead. Facing the aisle was a third, similar bench. The most

impressive find was in the burial chamber facing the entrance to the vestibule. According to Macalister, there were green wreaths with dark red borders adorning the internal arches. Also depicted were two peacocks and six other birds. All were painted dark red. At the far wall of the central arcosolium two nude winged men had been painted holding a wreath between them. This framed a painted inscription, the characters of which were only partially preserved.

ΟΥΤΌΣ ΟΙΚΌΣ ΑΩΝΙΌΣ

Οὖτος | οἶκος | ἀώνιος

This is (the) eternal house.



fig. 3485

Comm.: At least since the 7 c. BC the word οἶκος is used to designate a tomb (IG 12,7, 442) and Diodorus 1,51,2 tells us that the Egyptians too called their graves "houses." The more concise formula "eternal house" also applies to tombs and is fairly common in both Latin (Lattimore) and Greek (BE 1940, 189). It appears in a Jewish context in LXX Eccl 12,5 as a translation of the Hebrew בּרי)ת עלמא: ὅτι ἐπορεύθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς οἶκον αἰῶνος αὐτοῦ, and exists in Aramaic too: בית עלמא (Noy - Bloedhorn, IJO III Syr49, Syr78. Syr80 has ביעלמא by'lm'); it was, of course, used by Christians too (e.g. CIIP II 1453). – 1.3: αι > α, Gignac I 194 b, 1, b.

Bibl.: Bliss - Macalister 201f. (ed. pr.). – H. Thiersch, AA, 1908, 344-413 at 406f.; P. Thomsen, ZDPV MN 15, 1909, 33-44 at 36; Goodenough, Jewish Symbols I 74ff.; Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 123 fig. 22, 125; Avni - Kloner - Dahari, Necropolis 78. – Cf. R. Lattimore, Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs, 1942, 165ff.

Photo: Bliss - Macalister 201 pl. 91 (dr.).

DG

# 3486. Greek epitaphs in a burial cave

"Above several troughs were blurred, red-painted inscriptions in Greek – apparently the names of the deceased" (Avni - Dahari - Kloner 62). A likewise blurred Arabic inscription, "similar in style to the other inscriptions," was found inside a trough in one of the chambers facing southwards.

Findspot: A burial cave (1.63) with a central rectangular hall of 2.9x4.2 m. The entrance with a vestibule facing eastwards. Five lateral niches or chambers go out of the central hall – two from each one of the long lateral walls and one from the

rear wall opposite the entrance. Each chamber contains three arcosolia with burial throughs, one in each lateral wall and one in the rear wall.

Pres. loc.: In situ.

- (a) EPEO Υ (b) POΥ+∫ (c) ++A+
- (c) ++A+ EKOΔO TO



fig. 3486.1 (a)

Comm.: (a) The large vertical line in front of the first *epsilon* could be an *iota*; at the end, a square sigma is not impossible:  $lep\'eo|v\varsigma$ ?

- (b) The fourth letter is not clear, perhaps an *eta*; there are almost no three-barred *sigmas* in Palestine, therefore at the end rather an abbreviation mark than a *sigma*.
- (c) l.1: At the beginning either *iota* followed by lunar *sigma* or perhaps *mu*? (*iota/mu* are also possible). ll.2f.: οἰκοδομεῖν seems improbable.

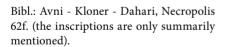


Photo: Avni - Kloner - Dahari, Necropolis 63 figs. 2,84-86.



fig. 3486.2 (b)



fig. 3486.3 (c)

WA/DK

### D. Instrumentum domesticum

### 3487.-3494. Decorated gold-leaf diadems and lamellae

The dead could be furnished with a gold-leaf diadem or gold lamella partly inscribed and sent on their way to the nether world with a message of encouragement and consolation expressed in two formulae, "take courage" and "no one is immortal" (cf. for these formulae CIIP II 1515; see also CIIP I 924, 950). Many of the examples are Christian, but some are used also by Jews. See Schwabe - Lifshitz, Beth Sheʿarim II 59, 127, 136, 193; Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia, Ia 7 (Zoora); J. Park, Conceptions of Afterlife in Jewish Inscriptions, 2000, 47-63. For use of the combined formulae by pagans see IGLS 4, 1409.

Six gold-leafs in this group employ the formula: ΘΑΡΣΙ ΕΥΓΕΝΗ (nos. 3489-3494). Although P. Benoit interpreted EΥΓΕΝΗ as a personal name, this seems impossible. It somewhat stretches the imagination to suggest that such a large proportion of gold pieces, whether headbands or lamellae, were all meant to accompany men named Eugenes to the world of the dead (pace Benoit). Therefore, it has been suggested that ΕΥΓΕΝΗ here is not a personal name, but denotes a signum devoted to the burial (Siebourg). It may be suggested that the inscriptions did not refer to the dead person's name, but to his illustrious lineage or character. The provenance of these pieces from Beit Guvrin is uncertain; it is based merely on their similarity to nos. 3488-3490, 3492 about which the archive documentation of the Museum of Art and History, Geneva, the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln and the SBF Museum, Jerusalem report that they come from Beit Guvrin.

Bibl.: M. Siebourg, ARW 8, 1905, 390-410; id., ARW 10, 1907, 393-9; M. Simon, RHR 113, 1936, 188-206; P. Benoit, RB 59, 1952, 253-8; R. Kotansky, in: C. Faraone - D. Obbink eds., Magika Hiera, 1991, 107-37 at 115f.; L. Blumell, ZPE 177, 2011, 166ff.

### 3487. Greek gold-leaf lamella with good wishes

A gold-leaf lamella shaped like a tabula ansata and perforated with tiny holes was privately bought by a Mrs. Way and was shown to J. Peters and H. Thiersch.

Findspot: Said to have come from a tomb in the Beit Guvrin area (Peters - Thiersch).

ΕΥΤΥ ΧΩΣ ΤΟΙΣΝΥΝ ΦΙΟΙΣ (leaf)



Εὐτυ | χῶς | τοῖς νυ μ | φίοις

Good luck to the newly-weds.

Comm.: NYN  $|\Phi IOI\Sigma|$  Peters - Thiersch dr.,  $\nu\nu\mu\phi$  (ois in printed text. – The word  $\nu\nu\mu\phi$  (os in the plural may refer to both the bride and the groom (Eur., Med. 366) and not just to the groom as in the singular. This suggests that the lamella was originally given as a wedding present. Very similar decorations, said to have originated from Gaza, bear an essentially identical inscription (CIIP III 2518). If the report of a funerary context of this Beit Guvrin piece is correct, then the deceased died soon after the nuptials, and was buried with the decoration attached to the funeral dress.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 73 (ed. pr.). - BE 1908 p. 207.

Photo: Peters - Thiersch 73 fig. 24 (dr.).

DG

#### 3488. Gold-leaf diadem

A decorated gold-leaf band with a three-line inscription.

Findspot: Said to originate from Beit Guvrin.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Art and History, Geneva, inv. no. 1349.

ΘΑΡΣΙΠΕ ΤΡΕΟΥΔΙΣΑ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ



Θάρσι, Πέ|τρε, οὐδὶς ἀ|θάνατος

fig. 3488.1

Take courage, Petrus! No one is immortal.

Comm.: Deonna reads εἴπε|τε in the ed. pr. and corrected later to Πέ|τρε (Syria). "Il me semble, je l'avoue, assez probable, sans avoir



fig. 3488.2

il est vrai vu l'original, mais après le rapprochement des bandeaux de la collection Niessen [i.e. nos. 3492, 3493], qu'à la lecture initiale ΕΙΠΕ|ΤΕ devrait être substitué, comme sur ces derniers, ΕΥΓΕΝΗ, dont la restitution épigraphique se justifierait assez facilement," Michon.

Bibl.: W. Deonna, in: Mélanges du 25me anniversaire de la fondation de la Société auxiliare du Musée de Genève, 1922, 53-64 at 53ff. fig. 1 (ed. pr.). – É. Michon, Syria 3, 1922, 214-8 at 216; W. Deonna, Syria 4, 1923, 224-33 at 224ff.; SEG 2, 847; P. Benoit, RB 59, 1952, 253-8 at 253f. no. 2; F. Graf - S. Iles Johnston, Ritual Texts for the Afterlife, 2nd ed., 2013, 209 no. 2.

Photo: N. Sabato, courtesy of Museum of Art and History, Geneva.

DG

# 3489. A gold-leaf diadem

A gold-leaf band with a four-line inscription in a tabula ansata.

Meas.: h 3 (at the center), 2.2 (at the band's extremities), w 29 cm; letters 0.4 cm.

Findspot: Said to originate from Beit Guvrin.

Pres. loc.: SBF Museum, Jerusalem. Autopsy: 7 October 2013 (WE/DK).

ΘΑΡΣΙΕΥ ΓΕΝΗΟΥ ΔΙΣΑΘΑΝΑ ΘΟΣ



Θάρσι, εὐ|γενή, ού|δὶς ἀθάνα| τος

fig. 3489.1

Take courage, you of noble stock! No one is immortal.



Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

fig. 3489.2 (presentation in SBF museum)

DG

#### 3490. Gold-leaf diadem

A rather short gold-leaf band that is marginally broader at the center, where a three-line inscription is etched in. There are four holes in the band's extremities (C. Niessen).

Meas.: h 3 (center), 1.8 (band's extremities), w 16.5, th 0.03 cm; wt 2.5 g; letters 0.5-0.7 cm.

Findspot: Said to originate from Beit Guvrin (C. Niessen).

Pres. loc.: Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln (Collection C. Niessen 4472). Autopsy: 7 July 2016 (WE).

ΘΑΡΣΕΙ ΕΥΓΕΝΗ ΟΥΓΕΝΗ



Θάρσει, | εὐγενή, | ΟΥΓΕΝΗ

fig. 3490

Take courage, you of noble stock! No ...

Comm.: The engraver probably meant to inscribe a text identical to the previous one. l.3 seems to begin with the consolatory formula où[ $\delta\epsilon(\varsigma)$ ]. However, after engraving the first two letters of this formula, the artisan's eyes probably moved to l.2 and he began to copy some of the characters already written there.

Bibl.: M. Siebourg, ARW 8, 1905, 390-410 no. 2 (ed. pr.). – Beschreibung römischer Altertümer gesammelt von Carl Anton Niessen, 1911, 238 no. 4472 pl. 133; É. Michon, Syria 3, 1922, 214-8 at 215; P. Benoit, RB 59, 1952, 253-8 at 253ff. no. 1; F. Graf - S. Iles Johnston, Ritual Texts for the Afterlife, 2nd ed., 2013, 210 no. 5.

Photo: WE.

DG

# 3491. Gold-leaf lamella with Greek inscription

A gold-leaf lamella in the form of a tabula ansata; five horizontal dividing and framing lines.

Meas.: h 2.5, w 4 cm.

Findspot: Said to have been bought in Jerusalem. A Beit Guvrin origin can be conjectured only on the basis of the similarity of the text with nos. 3489, 3492. Pres. loc.: Formerly Akademisches Kunstmuseum Bonn, stolen in 1922.

ΘΑΡΣΙΕ ΥΓΕΝΗΟ ΥΔΕΙΣ ΑΘΑΝΑΤ ΟΣ



Θάρσι, ε|ύγενή, ο|ύδεὶς | ἀθάνατ|ος

fig. 3491.1

Take courage, you of noble stock! No one is immortal.

Bibl.: M. Siebourg, ARW 10, 1907, 393-9 at 393f. no. 1 (ed. pr.). – BE 1908 p. 207; PEQ 41, 1909, 4f.; Thomsen I 122 no. 208a; É. Michon, Syria 3, 1922, 214-8; W. Deonna, Syria 4, 1923, 224ff.; P. Benoit, RB 59, 1952, 253-8; F. Graf - S. Iles Johnston, Ritual Texts for the Afterlife, 2nd ed., 2013 no. 3.

Photo: M. Siebourg, ARW 10, 1907, 393 (ph. and dr.).



fig. 3491.2

DG

#### 3492. Gold-leaf diadem

A gold-leaf band which is broader at the center, where a three-line inscription is etched in. There are two holes in the band's extremities.

Meas.: h 2 (center), 0.9 (band's extremities), w 27.5, th 0.04 cm; wt 4 g.

Findspot: Said to originate from Beit Guvrin (C. Niessen).

Pres. loc.: Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln (Collection C. Niessen 4471). Autopsy: 18 January 2016 (WE).

ΘΑΡΣΙΕΥΓΕ ΝΗΟΥΔΙΣΑ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ



fig. 3492.1

Θάρσι, εὐγε|νή, οὐδὶς ἀ|θάνατος

Take courage, you of noble stock! No one is immortal.

Bibl.: M. Siebourg, ARW 8, 1905, 390-410 at 390f. no. 1 (ed. pr.). – Beschreibung römischer Altertümer gesammelt von Carl Anton Niessen, 1911, 238 no. 4471 pl. 133; É. Michon, Syria 3, 1922, 214-8; P. Benoit, RB 59, 1952, 253-8; F. Graf - S. Iles Johnston, Ritual Texts for the Afterlife, 2nd ed., 2013, 208f. no. 1.



fig. 3492.2

Photo: WE.

DG

#### 3493. Gold-leaf Diadem

A gold-leaf band of uniform breadth. There is a hole on each side of the band's extremities. A four-line inscription in a tabula ansata. On both sides of the tabula a decoration like a scale armor. There are two holes in the band's extremities. Meas.: h 3.1, w 26.5 cm.

Findspot: A Beit Guvrin origin can be conjectured only on the basis of the similarity of the text with nos. 3489, 3492.

Pres. loc.: Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln, inv. no. RGM 2002,17. Autopsy: 18 January 2016 (WE).

ΘΑΡΣΙΕΎΓΕ ΝΗΟΥΔΙΕ ΑΘΑΝΑ ΤΟΣ



fig. 3493.1

Θάρσι, εὐγε|νή, οὐδὶ ς | ἀθάνα|τος

Take courage, you of noble stock! No one is immortal.

Bibl.: Kunstvermögen. Neues aus drei Jahrzehnten. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Römisch-Germanischen Museum, Köln, 17.09.-30.12.2005 (ed. pr.).



fig. 3493.2

Photo: WE.

DG

### 3494. Gold-leaf Lamella with Greek inscription

A square gold-leaf lamella. Remnants of a right-hand "handle," suggesting that in its original form, this lamella too looked like a tabula ansata.

Meas.: h 2.25, w 2 cm.

Findspot: Said to have been bought in Jerusalem (Siebourg). Pres. loc.: Formerly Akademisches Kunstmuseum Bonn, stolen in 1922.

ΘΑΡΣΙ ΕΥΓΕ ΝΗ

Θάρσι, | εὐγε|νή

Take courage! You of noble stock.



fig. 3494.1

Comm.: The inscription on this lamella advises the dead not to be afraid of their lot. The second formula, referring to the mortality of all beings (οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος) is not employed here. For other inscriptions referring only to the first formula, see Schwabe - Lifshitz, Beth She'arim II 22, 29, 39-41, 43, 84, 87-9. A Beit Guvrin origin can be conjectured only on the basis of the similarity of the text with nos. 3489, 3492.



fig. 3494.2

Bibl.: M. Siebourg, ARW 10, 1907, 393-9 at 394 no. 2 (ed. pr.). – BE 1908 p. 207; PEQ 41, 1909, 4f.; Thomsen I 122 no. 208b; É. Michon, Syria 3, 1922, 214-8; W. Deonna, Syria 4, 1923, 224ff.; P. Benoit, RB 59, 1952, 253-8 no. 5; F. Graf - S. Iles Johnston, Ritual Texts for the Afterlife, 2nd ed., 2013, 210 no. 6.

Photo: M. Siebourg, ARW 10, 1907, 393f. (ph. and dr.).

### 3495. Unopened bronze amulet with Hebrew or Aramaic inscription, 4-8 c. CE

A "cylindrical, rolled bronze amulet, probably with an inscription in Hebrew or Aramaic" (Avni - Dahari - Kloner).

Findspot: The "Menorah Cave" at Eleutheropolis.

Comm.: The excavators discerned "what looks like Hebrew letters," but the amulet has not been opened or deciphered. It was found on the floor of the cave with fragments of glass and jewelry, coins and a lamp.

Bibl.: ESI 5, 1986, 15 (=HA 88, 26 [Hebr.]); U. Dahari - G. Avni - A. Kloner, Qadmoniot 20, 1987, 97-101 (Hebr.); iid., IEJ 37, 1987, 72ff.; Beyer, Aramäische Texte, Ergänzungsband 234 no. \*yyBG 2.

IIP

# 3496. Lead weight of the city of Eleutheropolis, 3 to early 4 c. AD

Square lead weight with loop at the top, handle at the bottom and small protrusions in the middle of the three other edges. The obverse has raised bevelled borders, the reverse is flat. A four-line (a) and a three-line (b) inscription inside a circular frame on the obverse and the reverse respectively. Lunar *sigma* and *omega*.

Pres. loc.: Former collection of A. Spaer; sold on 4 April 2007 at Auction 40 of the Archaeological Center, Tel Aviv-Jaffa (lot 379).

- (a) Ε
   ΛΕΥΘΕ
   ΡΟΠΟΛ
   ΕΩΣ
- (b) HMI AITP IN



- (a) Έ|λευθε|ροπόλ|εως
- (b) ἡμί|λιτρ|ιν

fig. 3496.1

(Weight) of Eleutheropolis, one half of a (Roman) litra.

Comm.: The village at Beit Guvrin received the status of a polis by Emperor Septimius Severus under the name of Lucia Septimia Severiana Eleuteropolis in 199/200 AD (cf. A. H. M. Jones, The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces, 1937, 280), which gives a terminus post quem for the manufacturing of the weight.

Bibl.: S. Qedar, in: O. Rimon ed., Measuring and Weighing in Ancient Times, 2001, 23\*-5\* at 25\* (Engl.), 33-7 at 35 fig. 41 (ph.) (Hebr.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: From the inheritance of Alla Kuschnir-Stein.



fig. 3496.2

AKS/PW

### E. Varia

# 3497. Captions of personifications in a mosaic

Mosaic pavement with numerous animals around its border. A rectangular panel surrounded by this border "is divided into ten octagonal panels by one vertical and four horizontal strips. At the intersections of the strips there are four circular medallions," three of them decorated with female busts and inscriptions: (a) bust of a girl holding a cup with a bird perching on it; (b) bust of a woman crowned with vinebranches and corn-ears, holding fruits in her sash; (c) bust of a woman holding a sickle in her right hand and a sheaf of corn in her left hand (the head was destroyed by a circular excision, which removed also the end of the inscription); the fourth medallion shows only geometrical ornaments (see Avi-Yonah 1933, 146). Today all busts and inscriptions are to a large extent destroyed (effaced?). Meas.: mosaic pavement: h 9.5, w 5 m; medallions: Ø ca. 70 cm; letters ca. 5-9 cm.

Findspot: The mosaic pavement was discovered accidentally in 1921 by the inhabitants of Beit Guvrin at the site of el-Maqerqesh, on a hill southeast of Beit Guvrin. The spot was cleared on initiative of the mayor of Beit Guvrin and the archaeological record documented by the École biblique et archéologique française. In 1924 the École biblique undertook a systematic and large scale excavation of the area, which revealed that the room with the mosaic had been part of a larger structure. Altogeth-

er five phases could be discerned; the room with the mosaic belongs to phase II. To this phase also belong an entrance paved with limestone flags and a wide courtyard surrounded by a portico paved in opus sectile; the complex has been interpreted as a Graeco-Roman villa; see F.-M. Abel, RB 33, 1924, 583ff. with the map 589 fig. 2 and the ground plan pl. 10; Avi-Yonah 1933. South of the room a small chapel was built in phase III, containing the mosaic pavement with inscription no. 3469.

Pres. loc.: Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv, IAA inv. no. 1966-1732.

- (a) EAP
- (b) Γ H
- (c) ΘEP[--]



fig. 3497.1 (a)

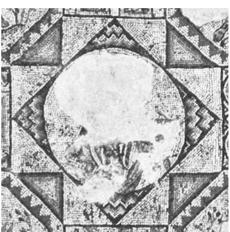


fig. 3497.2 (a - present state after iconoclasm in 1948)



fig. 3497.3 (b)

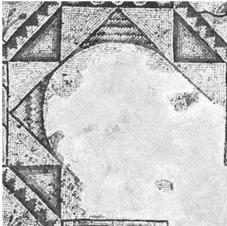


fig. 3497.4 (b - present state after iconoclasm in 1948)

- (a) ἔαρ
- (b)  $\gamma \tilde{\eta}$
- (c) θέρ[ος]
- (a) spring; (b) earth; (c) summer.



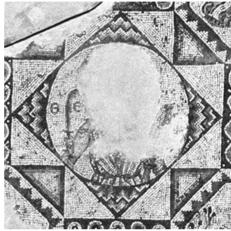


fig. 3497.6 (c - present state after iconoclasm in 1948)

fig. 3497.5 (c)

Comm.: Vincent (270ff.) dated the mosaic and the remains of phase II to the later 2 c. and 3 c. with a preference for the early 3 c. However, comparison with the mosaics discovered in Antioch, led Avi-Yonah (1933) to argue that Constantine's time would be the earliest possible date for the mosaic.

There are other mosaics with personifications of seasons described by short inscriptions, e.g. at Halicarnassus: Aiαρ - Θέ[ρ]ος [--] [X]ειμών, Ch. Newton - R. Pullan, A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchiae 2,1, 1862, 285f. (cf. Hanfmann 153f. no. 190); at Sebastopolis in Pontus: Θέρος, SEG 40, 1173; at Antioch in Syria: Τροπχ Χιμερινγ - γ - Τροπχ Έαρινγ - Γροπχ Θερινγ, IGLS 3,2, 1013 (cf. Hanfmann 154 no. 191 pl. 115); at Dair Solaib: Μεθοπωριν<math> γ - χιμερινγ - χ

For mosaics with figures of the four seasons in Palestine see above no. 2732 and Hachlili, Ancient Synagogues, ch. VII 2,2; G. Stemberger, Kairos 17, 1975, 23-56.

Bibl.: L. Vincent, RB 31, 1922, 259-81 pls. 8-10 (ph.) (ed. pr.). – M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 2, 1933, 136-81 at 146ff. no. 23; G. Hanfmann, The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks II 1951, 153 no. 189; Avi-Yonah, Art 293f., 391 pl. 49 (ph.); id., NEAEHL 1, 1993, 197f.; Hachlili, AMP 246f., fig. 12,3; Figueras, Pagan Image 51 fig. 277f. – Cf. D. Boschung, in: T. Greub ed., Das Bild der Jahreszeiten im Wandel der Kulturen und Zeiten, 2013, 179-200 at 179ff., 196ff.

Photo: IAA; Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv.

WE

# 3498.-3499. Underground cave northeast of Kibbutz Beit Guvrin

In 1991 a cave was discovered on a hill to the northeast of Kibbutz Beit Guvrin by Y. Tzoran and N. Sagiv. Two Greek inscriptions were found in this underground space, as well as two reliefs. The many caves dispersed in the Beit Guvrin area are all men-made. In the initial stage of quarrying, the hard, thin nari layer is penetrated from above; the quarrying of the soft chalk layer underneath the nari is a relatively easy task. The mention of the quarrying technique is of some importance in this case, because one inscription (no. 3498) was found about 3 m above the present ground level. However, the bottom line of the other inscription (no. 3499) is placed only 80 cm above that same floor. This in itself would seem to indicate that the higher inscription was written at a stage at which the present ground level had not yet been reached. The lower inscription must have been written later.

### 3498. Greek wall inscription of the bakers of Philinus, 2-1 c. BC

Meas.: w 1.6 m; letters 7-23 cm, the first being the largest one.

ΦΙΛΙΝΟΥΝΑΑΤΟΜΙΑ

Φιλίνου ναατομια

The bakers of Philinus.

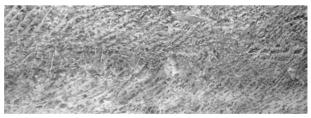


fig. 3498

Comm.: The second word is clearly Semitic, and is an accurate transcription of the Aramaic *nḥtm*, the plural emphatic of *nḥtm*, "baker." For an inscription from Maresha employing an Aramaic word transcribed in Greek characters, see no. 3504. Philinus' position as a head of a bakery employing several men should remind us of Demetrius from Marisa, who was in some way responsible for the anonymous author of a curse tablet, before he decided, or was induced, to dismiss him (no. 3690).

Bibl.: A. Erlich - N. Sagiv - D. Gera, IEJ 66, 2016, 55-69 at 55-60, 65f. (ed. pr.).

Photo: A. Erlich - N. Sagiv - D. Gera, IEJ 66, 2016, 65 fig. 2 no. A.

DG

# 3499. Greek graffito commemorating Philinus and Papias' sexual encounter, 2-1 c. BC

An area of approximately 37x21 cm on the cave's western wall was smoothed before the characters were inscribed within the leveled area. Meas.: letters 1.5-5 cm (the *phi* being the largest one).

ΦΙΛΙΝΟΣΟΝΕΑΞ ΕΝΘΑΔΕΕΠΥΓΙΖ ΖΕΝΠΑΠΙΑΝΤΟΝ ΤΟΥΚΡΑΤΕΡ+Υ ΠΡΟΓΟΝΟΝ

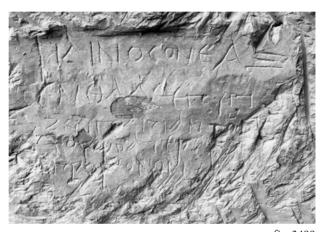


fig. 3499

Φιλῖνος ὁ νέαξ | ἐνθάδε ἐπύγι $\{\zeta\}$ |ζεν Παπίαν τὸν | τοῦ Κρατεροῦ | πρόγονον

Here Philinus the youth buggered Papias, Craterus' step-son(?).

Comm.: If the assumption that this inscription was incised later than the higher situated no. 3498 is correct, then Philinus of this inscription need not be identical with Philinus of the earlier inscription. Indeed, the self-applied title "Philinus the younger" (Φιλῖνος ὁ νέαξ) suggests that there was more than one Philinus in the family. Alternatively, Philinus of both inscriptions is the same man, although some years may have passed between the two inscriptions. Some similarities in the style, such as the use of large initial *phi* for both inscriptions may support this theory. An inscribed sherd from a lagynos found in Maresha bears the letters ΦΙΛΙΝ, which should be restored as ΦΙΛΙΝ[ΟΣ] or ΦΙΛΙΝ[ΟΥ] (pace Korzakova 111 no. 104). For the name Papias, see the case of a Jew from Scythopolis who was buried in Jerusalem together with his wife (CIIP I 412a-b). The third name attested here, Craterus, is also known from Kedesh (A. Lajtar, ZPE 89, 1991, 155ff.

no. 4); for a Craterus son of Symmachus, an Idumean mentioned in an inscription from Cyrenaica, see SEG 9, 744.

In this inscription, Philinus boasts crassly of having had sex with Papias in the subterranean space where his inscription was left for posterity. Such boastful pronouncements in matters pertaining to sex, although not necessarily of a homoerotic nature, are known from elsewhere (CIL IV 2216; G. Manganaro, ZPE 111, 1996, 136 no. 3).

The mention of Craterus might be construed as an indication of social status – but many other solutions seem possible too. Since *progonos* can mean either an ancestor or a step-son, we cannot be sure of the exact relationship between the two. Perhaps Philinus is reminiscing in the inscription as a youth, he had an affair with the ancestor of Craterus. Alternatively, Philinus is bragging of his affair with the young Papias, the step-son of the respected Craterus.

Bibl.: A. Erlich - N. Sagiv - D. Gera, IEJ 66, 2016, 55-69 at 55-60, 65f. (ed. pr.). – Cf. H. Korzakova, Maresha III 89-146.

Photo: A. Erlich - N. Sagiv - D. Gera, IEJ 66, 2016, 65 fig. 3 no. B.

DG

### 3500.-3501. Olive press complex at Kh. 'Arak Hala

The site of Kh. 'Arak Hala or Kh. 'Urqan Hana is located 1.5 km northwest of Eleutheropolis/Beit Guvrin. It is situated on the top of a flat-topped, elongated hill and along its slopes. During an archaeological exploration in 2012 three main areas were distinguished: the so-called Enclosure F 200 tentatively identified as a Roman military fort by the explorers, a related Roman bathhouse F 99 and the ancient settlement F 100 (cf. Zissu - Ecker 296 fig. 4). Besides, a large number of rock-cut underground complexes typical of the region were detected. The extensive underground complex F 46 includes a room with an olive press of the so-called Mareshatype. On one of the walls of this room a large number of graffiti were discovered. Most of them are figurative but there are also two inscriptions, one in Aramaic (no. 3500), the other in Latin(?) (no. 3501).

Bibl.: B. Zissu - A. Ecker, ZPE 188, 2014, 293-312.

# 3500. Aramaic graffito, 2 c. AD

A two-line graffito incised on the natural rock wall of a subterranean olive press. Meas.: letters ca. 1-2 cm.

Findspot: North wall of the room with the olive press.

Pres. loc.: In situ. Autopsy: February 2013.

דכירמרטרנלב[--] קס[--]

דכיר מר טרן לב[רכה] | קס[--]

Translit.: dkyr mr trn lb[rkh] | qs[--]

May the memory of lord TRN be blessed qs...



fig. 3500.1

Comm.: E. Eshel suggested to read *trn* as the name of "Trajan," and more tentatively *qs* as *qsr* "Caesar," and thus interpreted the entire inscription as an Aramaic blessing to the emperor (ed. pr.). The inscription appears next to a graffito in Latin, no. 3501.

Bibl.: B. Zissu - B. Langford - A. Ecker - E. Eshel, in: Epigraphy and Daily Life 123-42 at 132ff., fig. 14 (ed. pr.). – Iid., in: New Studies 6, 110-21 at 115-8 (Hebr.); B. Zissu - A. Ecker, ZPE 188, 2014, 301; B. Zissu - A. Ecker - E. Klein, in: New Studies 9, 224 (Hebr.).

Photo: B. Zissu - B. Langford - A. Ecker - E. Eshel, in: New Studies 6, 116 figs. 7 and 8 (ph. and dr.).



fig. 3500.2

ΑE

# 3501. Latin(?) graffito in an underground cave

A cursive graffito in two lines is incised into the soft limestone.

Meas.: letters 1-1.5 cm.

Findspot: The letters were written on the northern soft limestone wall of the room with the olive press.

FAVSTO OLIVMS

Fausto | olium s

Olive oil for Faustus(?).



fig. 3501.1

Comm.: The first editors believed the findspot, namely the room for the olive press, to be connected to the tentative identification of a military camp near the underground cave. According to them *Fausto* should be identified as a Roman soldier to whom a certain amount of olive oil was given; S at the end of 1.2 could be understood

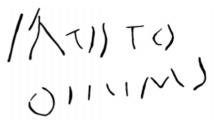


fig. 3501.2

as *s(uppletum)* or *s(emis)*. It is not unlikely that the person, possibly named Faustus (the reading of the F is very uncertain), belonged to the military sphere either as an active soldier or as a veteran settled in the neighborhood; this may be supported by the letters, if they are Latin. However, as long as we cannot find the reason for recording on a wall a "transaction of olive oil probably between two Latin speakers" (Zissu - Ecker 301) the meaning and the context must remain uncertain.

Bibl.: B. Zissu - B. Langford - A. Ecker - E. Eshel, in: New Studies 6, 110-21 at 115, 118f. (ph. and dr.) (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – Iid., in: Epigraphy and Daily Life 123-42, 215-26 at 130, 136-9, 225f., figs. 18f. (ph. and dr.); B. Zissu - A. Ecker, ZPE 188, 2014, 293-312 at 299ff.

Photo: B. Zissu; B. Zissu - B. Langford - A. Ecker - E. Eshel, in: Epigraphy and Daily Life 226 fig. 19 (dr.).

WE

# CXXI. Marisa (Maresha, mod. Tell Sandahannah)

#### Introduction

### Location and identification

Maresha is located in the Judean Shephelah, 35 km east of Ashkelon and 40 km southwest of Jerusalem. The consensus of scholarly opinion, predicated on archaeological evidence as well as references in the Biblical text, Josephus and Eusebius, is that it should be identified with Tell Sandahannah. In Josh 15,44 Maresha is included among the Judean cities of Keilah and Achziv. In 2 Chron 2,7-9 Maresha is counted in the list of towns fortified by Rehoboam after Adullam and Gath with Adoriam, Ziph and Lachish. In Mic 1,13-15 it is mentioned again with Lachish, Adullam, Achziv and Moreshet-Gath. This list is repeated by Josephus with Maresha mentioned amongst the towns in the Judean Shephelah. Eusebius locates Maresha 2 km from Beit Guvrin.

E. Robinson in 1838 was the first to identify Tell Sandahannah as Biblical Maresha based primarily on the ancient references mentioned above.<sup>3</sup> The identification of the site was verified by a tomb inscription discovered by Peters and Thiersch that mentioned the Sidonian community "residing at Maresha."<sup>4</sup> More recently this information has been reinforced by the discovery of two Aramaic ostraca in the subterranean complexes of Maresha that mention the toponym "Maresha."<sup>5</sup>

The archaeological record of Maresha spans from Iron Age II through the Late Hellenistic period. Our knowledge of the tell is based primarily upon the excavations carried out by F. Bliss and R. Macalister in 1900-2.6 Below the tell lies the lower city which was excavated by A. Kloner from 1988-2000, and from 2000 until the present by I. Stern and B. Alpert. During the excavations, beginning at the end of the 1980s it became clear that the lower city of Maresha had been built up primarily during the Hellenistic period. This was due to the fact that the tell, then becoming the upper city/acropolis, could no longer accommodate the city's expanding population. Most of the epigraphic material was discovered in the subterranean complexes (SC) of the lower city. These unfortunately are not clean loci but rather anthropogenic debris dumped from the surface starting at the end of the 4 c.

<sup>1</sup> Jos. AJ 8,246.

<sup>2</sup> Eus. Onom. 130,10.

<sup>3</sup> E. Robinson, Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea 2, 1841, 422f

<sup>4</sup> Peters - Thiersch 37-40 no. 1; cf. no. 3573 below.

<sup>5</sup> E. Eshel, Maresha III 82; for plans of Maresha, see below no. 3516 figs. A, B.

<sup>6</sup> Bliss - Macalister.

BCE, and intensifying from the 3-2 c. BCE. 169 subterranean complexes covering approximately 320 dunams or 80 acres have been identified. The existence of so many man-made caves is one of the unique characteristics of Maresha.

This large number and variety of subterranean chambers is primarily a reflection of the population and economy of Maresha in the 3-2 c. BCE. It is estimated that approximately 10,000 people resided here in the Hellenistic period.<sup>7</sup> These cave complexes were an integral part of the shops, workshops and dwellings that existed above the surface in the lower city. Most of these residences were two story structures, constructed around central courtyards. Subterranean complexes were discovered beneath all the buildings and streets excavated on the surface. The entrances into these systems were via openings between buildings, through courtyards or via staircases quarried through the floors of the dwellings.

The subterranean systems of Maresha were hewn by the local inhabitants so as to extract stones in order to construct their dwellings on the surface. This was done by quarrying a relatively small opening through a crust of hard rock called *nari*, that exists throughout the region, to get to the layer of soft chalk that is underneath. Many of these quarries, due to the fact that they were easily hewn and relatively immune to the weathering conditions on the surface, were converted into functional rooms such as columbaria, olive presses, cisterns, stables, storerooms, etc.<sup>8</sup>

Maresha contains three main necropoleis all dating from the 3-2 c. BCE. The tombs reflect the influence of both the Phoenicians<sup>9</sup> as well as the Ptolemies (i.e. the Shatby cemetery in Alexandria). The eastern necropolis is the most impressive and contains approximately 25 burial caves.<sup>10</sup> The tombs contain a rectangular hall with benches along the walls. There are gabled niches or *loculi* cut into the sides of the rooms where the deceased were interred. After the dead were placed inside the loculi, the respective niches were blocked with chalk bricks or slabs.<sup>11</sup>

### The history

The Iron Age II and Persian period cities were located on the tell. There is evidence of settlement, albeit very limited, in the lower city during those periods. The earliest epigraphic evidence discovered in the lower city, a Hebrew ostracon containing six short lines, has been dated to the 7 c. BCE. During the late 7-early 6 c. BCE the kingdom of Judah was weakened by the conquering Babylonians. During

<sup>7</sup> A. Kloner, Maresha III 216.

<sup>8</sup> For a description of the geological factors that led to this phenomenon see, Kloner, Maresha I 2-5.

<sup>9</sup> A. Berlin, NEA 65, 2002, 138-48.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. below nos. 3516-3639.

<sup>11</sup> For an overview of the necropoleis, see Zissu - Kloner 2015.

<sup>12</sup> E. Eshel, Maresha III 36ff.

this period there was an incursion of Idumeans and Arab tribes from the South into this region, to the extent that the Idumeans became the dominant ethnos. <sup>13</sup> This phenomenon is reflected in the large number of ostraca that contain Idumean names with the theophoric "Qos." <sup>14</sup> With the Persian conquest in 539 BCE Maresha became an important center as well as the capital of Idumea. Little or no evidence exists from the 6-5 c. but by the 4 c. things begin to change. Aramaic ostraca, aniconic *kernos* lamps and numerous figurines such as horse and rider figurines and pillar figurines, testify to renewed settlement from the Late Persian to the Hellenistic period.

Following the death of Alexander the Great, the region became a battleground between the Ptolemaic and Seleucid empires. The Ptolemies dominated Maresha in the 3 c. BCE when it became once again the central city of the region. The site is mentioned in the Zenon papyri dated to ca. 259 BCE testifying to the intensive commercial ties between Maresha and Ptolemaic Egypt. Maresha was the seat of various government officials and remained in Ptolemaic hands until the Seleucids defeated the Ptolemies at the Battle of Paneas in 198 BCE.

Maresha now in the hands of the Seleucids was used by them as a base from which to launch attacks on Judea<sup>16</sup> and eventually became subject to retaliation by the Maccabees.<sup>17</sup> According to Josephus, during the reign of the Hasmonaean King John Hyrcanus I (137-104 BCE) the city was conquered: "Hyrcanus took also Dora and Marissa, cities of Idumea, and subdued all the Idumeans; and permitted them to stay in that country, if they would circumcise their genitals, and make use of the laws of the Jews and they were so desirous of living in the country of their forefathers, that they submitted to the use of circumcision, and the rest of the Jewish ways of living, at which time therefore this befell them, that they were hereafter no other than Jews." Excavations revealed that the process of the conquest may have started in 112/1 BCE but was finalized in 108/7 BCE.

While according to Josephus the Hasmonaeans continued to rule Maresha following their conquest, <sup>20</sup> this appears from the archaeological evidence to have been very limited. The 25 Hyrcanus I coins discovered on the tell during the 1900 excavations represent the latest coins found in a stratigraphic context. <sup>21</sup> A. Kloner

<sup>13</sup> I. Stern, in: Y. Levin ed., A Time of Change, 2007, 205-38.

<sup>14</sup> For examples of Aramaic ostraca from Maresha with the name of the Idumean god Qos, see E. Eshel, Maresha III 35-88, 232f.

<sup>15</sup> P.Cair. Zen. I 59006, 59015; IV 59537.

<sup>16 1</sup> Macc 5,6.

<sup>17 2</sup> Macc 12,35.

<sup>18</sup> Jos. AJ 13,257; see I. Stern, BAIAS 30, 2012, 57-87 for alternative view.

<sup>19</sup> See G. Finkielsztejn, BAIAS 16, 1998, 33-63; id., Maresha III 175-92 against A. Kushnir-Stein's hesitation, which if right would even put it a year later, see also I. Shatzman, in: G. Urso ed., Iudaea Socia – Iudaea Capta, 2012, 29-78.

<sup>20</sup> Jos. AJ 13,396.

<sup>21</sup> Kloner, Maresha I 6.

has proposed that this represents the final occupation by a relatively small military force stationed there in order to prevent the return of a civilian population. While according to Josephus the city was rebuilt in the time of Gabinius, governor of Syria from 57-55 BCE, <sup>22</sup> no archaeological evidence of occupation and rebuilding of such a city has been identified. However, a very specific type of autonomous coins in the name of "Marisa" was attributed to Gabinius. <sup>23</sup> It seems probable that in 40 BCE, Maresha as well as all of Idumea, was given to Herod. This same year the Hasmonaean king, Mattathias Antigonus, with his Parthian allies, destroyed the city and the site was never resettled.

### Archaeological finds and their historical implications

### Ptolemaic period

The Ptolemaic period finds at Maresha include a large variety of ceramic ware, faience, coins, stamped amphora handles, figurines, and an enormous amount of epigraphic material. In addition, the only public building to be identified so far in the lower city was a temple from the late Ptolemaic period. It has been proposed that this shrine was constructed by Ptolemy IV Philopator after his victory over Antiochus III at the battle of Raphia in 217 BCE.<sup>24</sup>

A number of sepulchral inscriptions can be dated to the Ptolemaic period.<sup>25</sup> The earliest usage of Greek in the region is in the early 3 c. BCE – the document is the Khirbet el-Kom bilingual ostracon dated to 277 BCE.<sup>26</sup> This indicates that while Greek spread into the region in the 3 c. BCE it was very limited. In short, there are hundreds of Aramaic ostraca through the 3 c. but only one or possibly two in Greek.

However, many of the tombs are decorated and have Greek inscriptions which include the names of the deceased who were interred there. So far, no Aramaic inscriptions have been found in any of the burial caves. The syncretic nature of Maresha is highlighted in the onomasticon of these burial areas. This underlines the difficulties in assigning specific ethnicity in such a multicultural environment.

The best example of this is the "Sidonian Tomb" among the "Painted Tombs" excavated by Peters and Thiersch.<sup>27</sup> One inscription from the tomb states that

<sup>22</sup> Jos. AJ 14,75; BJ 1,156.

<sup>23</sup> Sh. Qedar, INJ 12, 1992/3, 27-33. But see below n.44.

<sup>24</sup> N. Graicer, Urban Planning and Building in the City of Maresha in Idumea During the Hellenistic Period, PhD dissertation, Bar-Ilan University, 2012, 183, 374ff. (Hebr.). Her dating is predicated on a generic comparative analysis of the architectural elements within public buildings.

<sup>25</sup> A. Kloner, in: L. Grabbe - O. Lipshits eds., Judah Between East and West, 2011, 158-62.

<sup>26</sup> L. Geraty, BASOR 220, 1975, 55-61.

<sup>27</sup> See below nos. 3516-3574.

"Apollophanes son of Sesmaeus led the Sidonians in Marisé for thirty three years, and was considered the most worthy and the most kin-loving of all his contemporaries. He died, having lived for seventy-four years." In addition to this inscription that identifies the origin of the family, other inscriptions relating to a number of relatives of Apollophanes have been found in the tomb that provide us with his larger family.

Apollophanes, bearing a Greek name, was the son of Sesmaeus, identified as a Semitic name. Another inscription in this tomb mentions the "(tomb) of Sabo, daughter of Sesmaeus."29 Sabo, the sister of Apollophanes, has a name that can be assumed to be Idumean, Palmyrene or Nabataean. A different inscription mentions the "(tomb) of Demetrius, son of Meerbalus." Demetrius is a Greek name given to the son of Meerbalus, a Hellenized form of the Phoenician name Maherbaal. Again in the Apollophanes tomb there is an inscription that refers to "Cosnatanus, son of Ammoius, son of Sesmaus."31 In this case Cosnatanus, with an Idumean name is the son of Ammoius, who has an Egyptian name (that is sometimes found in Phoenician contexts) and the grandson of the above-mentioned Sesmaeus. The three offspring of the Semitic-named patriarch, Sesmaeus, had different ethnic names; one (Sabo) bore an Idumean/Palmyrene/Nabataean name, one (Apollophanes) a Greek, Phoenician or an Idumean (Qos is interpreted as a form of Apollo) name and the third (Ammoius) an Egyptian/Phoenician name. Finally, one last example mentions Babas (a Judahite or Idumean name), son of Cosnatanus (an Idumean name), son of Ammoius apparently the great-grandchild of the above-named Sesmaeus.<sup>32</sup>

There are approximately 500 Aramaic ostraca from Maresha, 400 discovered since 2000. These include dated dockets, undated dockets, tags with personal names, a few with lists of names and a number of letters. Many of them have still not been completely deciphered. These ostraca however, may well give provenance to the numerous unprovenanced Aramaic ostraca published by others, most recently by A. Yardeni and B. Porten.<sup>33</sup>

From a vast onomasticon of theophoric names one can discern or at least infer the ethnic makeup of Maresha. These include Idumean, Nabatean/Arab, Western Semitic, Phoenician, Judahite names as well as a mixture of smaller groups. <sup>34</sup> The tags also provide us with information regarding the goods being raised, traded and taxed. These tags were placed inside mud stoppers of storage jars. Stamped amphora handles and scale weights begin to appear at this time as well. <sup>35</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Peters - Thiersch 37-40 no. 1; cf. below no. 3573.

<sup>29</sup> Peters - Thiersch 40f. no. 3; cf. below no. 3527.

<sup>30</sup> Peters - Thiersch 41f. no. 4; cf. below no. 3551.

<sup>31</sup> Peters - Thiersch 44f. no. 9; cf. below no. 3570.

<sup>32</sup> Peters - Thiersch 45 no. 10; cf. below no. 3529.

<sup>33</sup> TAO 1; CIIP IV 3 (forthcoming).

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Stern (n.13).

<sup>35</sup> G. Finkielsztejn, in: A. Bresson ed., Les cités d'Asie Mineure occidentale au IIè siècle a.C., 2001, 181-96.

At the end of the 3 c. BCE, after the battle of Panion, the Seleucids, under Antiochus III took over and a process of Hellenization appears to have accelerated in Maresha. 38 lead weights have been uncovered, a number of them inscribed in Greek (see below nos. 3671-3686). The earliest weight probably dates to 173/2 BCE which, so far, is the earliest known dated weight in the Southern Levant. Levant. Levant is Like municipal coins, the production of local lead weights as well as the use of the Greek title *agoranomos* attests to autonomy in commercial life of a city. The Greek title *agoranomos* appears on lead weights as well as on a sekoma, an instrument for measuring standard volumes of liquids that was found in two pieces in situ in a shop. It bore an inscription "Year 170 (143/2 BCE), the agoranomoi being Antipater, son of Heliodorus, and Aristodamus, son of Ariston(?)." The position of *agoranomos* was known to be held alone or in pairs.

Another example is the royal dossier or "Heliodorus" inscription, which is a series of three letters in Greek between Seleucus IV, Heliodorus and other Seleucid officials with an order by the king to appoint Olympiodorus in charge of the sanctuaries of Koile Syria and Phoenike.<sup>38</sup> This stele is dated to 178 BCE. On October 9, 2013 a second copy of this Hellenistic inscription was found by members of the CIIP-team in the IAA warehouse at Beth Shemesh.<sup>39</sup> The existence of two copies of the text emphasizes the importance of the text at the time of its display in Maresha and elsewhere in the Seleucid satrapy of Koile Syria and Phoenike.

In addition, the vast majority of ostraca (720) belonging to this period discovered at Maresha are in Greek. A. Ecker has subdivided these ostraca into six basic groups: 1. Owner's marks; 2. Jar inscriptions; 3. Abecedaria; 4. Letters; 5. Tags; 6. Varia which include unexplained, illegible and/or magical formulae. These ostraca were discovered primarily in two subterranean complexes, SC 89 and SC 169.

The largest group of Greek ostraca, numbering 240 at the moment, are tags or dockets. These are small sherds measuring 2-5 cm in width and include personal names, dates, and type of goods.

There are different types of tags. Some are "name tags," some contain dates and some are transactional, meaning that they have a unique sensible content. Important historical and cultural information can be drawn from the dates included on the 71 dated tags. The earliest clearly dated tag is from 196/5 BCE. There is a second tag that may be even a bit earlier. The date may be 198/7 BCE but the reading is not certain. From these A. Ecker has determined that there is a succession of tags that continue to 173 BCE. Some tags, not yet completely deciphered, may contain later dates. While not every year is accounted for, within each decade there are examples from 3-5 years. There is no systematic increase between dates, reflecting the arbitrary nature of the finds. Ecker has suggested that these may indicate the continual marking of com-

<sup>36</sup> Below no. 3671; cf. G. Finkielsztejn, Maresha III 175-92.

<sup>37</sup> Below no. 3515; for a weight that bore exactly the same inscription, see no. 3674.

<sup>38</sup> Below no. 3511.

<sup>39</sup> Below no. 3512.

modities over time by the same people – possibly residents of the homes or owners of the agricultural installations near where the tags were found. Tags have also been found in the Aramaic corpus bearing dates of a Ptolemaic regnal era but it should be noted that so far no Aramaic tag was found with a Seleucid date on it.

The dates indicate that the Greek tags replaced the Aramaic tags in Maresha and this occurred in 200 BCE with the change from Ptolemaic to Seleucid control. What Ecker has shown here is an abrupt change in the language of administration after the Seleucid conquest in Maresha. These changes happened as early as the time of Antiochus III and may reflect the first government measure towards Hellenizing the local peoples under Seleucid rule.

Aramaic continued to be used as seen in the Idumean marriage contract bearing a Seleucid date 176 BCE and also showing that Aramaic documents in Maresha knew how to use Seleucid era. <sup>40</sup> It appears that the use of Seleucid dating became acceptable even in Aramaic documents. Therefore Aramaic documents that do not contain Seleucid dates are probably earlier than the 2 c. BCE.

This fits well with the recent studies by G. Finkielsztejn<sup>41</sup>, A. Kushnir-Stein<sup>42</sup>, and D. Ariel and O. Hoover<sup>43</sup> regarding the introduction of inscribed lead weights in 173 BCE, the first minting of coins in Maresha, and the office of *agoranomos*. These changes can be associated with Antiochus IV.

The discovery of the inscribed lead weights starting in 173 BCE as well as the local minting of coins beginning in 152 BCE may be related to relative local autonomy beginning in the time of Antiochus IV. Over 1000 coins have been discovered at Maresha. Approximately 20% are Ptolemaic and 71% Seleucid. Of the Seleucid coins, 11 have been identified as part of a local Maresha mint by Ariel and Hoover. Approximately 20 unprovenanced coins have been ascribed to this local mint as well.<sup>44</sup>

These finds suggest that already from the *beginning* of the Seleucid occupation of the Southern Levant Hellenization of the local populations was part of the policy of the central government. <sup>45</sup> Not surprising, given the multicultural, multiethnic makeup of the population, the reactions of the local people appear to have been varied.

Of course there are also certain common denominators within the "neighborhoods" of Maresha. These include many fragments of fresco, imported wares, amphorae, as well as architectural sophistication testifying to the high standard of living of the city. L. Perry has shown that the faunal remains from the subterranean

<sup>40</sup> E. Eshel - A. Kloner, IEJ 46, 1996, 1-22.

<sup>41</sup> G. Finkielsztejn, Maresha III 184; id., INR 9, 2014, 61-94 at 68 n.15.

<sup>42</sup> A. Kushnir-Stein, INR 6, 2011, 35-59.

<sup>43</sup> D. Ariel - O. Hoover, INJ 6, 2011, 61-77.

<sup>44</sup> S. Qedar, INJ 12, 1992/3, 27-33; these coins are from the Israel Museum collection, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and private collections. They were initially misdated by Qedar to the period of Gabinius and corrected by Ariel - Hoover (n.43) to the Seleucid period.

<sup>45</sup> C. Doyen, in: C. Feyel - L. Graslin-Thomé eds., Le projet politique d'Antiochos IV, 2014, 261-99; G. Finkielsztejn, INR 10, 2015, 55-104.

complexes reflect certain common traits such as pig avoidance (an average of 1-5% pig bones in most but not all cases with two areas ranging from 8-9%) and at the same time amazing variances regarding astragals<sup>46</sup>, chicken bones, etc.<sup>47</sup>

Approximately 600 vessels or 1-1.5% of the total vessels found in each of the subterranean complexes were deliberately punctured to put them out of use.<sup>48</sup> Punctured vessels like these, have always been associated with Mishnaic laws of purity and impurity and by extension, Jews. Of course, the context of the finds at Maresha is much earlier than the period of the writing of the Mishna and the ethnic makeup of the city was primarily pagan leaving us with another example of syncretism.

Given the eclectic nature of the population, while similarities of course existed, it is not surprising that vast differences have been discovered in the material finds within the different excavated areas or what may be deemed "neighborhoods" around Maresha. As already mentioned, the two main subterranean complexes where most of the epigraphic finds were discovered, are SC 89 and SC 169.

### Subterranean Complex 89

SC 89 is 150 m southeast of Tel Maresha. <sup>49</sup> This subterranean complex contains approximately 61 rooms of which only 18 have been partially excavated. The complex contains a large stone altar. The room beneath the altar contains a relief of a figure with an Egyptian style wig carved into the wall. The adjacent room with five entrances leading into it contains a barrel-vaulted ceiling. The ceramic corpus is similar to that of other excavated subterranean complexes around Maresha. The majority of the pottery dates to the 3-2 c. BCE and includes imported material and fragments of frescoes. The finds from SC 89 stand out due to the large corpus of Greek ostraca and almost complete absence of Aramaic ostraca. 371 Greek ostraca (99%) were discovered and only two Aramaic ostraca.

4% of the faunal remains were pig, clearly reflecting pig avoidance by most of the populace. Certain ethnic groups, however, such as the Phoenicians were not concerned with this food taboo which accounts for its limited consumption. Only 3% of the 92 figurines were Persian period style.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. below nos. 3661-3670.

<sup>47</sup> L. Perry, The Zooarchaeological Corpus of Maresha as a Means of Examining Cultural, Economic, and Environmental Perspectives in the Daily Life of the Residents of the Site during the Hellenistic Period, PhD dissertation, University of Haifa (forthcoming).

<sup>48</sup> I. Stern - V. Noam, ARAM 27, 2015, 343-64 for a detailed account of the implications of this phenomenon.

<sup>49</sup> B. Alpert - I. Stern, HA-ESI 120, 2008 (www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\_detail\_eng. aspx?id=727&mag\_id=114, viewed: 24.5.2017).

150 meters away is SC 169 which contains 13 rooms.<sup>50</sup> One room can be identified as a cistern, five others contain architectural remains of silos. The other rooms served only as quarries. Room 9 contains a large Greek inscription on part of its northern wall, "ZABDADA," an Idumean name that appears on an Idumean name list in Hermopolis Magna.<sup>51</sup> The majority of the Greek and Aramaic ostraca were discovered within Rooms 6, 7, 9 and 10.

The general ceramic repertoire in this cave is typical of Maresha, dating predominantly from the 3-2 c. BCE. As in all of the subterranean complexes excavated to date, the debris in SC 169 contains fragments of colorful frescos, suggesting that the surface dwellings belonged to people of means.

78% of the ca. 500 ostraca are in Aramaic, 22% Greek. E. Eshel has so far deciphered the name of the Idumean deity Qos on six of the Aramaic ostraca. 302 astragals (knucklebones) known to be used in connection to divination were discovered in SC 169. This is more than double the number of astragals found in any of the other excavated areas. 62% of the 763 Hellenistic oil lamps were aniconic kernos lamps also associated with cultic activity. This is a much larger percentage than any other SC. In addition to this, 17 of the 21 chalk circumcised phalli discovered at Maresha were found in SC 169. They probably had a cultic or apotropaic function and strongly suggest that the Idumeans practiced circumcision before 108/7 BCE. 52

The differences between these two "neighborhoods" can be explained in a number of ways. The finds may be an expression of cultural differences between the residents of the two areas. The residents who resided above SC 169 may have been a more conservative segment of the local population who resisted some of the Hellenistic trends associated with the Seleucid administration. This could have included their preferred use of Aramaic over Greek in their ostraca. It could reflect their attitude towards "traditional" social norms associated with Idumean behavior such as circumcision and the use of kernos lamps. In SC 89 on the other hand, the almost exclusive use of the Greek language, and the almost total absence of traditional Idumean cultic items suggest that these residents may have been more Hellenized than their counterparts above SC 169. Alternatively, the conservatism displayed by the finds in SC 169 may not be directly connected to the residents above this cave system but rather reflect its proximity to the nearby shrine (Area 800). The disproportionate number of cultic items such as astragals (44% of the sheep bones) kernos lamps (62% of the lamps in this SC), and 17 circumcised phalli as well as the continued use of the more "traditional" language, Aramaic may simply mean that the assemblage was part of a favissa from the nearby shrine.

<sup>50</sup> I. Stern - B. Alpert, HA-ESI 126, 2014 (www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\_detail\_eng. aspx?id=12643&mag\_id=121, viewed: 24.5.2017).

<sup>51</sup> Below no. 3737.

<sup>52</sup> For full discussion see Stern (n.13).

#### Conclusion

Hellenistic culture by its very nature is syncretistic. It is clear that Maresha was a multi ethnic city, whose largest component consisted of Idumeans. Various ethnic markers such as pig avoidance, circumcision, punctured vessels, and ossilegium are frequently identified in excavations and lead to conclusions that suggest a direct relationship between the archaeological finds and literary sources. The above mentioned material finds from "Idumean" Maresha have been noted in earlier publications to have distinct parallels to finds identified in other, later-period sites with Judean characteristics.<sup>53</sup>

A word of caution however is necessary. There is a tendency in archaeology to focus more on distinctiveness rather than on overlapping interests but it seems that ethnic interrelationships cannot be easily categorized. S. Jones critically asserts, "archaeological material is still attributed a particular identity in a monolithic and fixed fashion." She goes on to caution that material finds are unlikely to reveal "a particular ethnic or religious group represented by a discrete, uniform pattern of particular types of material culture in the archaeological record." Material finds frequently reflect syncretism of cultures and in fact rarely directly reflect a single identity.

Some of the finds from Maresha can be identified as Idumean specific such as the use of the theophoric name Qos, aniconic kernos lamps (found only at Maresha<sup>55</sup>) and certain Persian period style figurines.<sup>56</sup> Other finds however, reflect Nabatean/Arab, Phoenician/Sidonian, Egyptian, Greek koine and Judean influence. The syncretic nature of Maresha is highlighted in the onomasticon in Tomb E I of the Sidonian Tombs excavated by Peters and Thiersch that reflect the difficulty in assigning specific ethnicity in such a multicultural environment. As mentioned above, in one family tomb the children and grandchildren of Sesmaeus have names associated with a wide variety of ethnoi.

Evidence of distinct changes in the central government's policy vis-à-vis Hellenization has been shown to have taken place starting with Seleucid rule. For this reason, the continued use of certain traditional items in a period of increased Hellenization sponsored by the central government is noteworthy. These finds may be an expression by some of the population of their reluctance to readily adopt certain elements of Hellenistic culture. It appears that certain members of this very eclectic community may have chosen to maintain certain linguistic and ritualistic traditions. There are dramatic differences between the subterranean complexes/neighborhoods regarding the number of aniconic kernos lamps, circumcised chalk

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> S. Jones, The Archaeology of Ethnicity, 1997, 37-9.

<sup>55</sup> E. Ambar-Armon - A. Kloner - I. Stern, BAIAS 28, 2010, 103-40.

<sup>56</sup> A. Erlich, Jerusalem and Eretz-Israel 8/9, 2013, 35-49 (Hebr.); ead., in: I. Stern ed., The Excavations of Subterranean Complex 57, 2014, 39-70 at 40; Erlich claims that these were found primarily in Maresha or within the probable borders of Idumea.

phalli, Persian period style figurines, dietary habits, and the use of Aramaic especially in non-commercial settings (like notes, marriage contracts, etc.) to name just a few. It appears, that the finds reflect a transitional period within a multiethnic society that was already involved in a syncretism of various local and Hellenistic cultures. This may be evidenced by John Hyrcanus I's injunction to the inhabitants to join the Judean religion and the later presence of Idumeans among the Jews in the Jewish First Revolt against Rome. Some Idumeans as well as other *ethnoi* probably did leave Idumea.<sup>57</sup>

IS

<sup>57</sup> U. Rappaport, RPh 43 1969, 73-82; F. Zucker, Doppelinschrift spätptolemäischer Zeit aus der Garnison von Hermopolis Magna (Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse 6), 1938, 15f.

# **Inscriptions**

### A. Res sacrae

### 3502. Altar for Demeter the Great with Greek inscription

A square pillar-shaped limestone altar with a recess at the front. The recess' measures are: h 6.9, w 6.5, d 4.5 cm. Presumably, a figurine of Demeter was placed inside it. A network pattern is displayed on one side of the altar, while the inscription is on another. The letters of the inscription are scratched upon the stone, rather than incised. The top of the altar is blackish, due to a residue of ashes.

Meas.: h 18, w 9.6, d 10.6 cm; letters 0.4-1.1 cm.

Findspot: Subterranean Complex 128.

Pres. loc.: Beth-Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 2014-2300; exc. reg. no. 128-20-705-S1. Autopsy: 11 December 2014.

ΔΗΜΗΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΛΗ I[-ca. 6 letters-] ΚΑΤ[.]ΓΗΝ [..]Ν[--] ΙΔΝΙ[--]





fig. 3502.2





fig. 3502.4

fig. 3502.3

Δημήτηρ | μεγάλη | I[-ca. 6 letters-] | κατ[α] γῆν $[..]N[--]I\Delta NI[--]$ 

Demeter the Great  $\dots$  on the face of the earth (?)  $\dots$ 

Comm.: l.6 IANNI Korzakova.

Bibl.: H. Korzakova, Maresha III 147 no. 1 (ed. pr.). – SEG 60, 1725; BE 2011, 622; BE 2012, 436. Photo: IAA.

DG

### 3503. Altar for Isis with Greek inscription

A square limestone altar standing on a three-stepped base. All sides are smoothed. One of these was decorated with an incised gate, another has a four-line inscription. The top of the altar is broken. l.1 is peculiar with regard to the size of letters: while letters 2-4 (HMH) are ca. 1.3 cm high, the first letter, a *delta*, is about half as high and below it there are two triangular characters. The *delta* and the two triangular letters below it are equal in height to the *eta* on the right. The two triangular letters at the bottom of l.1 may be read as a *delta* and an *alpha*, or perhaps as a *lambda* and an *alpha*. However, there is no continuation to these letters,

as the three bigger characters to the right exclude the possibility that the two letters,  $\Delta A$  or  $\Lambda A$ , constitute a beginning of a second line. We thus have a four-line inscription, not five (pace Korzakova). In l.3 another *delta* is inserted sideways between the second *alpha* and the *eta*. These two letters, the *delta* and the *eta*, are also secondary to the initial inscription. The *rho* has an inverted triangle. Meas.: h 14.9, w 12.8, d 12 cm; letters

Findspot: Subterranean Complex 147.

Pres. loc.: Beth-Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 2014-2301, exc. reg. no. 147-07-1180-S2. Autopsy: 11 December 2014.

ΔΗΜΗ ΤΡΙΑΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΙΣΙΔΙ

0.7-1.4 cm.

Δημη|τρίας | παρὰ | "Ισιδι

Demetria's (altar rests) next to Isis.

Comm.: l.1 ΔΗΜΗΣ Korzakova; ΔΑΜ.Κ.Σ Korzakova sees here a second line. In our view no further line appears between ll.1-2; l.2 Τ.ΥΙΟΣ Korzakova, who prints this as l.3: Korzakova l.4: ΠΑΡΑΤΗ.

Bibl.: H. Korzakova, Maresha III 147f. no. 2 (ed. pr.). – SEG 60, 1726; BE 2011, 622; BE 2012, 436.

Photo: IAA; T. Ashush.



fig. 3503.1



fig. 3503.2

### 3504. Greek inscribed stone altar mentioning Sohemus and Ilaeus

The inscription was incised upside down, with l.1 written close to the bottom of the altar's stand and l.5 close to the stand's top. The fifth line seems to have had four letters, yet the last symbol may be an effaced *xi*.

Meas.: h 12.4 (whole altar), 8.5 cm (stand); letters 0.4-0.8 cm.

Findspot: Subterranean Complex 57, Room 1.

Pres. loc.: Har Hotzvim, IAA inv. no. 2015-120, exc. reg. no. 57-41-305-S2, permit no. 4687/06.

Autopsy: 10 December 2013.

ΡΑΗΙΜΜΥ ΣΟΗΜΩΙ ΙΛΑΙΟΣ ΟΠΟΗ ΣΑΣ+

Pαηιμμυ | Σοήμωι. | "Ιλαιος | ὁ ποή|σας $\{\xi\}$ 

Compassion for Sohemus. Ilaeus is the one who made (this altar).

Comm.: The altar was found in the same room as three of the fragments of no. 3511. The concentration of these and other findings in this one room is probably the result of a cleansing operation of the heathen town of Marisa by the conquering army of John Hyrcanus I (Gera 126, 145f.). The first two lines were difficult to read. Consequently the present reading of ll.1-2 is different from the original one, and the translation of-



fig. 3504.1

fered here is somewhat different from the one relayed by me to I. Stern (Stern - Alpert 25f.). The inscription opens with an Aramaic word transcribed in Greek characters. For a similar phenomenon see no. 3498. The Aramaic *rhymw* means love, or compassion, and in our case this feeling is directed to a certain Sohemus, who was probably ill, or perhaps dead. Possibly, the dedicator made an altar and wrote an inscription on it in the belief that by this act of piety relief would come to the ill Sohemus. Alternatively, if Sohemus had already died, then the inscription expresses the wish that people may feel sorrow about his demise. The name Sohemus is Semitic, cf. Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 110. The name Ilaeus is

rare but see an inscription from Alexandria in Egypt (SB 1, 382).



Bibl.: Unpublished. – B. Alpert - I. Stern, HA-ESI 119, 2007 (www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\_detail\_eng.aspx?id=499&mag\_id=112, viewed: 13.12.2016); D. Gera, ZPE 169, 2009, 125-55; I. Stern - B. Alpert, in: I. Stern ed., The Excavations of Maresha Subterranean Complex 57: The "Heliodorus" Cave, 2014, 9-28 at 25f., fig. 3,54; A. Erlich - D. Gera - N. Sagiv, IEJ 66, 2016, 55-69.

Photo: I. Stern: IAA.

fig. 3504.2

DG

# 3505. Altar with remains of Greek inscription

"A round, soft limestone altar with an inscription incised sideways. The depression on top is 5 cm deep. There are traces of carbon on the sides, but none on top. The inscription is almost totally destroyed" (Korzakova).

Meas.: h 24, ø (base) 9.6, (top) 10 cm.

Findspot: In a domestic context "in either Subterranean Complex 53, Subterranean Complex 75 or Area 100" (A. Kloner, Maresha III 219).

Pres. loc.: Exc. reg. no. 46-91.



[--]+ATPİL̈́İ [--]Θ

fig. 3505

Comm.: Text according to Korzakova. The altar was found in a domestic context, and is – as such – proof of the worship in this house. – l.1:  $[\pi]\alpha\tau\rho$ ? But the inscription does not necessarily refer to the god worshipped on the altar.

Bibl.: H. Korzakova, Maresha III 148 no. 3 (ph.) (ed. pr.). - SEG 60, 1727.

Photo: IAA.

WA

### 3506. Greek inscribed altar

A flat limestone altar. On the right side a part of the inscription is broken off. Meas.: h 5, w 10.2, d 7.8 cm; letters 0.4-0.8 cm.

Findspot: Subterranean Complex 147.

Pres. loc.: Beth-Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 2014-2302; exc. reg. no. 147-07-1050-S50. Autopsy: 11 December 2014.

### XAAA[--]

Comm.: AA A Korzakova.

Bibl.: H. Korzakova, Maresha III 149 no. 4 (ed. pr.).

Photo: IAA.



fig. 3506

DG

# 3507. Base with a fragment of a bird of prey, 3-2 c. BC

Limestone base of a statue. A bird of prey's talon, probably that of an eagle, is preserved on the base. The inscription is engraved on one side of the base.

Meas.: h 15, w 26, d 18.6 cm; h of base 8.2 cm; letters 2.8 cm.

Findspot: On the slopes of Tel Maresha. Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. S-328. Autopsy: 26 August 2013.

 $[--]\Sigma KPAT\Omega NO\Sigma$ 

[--]ΩNIEΥXHN

[--]ς Κράτωνος | [Άπόλλ?]ωνι εὐχήν



fig. 3507

...s the son of Craton (offered this statue) to Apollo(?) as a vow.

Comm.: Clermont-Ganneau in ed. pr. supplied [Σκόπα]ς in l.1 and [Ἀπόλλ]ωνι in l.2. The same suggestion was previously made by Bliss.

This is a votive inscription that speaks of an offering given to a god in fulfillment of a vow (the present in this case being a statue of a bird of prey). Clermont-Ganneau and Bliss identified the god as Apollo, which is a sound identification. If this is indeed the case, then it is possible to assume that there was a temple for that god in Maresha (Gera). There is no cogent reason for Clermont-Ganneau's attempt to link this inscription with two other inscriptions of apparent Ptolemaic date (nos. 3513, 3514). This connection led him to suggest that Craton's son was the Ptolemaic general Scopas, although we do not know the name of Scopas' father and a great number of Greek personal names can be fitted in l.1.

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, CRAI 1900, 536-41 at 539f. (ed. pr.). – F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 319-38 at 335f. (dr.); W. Rouse, PEQ 33, 1901, 60; C. Clermont-Ganneau, ibid., 54-8 at 56f.; id., RAO 4, 1901, 152-6; RB 10, 1901, 88-92 at 90f.; BE 1902 p. 93; C. Wilson, PEQ 34, 1902, 198-227 at 220; Bliss - Macalister 70 fig. 33; M. Strack, APF 2, 1903, 544 no. 21; H. Thiersch, AA, 1908, 3-38, 344-413 at 399f.; P. Thomsen, ZDPV MN 15, 1909, 33-44 at 37f.; BE 1910 p. 337; A. Schalit ed., The Hellenistic Age, 1972 no. 45; A. Kloner, EAEHL 3, 1977, 782-91 at 784, 788; M. Avi-Yonah, NEAEHL 3, 1993, 948-51 at 950; Tal, Archaeology 66 (Hebr.); Thiel 2007, 153f.; D. Gera, ZPE 169, 2009, 125-55 at 145; Figueras, Pagan Image 103; D. Gera, in: I. Stern ed., The Excavations of Maresha Subterranean Complex 57, 2014, 109-31 at 124.

Photo: IAA.

DG

#### 3508.-3509. Church near Tel Maresha

In 1985 a church, probably forming part of a larger building complex, was excavated ca. 600 m southwest of Tel Maresha. The church was nearly square (8.6x9.9 m) and designed as a basilica with probably one apse at the northeast. The nave was separated from the narrower aisles by two rows of three columns and two pilasters each. It was laid out with a mosaic floor "designed like a carpet measuring 5x3.6 m. The dominant colors were red, yellow, white and black ... The central panel was surrounded by a double frame ... The main part of the carpet was made up of six squares laid out in pairs. Each square ... contained a circle filled with various complicated geometric patterns. The area between the corners of the square and the circle was covered with either triangular or square checkers, shell patterns, parallel zigzag lines, or schematic flora" (Kloner 1993, 262f.). The floor was covered with a layer of debris consisting of charcoal, burnt roof beams, clay roof tiles and other

building materials attesting to the destruction of the church by fire. The pottery found in the debris was dated to the 5-6 c. AD, which suggests that the church was destroyed in the early 7 c. AD. Underneath the mosaic floor was a single burial.

Bibl.: A. Kloner - H. Stark, IEJ 36, 1986, 277ff.; A. Kloner, in: Y. Tsafrir ed., Ancient Churches Revealed, 1993, 261-4.

### 3508. Greek mosaic inscription near the entrance to the church

Partially damaged Greek mosaic inscription in two lines.

Findspot: The inscription was set into the white strip surrounding the framed geometric carpet of the nave, at the western side near the main entrance to the church. Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1985-832.



fig. 3508.1 (left side)



fig. 3508.2 (middle part)



fig. 3508.3 (right side)

ΠΡΕΣΒΙΑΙΣ+++++[...]+ΓΕΛΟΥΜΙΧΑΗΛΟΣΟΥΕΣΤΙΝΟΟΙΚΟΣΚΥΡΙΟΣΠΟΙΜΕΝΙ ΦΛ/ΙΜ+[--]ΑΙΟΥΔΕΝΑΥΤΟΝΥΣΤΕΡΗΣΕΙ

πρεσβίαις τοῦ ἁγί[ου ἀ]νγέλου Μιχαῆλος, οὖ ἐστιν ὁ οἶκος, κύριος ποιμένι | Φλ(άουιον) Ἱμε[-- κ]αὶ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ὑστερήσει

Through the advocacies of the holy angel Michael, to whom this house belongs, the Lord shepherds Flavius Hime..., and he will lack nothing.

Comm.: Di Segni apud Kloner, Churches 263 translated the text in a slightly different way: "By the intercessions of the holy angel Michael your house stands. The Lord is the shepherd of Flavius Im... (who built this?) and he will lack nothing." – l.1: The traces of the letters are consistent with τοῦ ἀγί[ου]; there is not enough space for supplementing [ἀρχαν]γέλου. Cf. Meimaris, Sacred Names 142 no. 732f. on ἄγιος in connection with the angel (mentioning no. 3326; see comm. there). The "holy angel Gabriel" in Kloner, NEAEHL 956 is surely a misprint. ο οἶκος, the church, was dedicated to the archangel Michael. Cf. Meimaris, Sacred Names 146 with examples of οἶκος. - ll.1f. consist of an adaptation of LXX Ps 22,1: κύριος ποιμαίνει με, καὶ οὐδὲν με ὑστερήσει. Instead of the psalmist's με, a name is inserted, possibly the name of a donor or an otherwise important person (Felle had the rather interesting idea to read Φλς' ἐν[δ(ικτιῶνος) --] and comments: "L'indicazione dell'anno 536 se relativa all'era di Gaza (61 a.C.), porterebbe al 597, una data coerente con il contesto di riferimente..." He continues mentioning the era of Ascalon (102/3 AD), which would lead to a date of 639/40 AD). LGPN knows a number of names starting with iota-mu (e.g. "Ιμερος, Ίμέραιος, Ίμέριος ...). SEG 20, 332 (Syria) knows a Φλ. Δανιῆλος Ἱμερίου, σκουτάριος κλιβανάριος. There is possibly a trema on the *iota* of the name. The lacuna measures about 20 letters; this is enough for a second name, a father's name or perhaps the reason for this invocation, as Di Segni's translation seems to assume.

Bibl.: Unpublished (the earlier publications have only English translations of the inscription). – ESI 5, 1986, 63f. (=HA 88, 1986, 27 [Hebr.]); A. Kloner - H. Stark, IEJ 36, 1986, 279; Y. Tsafrir, in: Archéologie Chrétienne 1758; A. Kloner, in: Y. Tsafrir ed., Ancient Churches Revealed, 1993, 263; id., NEAEHL 3, 1993, 956; H. Goldfus, Tombs and Burials in Churches and Monasteries of Byzantine Palestine (324-628 A.D.), 1997, 159; Dauphin, Palestine byzantine 934 no. 372; Felle, Biblia epigraphica 120 no. 188; Madden, Corpus 105 no. 144.

Photo: Courtesy of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

WA

# 3509. Sign of the cross with Alpha and Omega and the initials of Christ

"A small piece of limestone incised with a cross and the letters AW and XP in the corners" (Kloner).

Findspot: Among the debris covering the floor of the nave of the church.

A Ω X P

Α Ω | Χρ(ιστός)

Alpha Omega - Christ.

Comm.: Kloner conveys the impression that *alpha* and *omega* are written above the horizontal bar of the cross and the initials of Christ below. The usual order, however, would be the other way around. – l.1: cf. CIIP II 1154, l.2 (comm.).

Bibl.: A. Kloner, in: Y. Tsafrir ed., Ancient Churches Revealed, 1993, 263 (ed. pr.).

WA/DK

### 3510. Abbreviated nomina sacra on a cave wall

Inscription carved into the rock; the grooves of the letters contain considerable remains of the white coating that once seems to have covered large parts of the wall. Above the inscription, especially on its left-hand side, remains of other signs are visible. Muslim graffiti can also be seen on this section of the wall (Kloner - Zissu).

Findspot: On one of the walls of the stepped corridor leading from the surface to a rock-cut underground columbarium in the western part of the lower city of Maresha (SC 30), locally called "es-Suk." Its layout is shaped like a double cross, and it originally contained about 2600 niches. "The columbarium was no longer used as such from the beginning of the 2nd century BCE and became a storehouse ... During the 2nd century CE burrows were cut and other changes occured which attest to its use as part of a hiding complex, during the Bar Kokhba war ... The cave was again in use during the Byzantine and Early Islamic periods ... During the Early Islamic period the cave was apparently converted ... into an underground mosque" (Kloner - Zissu 53).

Pres. loc.: In situ.

 $\overline{I\Sigma}$  (cross)  $\overline{\Sigma}$  A +

Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς. | Α Ω

Jesus Christ. Alpha (and) Omega.



fig. 3510

Comm.: l.1: Instead of the Greek letter *chi*, there is a cross with forked endings in the third position, the fork at the bottom executed in much larger scale than the other ones, as if it was meant to indicate the *chi*. – l.2: cf. CIIP II 1154, l.2 (comm.).

Bibl.: A. Kloner - B. Zissu, Opera Ipogea 15, 2013, 53f., fig. 19 (ph.).

Photo: B. Zissu.

WA/DK

# B. Royal documents

### 3511. Ordinance of Seleucus IV Philopator concerning Olympiodorus, 178 BC

The stele's upper part is gabled and has three akroteria, a central one and two on the sides. The face of the pediment is decorated with a rosette, painted red.

In 2006 two cemented together limestone fragments (a) and (b) forming the upper part of a Greek stele were brought to the Israel Antiquities Authority for the purpose of laboratory examinations. The provenance of these fragments was at the time a mystery, since they became known through illicit trade in antiquities. However, tests conducted in the IAA laboratories led to a suggestion that the stele may have originated from the underground cavities of Maresha (Goren). Synchronous with the coming-to-light of fragments (a) and (b), a licensed archaeological excavation was taking place in one of the underground cavities in Maresha, Subterranean Complex 57. The complex is located about 100 m to the southeast of the Maresha acropolis. The excavators, under the direction of I. Stern and B. Alpert, uncovered four rooms in this underground complex, and found in one of these spaces, Room 1, three inscribed limestone fragments. One fragment, (d), was uncovered in 2005, while fragments (c) and (e) were unearthed in the following year. It has been shown that fragments (d) and (c) join laterally, and that these two fragments form a join from below with fragments (a) and (b), see findspot. Goren's hypothesis for a Maresha origin of fragments (a) and (b) has been vindicated. More importantly, fragments (d) and (c) add a significant section to the king's letter. The previously fragmentary ll.26-28 are now essentially complete, and eleven additional lines were added to the royal prostagma. The text of seven of these additional lines is more or less full. The remaining fragment (e) does not join the upper fragments. However, it was found in the same room as fragments (c) and (d), and like them, and like fragments (a) and (b), it is made of Hebron limestone. Furthermore, traces of red paint, commonly used to color inscription characters, were found in all five stone fragments. In addition, the form of the letters in all five fragments suggests the work of a single stone-cutter. Therefore, fragment (e) is to be considered as part of the same stele (Gera 2009, 126ff.). The find of these five inscribed stone fragments from Maresha form the most complete copy of the prostagma of Seleucus IV and the attached cover letters to date. However, following the publication of this dossier, two other copies which lay undeciphered for decades were identified. One of these copies, to be discussed below, was also found in Maresha, while the other copy seems, in all likelihood, to originate from Phoenician Byblos. The 14-lines Byblos fragment parallels ll.7-24 of the Maresha stele, albeit with minor variations. Meas.: block 1 (a+b+c+d): h 110, w 57.5, d 12.9-16.2 cm; block 2 (e): h 37, w 22, d 11.9-12.4 cm.

Findspot: Fragments (c), (d) and (e) were excavated in Room 1 of Subterranean Complex 57 in Maresha. It is assumed that fragments (a)+(b) were illegally taken from that very spot.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, inv. nos. 2006-52/1 (frgs. a+b), 2009-1488/1-3 (frgs. c+d+e).

### Fragment (a)

ΔΟΡΥΜΕΝΗΣΔΙΟΦΑΝΕΙΧΑΙΡΕΙΝΤΗΣΠΑΡΑΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΤΟΥΕΠΙΤΩΝΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΩΝΑΠΟΔΟΘΕΙΣΗΣΗΜΙΝΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ ΚΑΤΑΚΕΧΩΡΙΣΤΑΙΤΟΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝΕΥΟΥΝΠΟΙΗΣΕΙΣ

- 4 ΦΡΟΝΤΙΖΩΝΙΝΑΕΚΑΣΤΑΣΎΝΤΕΛΗΤΑΙΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΩΣ ΤΟΙΣΕΠΕΣΤΑΛΜΕΝΟΙΣ LΔΛΡ ΓΟΡΠΙΑΙΟΎΚΒ ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΣΔΟΡΥΜΕΝΕΙΤΩΙΑΔΕΛΦΩΙΧΑΙΡΕΙΝΤΟΎΑΠΟ
- 8 ΔΟΘΕΝΤΟΣΗΜΙΝΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑΤΟΣΠΑΡΑΤΟΥΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΕΡΙΤΩΝΚΑΤΑΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΔΩΡΟΝΥΠΟΤΕΤΑΚΤΑΙΤΟΑΝΤΙ ΓΡΑΦΟΝΕΥΟΥΝΠΟΙΗΣΕΙΣΚΑΤΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΗΣΑΣΤΟΙΣΕΠΕΣ ΤΑΛΜΕΝΟΙΣ
- 12 ΙΔΛΡ ΓΟΡΠΙΑΙΟΎ ΚΓ

### Fragments (b+a)

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΣΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΩΙΤΩΙΑΔΕΛΦΩΙΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΗΝΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΝΠΟΙΟΥΜΕΝΟΙΠΕΡΙΤΗΣΤΩΝΥΠΟ ΤΕΤΑΓΜΕΝΩΝΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑΣΚΑΙΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝΑΓΑΘΟ[.]

- 16 ΕΙΝΑΙΝΟΜΙΖΟΝΤΕΣΤΟΙΣΠΡΑΓΜΑΣΙΝΟΤΑΝΟΙΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΝΑΔΕΩΣΤΟΥΣΕΑΥΤΩΝΒΙΟΥΣΔΙΟΙΚΩ ΣΙΝΚΑΙΣΥΝΘΕΩΡΟΥΝΤΕΣΩΣΟΥΘΕΝΔΥΝΑΤΑΙΜΕΤΑ ΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΙΝΤΗΣΚΑΘΗΚΟΥΣΗΣΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣΑΝΕΥ
- 20 ΤΗΣΤΩΝΘΕΩΝΕΥΜΗΝΕΙΑΣΙΝΑΜΕΝΤΑΚΑΘΙΔΡΥ ΜΕΝΑΚΑΤΑΤΑΣΑΛΛΑΣΣΑΤΡΑΠΕΙΑΣΙΕΡΑΤΑΣΠΑΤΡΙΟ[..] ΚΟΜΙΖΗΤΑΙΤΙΜΑΣΜΕΤΑΤΗΣΑΡΜΟΖΟΥΣΗΣΘΕΡΑΠ[-4 letters-] [.]ΞΑΡΧΗΣΤΥΓΧΑΝΟΜΕΝΤΕΤΑΓΜΕΝΟΙΤΩΝΔΕΚ[...]

### Fragments (b+a+c)

24 [..] ΙΛΝΝΣΥΡΙΑΝΚΑΙΦΟΙΝΙΚΗΝΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΩΝΟΥΚΕΧΟΝΤΩΝ [-5 letters-]ΣΣΟΜΕΝΟΝΠΡΟΣΤΗΙΤΟΥΤΩΝΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑΙΚΑΤΕ [-5 letters-]ΜΕΝΟΤΙΣΩΦΡΟΝΩΣΠΡΟΣΤΗΣΕΤΑΙΤΗΣΕΥΚΟΣ

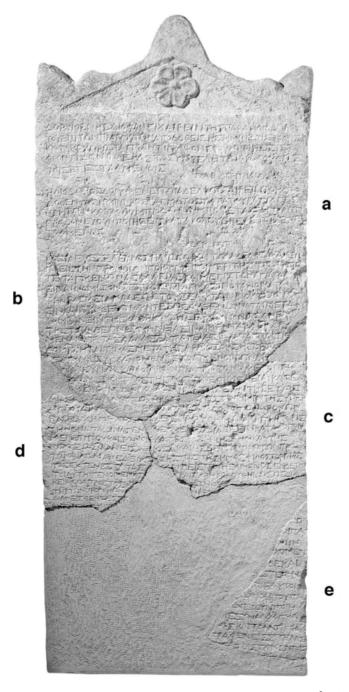


fig. 3511

### Fragments (d+b+c)

ΜΙΑΣΑ[.]ΤΩΝΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ[.]ḤΝΠΙΣΤΙΝΗΜΙΝΤΗΣΥΠΕΡ 28 ΑΥΤΟΥΔΙΑΛΗΨΕΩΣΕΚΤΩΝΠΡΟΓΕΓΟΝΟΤΩΝΧΡΟΝΩΝ

# Fragments (d+c)

ΠΑΡΕΙΣΧΗΜΕΝΟΣΤΡΑΦΕΙΣΓΑΡΥΘΗΜΩΝΚΑΙΤΗΝΑΡΙΣ ΤΗΝΕΝΑΠΑΣΙΝΑΠΕΝΗΝΕΓΜΕΝΟΣΔΙΑΘΕΣΙΝΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΝ ΜΕΝΕΠΙΤΟΥΚΟΙΤΩΝΟΣΚΑΤΕΣΤΑΘΗΤΗΣΤΗΛΙΚΑΥΤΗΣ

- 32 ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣΦΑΝΕΙΣΑΞΙΟΣΔΙΚΑΙΩΣΔΕΤΩΝΠΡΩΤΩΝΠΡΩ ΤΩΝΦΙΛΩΝΑΠΕΔΕΙΧΘΗΤΗΣΤΗΣΠΡΟΣΗΜΑΣΦΙΛΟΣΤΟΡΓΙΑΣ ΤΑΣΕΚΤΕΝΕΣΤΑΤΑΣ[..]Ο, ΔΕΙΞΕΙΣΠΟΙΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣΕΝΔΕΤΗΙ ΤΟΙΑΥΤΗΙΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ[-4 letters-]ΙΚΑΙΠΑΡΗΚΟΛΟΥΘΗΚΩΣΩΣΔΙΑ
- 36 ΚΕΙΜΕΘΑΠΡΟΣΤΟΣΥΝ[-9 letters-]ΤΩΝΘΕΩΥΝΤΙΜΑΣΑΚΟΛ[-5 letters-] ΤΗΙΤΩΝΠΡΟΓΟΝΩΝ[-12 letters-]ΝΦΡΟΝ[-19 letters-]

### Fragment (d)

ΔΙΑΠΕΙΣΘΕΝΤΕΣΕΕ[--] ΑΥΤΟΥΠΡΟΣΤΗΣ[--]

### Fragment (e)

- [--]A
- [--]**I**ΣΕΙΤ
- [--]ΟΙΠA
- 4 [--]MHN
  - [--]XOMEN
  - [--]ΔEKAI
  - [--]EΣTEPON
- 8 [--]ΤΟΙΣΑΥΤΟΙΣ
  - [--]ΛΟΝΚΑΙΤΟΥΠΑ
  - [--]ΟΝΕΥΟΥΝΠΟΙΗ
  - [--]ΟΙΣΣΥΝΑΛΛΑΓΜΑ
- 12 [--]ΘΩΣΚΑΙΤΟΑΝΤΙΓΡΑ
  - [--]ΓΡΑΦΕΝΕΙΣΣΤΗΛΑΣ
  - [--]ΤΑΤΟΙΣΤΩΝΕΝΤΟΙΣ
  - [--]

### Fragment (a)

Δορυμένης Διοφάνει χαίρειν· τῆς παρὰ Ἡλιοδώρου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀποδοθείσης ἡμῖν ἐπιστολῆς κατακεχώρισται τὸ ἀντίγραφον. Εὖ οὖν ποιήσεις

- 4 φροντίζων ΐνα ἕκαστα συντελῆται ἀκολούθως τοῖς ἐπεσταλμένοις.
  - ("Ετους) δλρ' Γορπιαίου κ'θ'?"
  - Ἡλιόδωρος Δορυμένει τῶι ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν· τοῦ ἀπο-
- 8 δοθέντος ήμιν προστάγματος παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως

περὶ τῶν κατὰ Ὁλυμπιόδωρον ὑποτέτακται τὸ ἀντίγραφον. Εὖ οὖν ποιήσεις κατακολουθήσας τοῖς ἐπεσταλμένοις

12 ("Ετους) δλρ' Γορπιαίου κγ'(?)

### Fragments (b+a)

Βασιλεὺς Σέλευκος Ἡλιοδώρωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι χαίρεινπλείστην πρόνοιαν ποιούμενοι περὶ τῆς τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἀσφαλείας καὶ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸ[ν]

- 16 εἶναι νομίζοντες τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὅταν οἱ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀδεῶς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν βίους διοικῶσιν, καὶ συνθεωροῦντες, ὡς οὐθὲν δύναται μεταλαμβάνειν τῆς καθηκούσης εὐδαιμονίας ἄνευ
- 20 τῆς τῶν θεῶν εὐμ'ε'νείας, ἵνα μὲν τὰ καθιδρυμένα κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας σατραπείας ἱερὰ τὰς πατρίο[υς] κομίζηται τιμὰς μετὰ τῆς άρμοζούσης θεραπ[είας], [ἐ]ξ ἀρχῆς τυγχάνομεν τεταγμένοι, τῶν δὲ κ[ατὰ]

### Fragments (b+a+c)

24 [Κο]ίλ'η'ν Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην πραγμάτων οὐκ ἐχόντων [τὸν τα]σσόμενον πρὸς τῆι τούτων ἐπιμελείαι, κατε-[νοήσα]μεν ὅτι σωφρόνως προστήσεται τῆς εὐκοσ-

### Fragments (d+b+c)

μίας α[ὐ]τῶν Ὀλυμπιόδωρος, [τ]ὴν πίστιν ἡμῖν τῆς ὑπὲρ 28 αὐτοῦ διαλήψεως ἐκ τῶν προγεγονότων χρόνων

# Fragments (d+c)

παρεισχημένος· τραφεὶς γὰρ ὑ ϸ' ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν ἀρίστην ἐν ἄπασιν ἀπενηνεγμένος διάθεσιν, κατὰ λόγον μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος κατεστάθη, τῆς τηλικαύτης

- 32 πίστεως φανεὶς ἄξιος, δικαίως δὲ τῶν πρώτων {πρώτων} φίλων ἀπεδείχθη, τῆς {τῆς} πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλοστοργίας τὰς ἐκτενεστάτας [ἀπ]οδείξεις ποιησάμενος· ἐν δὲ τῆι τοιαύτηι γενόμενος [τάξε]ι, καὶ παρηκολουθηκὼς ὡς δια-
- 36 κείμεθα πρὸς τὸ συν[αύξειν τὰς] τῶν θεῶ{υ}ν τιμὰς ἀκολ[ούθως] τῆι τῶν προγόνων [αἰρέσει καὶ τὴ]ν Φρον[τίδα τοῦ μέρους τούτου?]

### Fragment (d)

διαπεισθέντες Ε[--] αὐτοῦ προστήσ[εται --]

# Fragment (e)

- [--]A
- [--]**ΙΣΕΙΤ**
- [--]ΟΙΠA

- 4 [--]MHN
  - [--]XOMHN
  - [--]δὲ καὶ
  - [--]έστερον
- 8 [--]τοῖς αὐτοῖς
  - [--]ΛΟΝ καὶ τοῦ ΠΑ
  - [--]ON· Εὖ οὖν ποιή-

[σεις προνοούμενος ἵνα ἐπιγραφῆι ἐν τ]οῖς συναλλάγμα-

12 [σιν τοῖς ἐπεσταλμένοις ἀκολού]θως, καὶ τὸ ἀντίγρα-[φον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς (τῆς) ἡμετέρας ἀνα]γραφὲν εἰς στήλας [λιθίνας, ἀνατεθῆι ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανεσ]τάτοις τῶν ἐν τοῖς [τόποις ἱερῶν]

Fragments (a-d): Dorymenes to Diophanes greetings. The copy of the letter handed over to us by Heliodorus who is in charge of the affairs is enclosed. You will therefore do well if you take care that everything is carried out according to the instructions. Year 134, 29 (?) of (the month of) Gorpiaios.

Heliodorus to Dorymenes his brother greetings. The copy of the order handed over to us by the king concerning the things involving Olympiodorus is appended. You will therefore do well if you follow the instructions.

Year 134, 23 (?) of (the month of) Gorpiaios.

King Seleucus to Heliodorus his brother greetings. Taking the greatest care concerning the security of our subjects, and thinking it to be of the greatest good for our affairs when those living throughout the kingdom can lead their own lives without fear, and observing at the same time that nothing can have a share in its due prosperity without the favor of the gods, we have prescribed from the start to the effect that the established sanctuaries throughout the other satrapies be provided with the ancestral honors with the proper service. However, as the affairs in Coele Syria and Phoenicia are lacking someone in charge for their (i.e. the sanctuaries') care, we observed that Olympiodorus will preside prudently over their orderly conduct, for he has won over our confidence in his judgment from times gone by. Having been raised by us and having gained for himself the best disposition in all things, he was, on the one hand, appointed chamberlain with reason, having appeared worthy of confidence of such measure, while on the other, he was justifiably introduced into the (ranks of the) First Friends, having made the most assiduous demonstrations of his affection towards us. And having been in such a rank, and having observed how we are inclined to increase the honor of the gods in accordance with the attitude of our ancestors, as well as the care for this region(?) ...

Fragment (e): ... You will therefore do well if you take care to enter him in the contracts following the instructions, and that the copy of the letter of ours be engraved on stelae made of stone, to be set up in the most conspicuous of temples in these places ...

Comm.: Fragments (a-d): ll.6, 12: Heliodorus' letter to Dorymenes (ll.7-12) was attached to Dorymenes' epistle to Diophanes (ll.1-6). Therefore, Heliodorus' missive should predate Dorymenes' message. The stone, however, exhibits an impossibility. 1.6 is dated to the 22nd ( $\kappa\beta$ ') of Gorpiaios, while 1.12 is dated to the 23rd ( $\kappa\gamma$ ') of the same month. Hence, either the beta in the first date is wrong or else the gamma in the second date was inscribed in error. There is also a remote possibility that the date of the month was wrongly inscribed in both ll.6 and 12. To make matters more complicated, the Byblos version of Heliodorus' letter to Dorymenes is dated to the 26th (xc') of Gorpiaios (Yon 93f. and 95, 1.5 of the inscription). Since the gamma in 1.12 is similar in shape to the *digamma* found in the Byblos copy, it seems likely that Heliodorus' epistle was sent either on the 23rd of Gorpiaios or on the 26th (Yon 95 claims that the different date is due to the different personnel in charge of publicizing the prostagma and the accompanying letters in Maresha and Byblos). Therefore, Dorymenes' missive must have been sent after the 23rd of Gorpiaios, or perhaps after the 26th. Since beta slightly resembles a theta, the stonemason may have wrongly inscribed a beta for the original *theta*, and the true date in 1.6 was the 29th of Gorpiaios ( $\kappa\theta$ ').

ll.7f.: The parallel text from Byblos (ll.4f.) was restored in the following fashion: [Κατακολουθεῖ]ε οὖν τοῖς vac. | [τοῖς ἐπεσταλμένοις·] (Yon 95f.). Naturally, the restoration of a second τοῖς in l.5 is superfluous.

1.20: εὐμ<ε>νείας Cotton - Wörrle. - 1.24: [Ko]ίλ<η>ν Cotton - Wörrle. - 11.25f. κατε|[νοήσα]μεν Jones; κατε|[λαμβάνο]μεν Gera. - 1.26 προστήσεται Gera; πρὸς τή[ν] Cotton - Wörrle. - 1.27: α[ὖ]τῶν Jones. The restoration supersedes Gera's ταγμ[ά]των. – 1.27 [τ]ήν Jones. This reading is superior to Gera, [δς τ]ήν. – 1.28 διαλήψεως Gera; [--]κήψεως Cotton - Wörrle. - 1.29 ύφ' Jones for the stone's ΥΘ, by private correspondence. The reading is based on a second copy of Seleucus' letter, no. 3512; (με)θ' Habicht in Gera. – 1.33 {τῆς} Jones; τῆς τῆς Gera. – 1.35 [τάξε]ι or [ἀρχῆ]ι Habicht in Gera;  $[\pi l \sigma \tau \epsilon]$ ι Bencivenni. –  $l.36 \theta \epsilon [\tilde{\omega}]$ ν Jones. – l.36 AK[3-5]Jones. However, Gera's ἀκολ[ούθως] is supported by the second copy of the royal letter from Maresha, and Jones, per litteras (November 3, 2014) now seems to accept Gera's reading of ll.36f. from ἀκολ[ούθως] up to and including Φρον[τίδα]. - 1.37 [τοῦ μέρους τούτου] Ecker - Gera - Cotton, and also Jones. Supplementary readings of this line are based on the text found in a second copy of Seleucus' letter to Heliodorus, no. 3512, where the text in ll.12f. reads [τ]οῦ μ[έρ]ους τού[του]. One problem arising from the adoption of the reading from the second copy to 1.37 is that this would make 1.37 the longest, with 47.5 letters (iota being counted as half a letter). – 1.38 δι' ἃ πεισθέντες Jones. His rejection of διαπεισθέντες is based on the fact that the verb is rare. However, the missing right side of the line must have presented a concluding sentence explaining why Olympiodorus was the ideal candidate for the post for which he was considered. In the following line the text seems to turn to Olympiodorus telling us in similar fashion to 1.26 that he would fill the job admirably. Jones' brilliant restoration, δι' ἃ πεισθέντες, briefly summarizes the royal reasoning, leaving us without anything with which we can fill the right-hand side of 1.38. – 1.39 προστήσ[εται] Jones; προς τῆς Gera.

Fragment (e): Jones' restored text seems to be better suited to the presumed length of the lines in fragment (e), which presumably were roughly equal in length to those of the inscription's upper portion. – l.11 [σεις φροντίζων ἵν' αὐτόν] Gera. – l.12 [σιν καταχωρίζηται] Gera; [σιν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις ἀκολού]θως Bencivenni. – l.13 [φον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἀνα]γραφέν Gera. – l.14 [ἀνατεθῆι ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανεσ]τάτοις Gera.

The stele's three documents are arranged in inverse chronological sequence and in ascending hierarchical order. Thus, the recipient of the first missive (ll.1-6), Diophanes, is the most lowly of the four Seleucid personalities of this dossier involved in the sending and receiving of letters. Diophanes was probably the local governor of Marisa and was answerable to Dorymenes, the author of the first epistle dated to the summer of 178 BC. Dorymenes was in all likelihood the strategos of Koilê Syria and Phoinikê at the time (Gera 2009, 138-45; accepted by Jones 100 and Yon 100f. Cotton - Wörrle 201, considered the possibility that Dorymenes served as governor of the satrapy but preferred to view him as its high priest). Dorymenes received the second note from Heliodorus (ll.7-12), and a copy of this second letter was also preserved in the fragment originating from Byblos.

Heliodorus was a well-known personality who served as prime minister ( $\delta \epsilon \pi i$ τῶν πραγμάτων) to his monarch, Seleucus IV Philopator (187-175 BC). Dorymenes' fairly high position within the Seleucid court is revealed by the fact that the chief minister addresses him as brother (1.7: τῶι ἀδελφῶι), and the same form of corteous approach recurs once more in the third document sent to Heliodorus by none other than the king himself (l.13). Until the publication of this stele, the only testimony to this form of epistolary address by the Seleucids in inscriptions was in a letter sent by Antiochus IX(?) to Ptolemaeus X Alexander (109 BC; C. Welles, Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period, 1934, 71 l.1f.). However, the first two books of the Maccabees, as well as Josephus, quote Seleucid documents in which their kings turn to their ministers, sometimes calling them "father," sometimes "brother." The use of the familial form of address by Seleucus IV and by Heliodorus furnishes important testimony that this formulaic address is not a literary invention. It would also seem that preference of choosing one title or the other was left to the king, or in cases when the king was not involved in the epistolary exchange, to the more distinguished party among the correspondents (Cotton - Wörrle 199-201; Gera 2009, 144f.).

Turning to the partly preserved king's missive, sections of which also appear in the other copy from Maresha, no. 3512, as well as in the Byblos copy, it is concerned with the need to properly administer things related to the sacred in the Seleucid satrapy of Koilê Syria and Phoinikê (ll.14-25) and with the perfect suitability of a certain Olympiodorus for the post (ll.25ff.; the praising of Olympiodorus may have extended beyond l.38).

The Maresha stele is remarkably similar in both form and contents to a royal document issued by Seleucus' father, Antiochus III the Great, in 209 BC, concerning the appointment of a certain Nicanor to a position of trust in Seleucid Asia Minor. In the Maresha stele the document issued by the king is termed  $\pi\rho\delta\sigma\tau\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha$  (l.8), an

ordinance, while the missive penned by Heliodorus is regarded an ἐπιστολή (1.2), letter. In the two steles from Mysia and Phrygia which record the above missive of Antiochus III, the royal document is termed a prostagma, while the cover letters are referred to as epistolai (SEG 37, 1010 ll.2, 10; 54, 1353 ll.7, 8, 17 and 21 [restored]). Furthermore, the royal prostagma appears last in the two Asia Minor steles, being preceded by cover letters, an arrangement mirrored in the Maresha dossier. Hence, the more lowly officials mentioned in the Mysian and Phrygian steles appear at the beginning of the dossiers, while the highest Seleucid official, in that case the viceroy Zeuxis, is mentioned next to the king. In matters of substance, the ordinance of Antiochus III also touches upon religious matters, for the king appoints a certain Nicanor as high priest of all the temples (ἀρχιερέα τῶν ἱερῶν πάντων) in Asia Minor. Antiochus proclaims his conviction that Nicanor will properly execute his duties in matters relating to sacrifices and similar matters (κατὰ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰ λοιπά). He further declares his wish that Nicanor will be in charge of the temples and that their income and everything else would be administered by him (ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τὰς προσόδους τούτων καὶ τἆλλα διεξάγεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ; SEG 37, 1010 ll.29-40). Whereas Nicanor's powers are specifically recounted in Antiochus the Great's prostagma, details concerning Olympiodorus' competence would have been spelled out in the missing lower section of the Maresha stele. Cotton and Wörrle, while raising the possibility that Olympiodorus was appointed to be the high priest of Koilê Syria and Phoinikê, preferred to ascribe him the position of έπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν, an overseer appointed "for the specific purpose of exercising close control ... over the assets, revenues and liabilities of the sanctuaries in the satrapy" (Cotton - Wörrle 197f., 201). However, the additional three fragments, not available to the first editors, have shown that Olympiodorus was a member of the Seleucid court, a position never attested for officials with the title of ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν, but manifestly documented for Seleucid high priestesses and high priests. Furthermore, by comparing Olympiodorus' advancement in the court of Seleucus IV, as seen in the additional fragments, with the prostagma of Antiochus III it became evident that the career of Nicanor, the high priest, and that of Olympiodorus followed a similar pattern. Both men began their careers as chamberlains; Nicanor was appointed δ ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος by Antiochus III while Olympiodorus received the same posting from Seleucus IV. After this appointment, Nicanor is mentioned as being affiliated to the King' Friends, while Olympiodorus was accepted into the circle of the First Friends of Seleucus IV (the idea that Olympiodorus, like Nicanor, was syntrophos of the king should now be abandoned. See the comment on 1.29. Hence, there is a difference between the careers of the two men in that respect, pace Gera 2009, 132). The affinity between the prostagma of Antiochus III and the ordinance of his son, and the similar pattern of the careers of Nicanor the high priest and Olympiodorus, suggest that the latter, too, held the office of high priest, but in the satrapy of Koilê Syria and Phoinikê, not in Seleucid Asia Minor. Corroboration for this thesis may be found in fragment (e) l.11 in which the words [ἐν τ]οῖς συναλλάγμα|[σιν], in the contracts, may be restored. This combination, and parallel ones, ordering that

the names of the priests be inscribed in contracts, appear in other Seleucid royal commands discussing the appointment of high priestesses and high priests.

Hence, Olympiodorus must have been appointed by Seleucus IV as high priest (Gera 2009, 133-7). In his prostagma, Seleucus gave expression to his hope that Olympiodorus would prudently preside over the propriety (εὐκοσμία) of the satrapy's temples (ll.26f.). Such language, according to Jones, would seem to be more in tune with a description of a priest officiating in a temple, than with that of an overseer exercising monetary control over it. Jones further provides the analogy (104) of Timarchus son of Menedemus, who was appointed temple warden (νεωκόρος) in the sanctuary of Artemis at Sardis because of his ability to maintain worship and propriety (θεραπείαν καὶ εὐκοσμίαν) in it (W. Buckler - D. Robinson, Sardis VII 1932, 10ff. no. 4). A key question with regard to the king's prostagma is his motive for appointing Olympiodorus to his assumed position as high priest. In his ordinance, Seleucus claims that whereas the sanctuaries in the other satrapies received the proper care, those placed in Koilê Syria and Phoinikê lacked someone who would take care of them, hence his appointment of Olympiodorus (ll.14-27). This explanation has been taken at face value (Ameling). Yet, Seleucus IV had plenty of opportunities in the first full nine years of his reign to redress the unsatisfactory administration of the temples in Koilê Syria and Phoinikê. Furthermore, the king's prostagma preceded the final date for the payment of monies owed to Rome as a result of the treaty of Apamea, by about a year. Hence, it is suggested that the appointment of Olympiodorus as high priest carried with it the same monetary competence detailed in Antiochus III's prostagma concerning Nicanor. The latter was high priest of all the temples in Seleucid Asia Minor with authority to administer all the proceeds of the temples there. Presumably, Olympiodorus was sent over to Koilê Syria and Phoinikê with the brief of exercising his authority over the temples and their finances to collect funds earmarked for the payment of the Seleucid monetary obligations to Rome. Thus, his appointment as high priest held the potential of leading to a confrontation with the various peoples of the satrapy (Gera 147f.). However, what we do hear is of a story reporting a clash between the Jews and the Seleucid government, represented by Seleucus' prime minister, Heliodorus, who comes to Jerusalem with instructions from Seleucus to lay hands on the surplus money deposited in the temple. The Jewish source reporting this story ends it with a miraculous and edifying outcome in which divine beings thwart Heliodorus' attempt to pillage the temple, turning the Seleucid minister into an admirer of the powers of the almighty (2 Macc 3,4-40).

The Olympiodorus stele seems to provide us with a link to the Heliodorus story of 2 Maccabees. One way of tying together the story and the inscription is to claim that as a result of Olympiodorus' monetary mission, relations between the Jews and the Seleucid government escalated, setting off the Heliodorus affair (Cotton - Wörrle 202f.). An alternative solution takes into account Olympiodorus' higher standing as the satrapy's high priest, but also the presumed Jewish discomfort with the idea of a Greek priest with authority over the divinely ordained Jewish high priest and

with powers inside the Jerusalem temple. Therefore, it is suggested that it was only Olympiodorus who clashed with the Jerusalem temple authorities over the question of the temple's treasury, but the author of the 2 Maccabees story replaced him with the entirely secular Heliodorus, a much more renowned personality than Olympiodorus, but in possession of a similar sounding name (Gera 2009, 148f.). In his prostagma, Seleucus IV is taking the credit for bringing about a fundamental change in the administration of the temples in Koilê Syria and Phoinikê. Whether this new policy had any effect on the relations between the Seleucid government and the non-Jewish elements in the satrapy, we do not know. However, prior to the enactment of the ordinance of Seleucus IV, the life of the Jews in Jerusalem and around it had been regulated by a prostagma of Seleucus' father, Antiochus III the Great, and a programma said to have been issued during his reign (Jos. AJ 12,138-144, 145-146). Through the prostagma of Antiochus III, the authenticity of which does not seem to be in doubt, the king ensured the flow of money into the temple destined to provide it with sacrificial animals, wine, oil and frankincense. The giving of donations in kind was regulated as well. Furthermore, the king gave privileges to the priests and to other segments of the Jerusalem society, especially those linked with the temple. The result of these benefits, and others listed in the prostagma, was to ensure the leading role of the priests within Jewish society thus acquiring their loyalty to the Seleucid crown. As for the programma, we cannot be sure of its authenticity. However, if this document is indeed genuine, then it saw to the expansion of sanctity to the whole city of Jerusalem, giving the priests the powers to police it. It would seem then that Seleucus, by issuing a new prostagma, undermined the regulatory actions of his father. The ordinance of Antiochus III was not abolished, nor was the Seleucid programma, if we hold it to be authentic. But the Seleucid high priest, Olympiodorus and his successors after him, had the authority to intervene in the affairs of the temple, destabilize the leading role of the priests, and encourage the members of the Jerusalem priesthood to compete for the favors of the Seleucid high priest. Thus, the ordinance of Seleucus IV fundamentally changed the relations between the crown and the Jews, and weakened the bulwark of support for the Seleucid kingdom, the Jerusalem priesthood. Thus, the administrative reform of Seleucus IV was to play a no mean part in the deterioration of relations between the Seleucids and the Jews in the days that followed the reign of Seleucus IV, during the time of his brother Antiochus IV (Gera 2009, 146-48; id. 2014).

Bibl.: H. Cotton - M. Wörrle, ZPE 159, 2007, 191-205; D. Gera, ZPE 169, 2009, 125-55 (edd. pr.). - L. Capdetrey, Le pouvoir séleucide, 2007, 173, 229, 273f., 281, 325f., 466; S. Laurant, Le monde de la Bible 179, 2007, 38; SEG 57, 1838; Y. Goren, ZPE 159, 2007, 206-16; B. Alpert - I. Stern, HA-ESI 119, 2007 (www.hadashot-esi.org.il/Report\_Detail\_Eng.aspx?id=499&mag\_id=112, viewed: 13.12.2016); L. Grabbe, A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period 2, 2008, 57f., 327f.; I. Stern, NEA 72, 2009, 60f.; C. Jones, ZPE 171, 2009, 100-4; BE 2010, 608; D. Gera, Qadmoniot 43, 2010, 21-5 (Hebr.); E. Villeneuve, Le monde de la Bible 191, 2010, 40ff. at 41f.; SEG 60, 1723; T. Grüll, ACD 46, 2010, 9-19; A. Bencivenni, ZPE 176, 2011, 139-53 at 153; BE 2012, 476; G. Finkielsztejn, in: V. Chankowski - P. Karvonis eds., Tout

vendre, tout acheter, 2012, 303-17 at 316; J. Overman, in: J. DeRose Evans ed., A Companion to the Archaeology of the Roman Republic, 2013, 540-58; Figueras, Pagan Image 103 fig. 566; W. Eck, Rationes Rerum 1, 2013, 17-38 at 25; A. Ecker - D. Gera - H. Cotton, in: New Studies 8, 153-8 (Hebr.); I. Stern, in: id. ed., The Excavations of Maresha Subterranean Complex 57, 2014, 1-4 at 1f., fig. 1,2; D. Gera, ibid., 109-31; D. Gera, Encyclopedia for the Bible and its Reception 11, 2015, 746-51 at 747; J.-B. Yon, in: J. Aliquot - C. Bonnet eds., La Phénicie hellénistique, 2015, 89-105; H. Cotton - A. Ecker - D. Gera, BICS 60/61, 2017, 1-15. – Cf. W. Ameling, in: S. Kreuzer - M. Meiser - M. Sigismund eds., Die Septuaginta – Entstehung, Sprache, Geschichte, 2012, 337-59; D. Gera, in: M.-F. Baslez - O. Munnich eds., La mémoire des persécutions, 2014, 21-57.

Photo: E. Posner, courtesy of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

DG

# 3512. A Second Copy of the Ordinance of Seleucus IV Philopator concerning Olympiodorus, 178 BC

On October 9, 2013 W. Eck spotted a Hellenistic decree inscribed on a broken stele in the Beth Shemesh warehouse of the Israel Antiquities Authority. The text was soon identified as identical with a section of the already published letter sent by Seleucus IV to Heliodorus concerning the appointment of Olympiodorus, no. 3511. The card accompanying the slab conveyed the information that the stone had been handed over to the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums by Kibbutz Ma'oz Haim and that the findspot of the inscription was Maresha/Beit Guvrin. The double entry was puzzling, as Ma'oz Haim is located in the Beth She'an valley in North Israel and is about 150 km away from Maresha to the south. However, the person mostly responsible for the archaeological collection of the kibbutz had been Mr. Avshalom Ya'acobi, who was in his nineties at the time. With the assistance of Ms Adi Ziv-Asoudry, the curator of the IAA of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods and a native of the kibbutz, and with the help of Mr Ya'acobi's family, Miriam and Yo'av Ya'acobi, who were acting as intermediaries, it became clear that in 1954, while Avshalom Ya'acobi was working in the Shephelah helping a newly formed kibbutz, he found the inscription in the area of Maresha/Beit Guvrin. Later, when a call came in 1970 to assemble the country's antiquities under the aegis of the State of Israel, Mr Ya'acobi duly gave the inscribed stone to the state's Department of Antiquities and Museums. The slab was later referred to Y. Landau of the IAA, but obviously nothing came out of this.

Meas.: h 38, w 19.5, d 16.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1970-5362, on temporary loan in Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Autopsy: 9 October 2013 (WE/DK), 10 December 2013, 7 October 2014.

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[--]
ΣΩΦΡ++ΩΣΠΡΟΣΤΗ[--]
ΠΙΟΔΩΡΟΣΤΗΝΠΙΣ[--]
ΕΚΤΩΝΠΡΟΓΕΓΟΝΟ[--]
4 ΓΑΡΥΦΗΜΩΝΚΑΙΤΗ[--]
ΔΙΑΘΕΣΙΝΚΑΤΑΛ[--]
ΟΗΤΗΣΤΗΑΙΚΑΥ[--]
ΤΩΝΠΡΩΤΩΝΦΙΛΩ[--]
8 ΑΣΤΑΣΕΚΤΕΝΕΣ[--]
ΕΝΔΕΤΗΙΤΟΙΛΥΤ[--]
ΩΣΔΙΑΚΕΙΜΕΟΑ[--]
ΑΚΟΛ++ΟΩΣΤΗΙ[--]
12 ΤΟΥΜ++ΟΥΣΤΟΥ[--]
[.]ΥΚΑΙΣΧ[--]
[.]ΜΕΤΕ[--]
[.]ΤΟ[--]
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fig. 3512.1

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[--]
   σωφρ[όν]ως προστή[σεται τῆς εὐκοσμίας αὐτῶν 'Ολυμ-]
   πιόδωρος, τὴν πίσ[τιν ἡμῖν τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διαλήψεως]
   έκ τῶν προγεγονό[των χρόνων παρεισχημένος τραφείς]
   γὰρ ὑφ' ἡμῶν καὶ τὴ[ν ἀρίστην ἐν ἄπασιν ἀπενηνεγμένος]
   διάθεσιν, κατά λ[όγον μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος κατεστά-]
   [θ]η, τῆς τη λ]ικαύ[της πίστεως φανεὶς ἄξιος, δικαίως δὲ]
   τῶν πρώτων φίλω[ν ἀπεδείχθη, τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλοστοργί-]
   ας τὰς ἐκτενεσ[τάτας ἀποδείξεις ποιησάμενος]
   έν δὲ τῆι τοι α ὑτ[ηι γενόμενος τάξει, καὶ παρηκολουθηκώς]
   ώς διακείμε θ'α [πρὸς τὸ συναύξειν τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς]
   άκολού θ'ως τῆι [τῶν προγόνων αίρέσει καὶ τὴν Φροντίδα]
12 τοῦ μέρους τού[του. --]
   [. o] ὑκ αἰσχ [ρός? --]
   [.]METE[--]
   [.]TO[--]
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We observed that Olympiodorus will preside prudently over their orderly conduct, for he has won over our confidence in his judgment from times gone by. Having been raised by us and having gained for himself the best disposition in all things, he was, on the one hand, appointed chamberlain with reason, having appeared worthy

of confidence of such measure, while on the other, he was justifiably introduced into the (ranks of the) First Friends, having made the most assiduous demonstrations of his affection towards us. And having been in such a rank, and having observed how we are inclined to increase the honor of the gods in accordance with the attitude of our ancestors, as well as the care for this region ...

Comm.: *Theta* without horizontal hasta throughout; *alpha* and *lambda* were transposed twice.

The addition of this copy of the Seleucus IV prostagma to the one already published creates a unique situation. Maresha is the only known site in which two copies of the same royal ordinance were found. In such cases, as frg. (e) of the fuller text attests (no. 3511), the publicizing authority took steps to disseminate such decrees in many localities. These were to "be engraved on stelae [made of stone, to be set up in the most cons]picuous of [temples] in these [places ...]" (Gera 2009, 145). One would have expected to find just one copy of Seleucus IV's royal decree, perhaps to be located in the local temple of Apollo. However, a second copy was found, so one copy may



fig. 3512.2

have been placed on a temple of the upper city (Tel Maresha/Sandaḥanna) while the other may have been housed in a sanctuary of the lower city. Mention has been made of the two copies of a royal decree of Antiochus III regarding the appointment of Nicanor as high priest of Asia Minor. The Phrygian dossier of Antiochus III's royal document contains instructions to a certain Demetrius to set up copies of the king's ordinance and the attached documents in the topos  $\pi \epsilon \rho \lambda K_i \lambda [\lambda] \alpha \nu i \omega i$  in the sanctuaries of Zeus, Μὴν [Ἀσκ] αιηνός and Μήτηρ Θεῶν (SEG 54, 1353 ll.13-14). Thus, the inscription attests to the concentration of several copies in a limited area (Ecker - Gera - Cotton 155), but the topos of Killanion was surely more widespread than a single city. At any rate, the order in no. 3511 frg. (e) does not specify an order to set up more than one copy of the royal document on every appropriate site. This may have been the initiative of Diophanes, the assumed governor of Maresha and its environs. Alternatively, a second copy of the royal decree may point to a first attempt that failed to copy the royal letter and the attached documents. If the slab earmarked for the royal dossier had been accidentally broken while in preparation, then a new block of stone would have been chosen, and the work of the stonemason would have been resumed on this new slab.

Bibl.: See no. 3511.

Photo: WE.

# C. Honorary statues for rulers

### 3513. Honorary statue for Arsinoe III, 217-204 BC

A quadrant-shaped limestone fragment of a round pedestal or a column. The sides of the pedestal were smoothed out; left side and bottom are broken off. The upper part of the pedestal is also broken. There are some differences between the readings when compared to earlier publications. These, however, have little effect on the interpretation of the inscription.

Meas.: h 22.5 cm; smoothed-out area h 17.5 cm, ø 36 cm; longest line 26.5 cm; letters 1.8 cm.

Findspot: Under the foundations of Room G, at the corner of streets A and B, in the northeastern sector of Tel Maresha's upper city.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. S-231. Autopsy: 26 August 2013 (DG); 13 October 2013 (WE/DK).

[--]ΡΣΙΝΟΗΝΜΕΓΑΛΗΝ [--]ΟΡΑΤΗΝΕΓΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ [--]ΑΙΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ[--] [--]



fig. 3513.1

[Βασίλισσαν Ά]ρσινόην μεγάλην | [θεὰν Φιλοπάτ]ορα τὴν ἐγ βασιλέως | [Πτολεμαίου κ]αὶ βασιλίσσης [Βερενί|κης θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν -ca. 10 letters-]

(Someone) honored Queen Arsinoe the great goddess Philopator, the daughter of King Ptolemaeus and Queen Berenice the gods Euergetai ... (with a statue).

Comm.: l.1: Bliss 1900 sketches EINOHN; INOHN was read by Clermont-Ganneau 1900. l.2:  $\Omega$ PA Bliss 1900; [ $\theta$ εἀν?,  $\theta$ ιλοπάτ]( $\theta$ ) $\theta$ α Clermont-Ganneau 1900. The partially preserved first character looks like the right half of a circle. Below this shape there is a horizontal line which does not seem to connect to the half circle. If one sees them as joined together, as Bliss probably did, then a partial *omega* may be suggested for the first letter of the line. Since the two forms do not seem to converge, and the circular shape seems to come from a different hand than the horizontal stroke, a partial *omicron* is here suggested. ll.2f.: [ $-\delta$ ] $\omega$  $\rho$ [εὰν] τὴν ἐγ βασιλέως | [καὶ] βασιλίσσης Murray.

Already Clermont-Ganneau saw that the person honored was Arsinoe III, sister and wife of Ptolemaeus IV Philopator (Avi-Yonah and Thiel mistakenly labeled her as Arsinoe II). Both she and her husband were venerated as Theoi Philopa-

tores from 217 BC on; she died in 204. For inscriptions mentioning the royal couple in this way, see OGIS 88; T. Mitford, ABSA 56, 1961, 15 no. 39; A. Bernand, Pan du désert, 1977, nos. 77, 85; id., Les inscriptions grecques de Philae I, 1969, nos. 5, 7 (PHI). For the restoration which is necessary to give lines with a roughly equal beginning, see e.g.: Βασίλισσαν Άρσινόην θεὰν Φιλοπάτορα (SEG 8, 453; 33, 674). When Arsinoe and her husband toured Pales-

tine after the battle of Raphia, the people of the satrapy spared no expense in order to honor their king and his wife, and the natives of Jerusalem are said to have followed suit, welcoming the king into their city (Polyb. 5,83,1-87,6;



fig. 3513.2



fig. 3513.3

3 Macc 1,4-2,25). Against this background Clermont-Ganneau's suggestion that the monument from Maresha was erected to honor Queen Arsinoe makes sense. His suggestion was that the queen's statue and inscription were erected while the royal couple was on its way to Jerusalem. Since the discovery of the honorary inscription of Arsinoe III, other inscriptions have been discovered: a monument for Ptolemaeus IV Philopator from the vicinity of Tyre (SEG 7, 326), on behalf of Ptolemaeus IV and Arsinoe III from near Ras Baalbek (SEG 38, 1571), and a statue honoring the king from Jaffa (CIIP III 2172). These are often linked with the victorious royal tour of 217 BC (Huss; Gera 12 n.37). This may well be the case. However, an inscription from Tyre (J. Rey-Coquais, Inscriptions grecques et latines de Tyr, 2006, 18) does not fit into Ptolemaeus' parade of 217, because it was erected by the strategos Thraseas, whereas Polyb. 5,87,6 tells us that Andromachus of Aspendos was installed as strategos in 217. Therefore, it cannot be said with certainty that the Maresha inscription honoring Arsinoe, and the three other inscriptions from Jaffa and Phoenicia had all been set up during the victorious march of Ptolemaeus IV Philopator and Arsinoe III through the satrapy.

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, CRAI 1900, 536ff. (ed. pr.). – F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 334f.; A. Murray, PEQ 33, 1901, 59; Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 4, 1901, 152ff.; id., PEQ 33, 1901, 54-8 at 54ff.; F. Bliss, ibid., 307; RB 10, 1901, 88-92 at 88ff.; C. Wilson, PEQ 34, 1902, 198-227 at 220; Bliss - Macalister 68f.; BE 1903 p. 103; M. Strack, APF 2, 1903, 544 no. 21; Schürer I,2, 4-7 n.8; P. Thomsen, ZDPV MN 15, 1909, 33-44 at 37f.; A. Schalit, ASTI 1, 1962, 109-60 at 114, 146f.; Schürer II,2, 4f. n.8; W. Huss, Untersuchungen zur Außenpolitik Ptolemaios' IV., 1976, 71f., 262; A. Kloner, EAEHL 3, 1977, 782-91 at 784; Keel - Küchler 858; M. Avi-Yonah, NEAEHL 3, 1993, 950;

P. Schäfer, The History of the Jews in the Greco-Roman World, 2003, 22; Tal, Archaeology 66 (Hebr.); Thiel 2007, 153; L. Grabbe, A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period 2, 2008, 59. – Cf. D. Gera, Judaea and Mediterranean Politics, 219 to 161 B.C.E., 1998, 12-8.

Photo: WE; Bliss - Macalister 69 fig. 31 (dr.).

DG

# 3514. Honorary statue for Ptolemaeus IV Philopator (?), 217-204 BC

A limestone fragment, now presumably lost, but of which a drawing is preserved. The stone is "slightly curved" (Bliss - Macalister; cf. Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 4, 1901, 154 n.1). This suggests that the fragment was part of a column or a circular pedestal. The left side of the drawing is straight, suggesting that nothing is lost on that flank. The fragment consists of two lines, of which the lower one has five almost fully preserved characters, but only two partial letters appear in l.1. While a reading of the characters in l.2 has been offered, no similar attempt has been made to read the letters in l.1.

Meas.: h 3.7, w 10.4 cm; letters 2.2 cm (based on the sketch made by F. Bliss).

Findspot: On the slopes of Tel Maresha.

ПฺТ[--] ВЕРЕNІК[--]

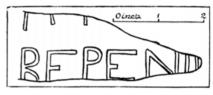


fig. 3514

[Βασιλέα Πτολεμαΐον θεὸν | Φιλοπάτορα τὸν ἐγ βασιλέως] | Πτ[ολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης] | Βερενίκ[ης θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν | -ca. 22 letters-]

(Someone) honored King Ptolemaeus, god Philopator(?), the son of King Ptolemaeus and Queen(?) Berenice, the gods Euergetai(?) (with a statue).

Comm.: C. Clermont-Ganneau restored in l.1: [Βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον μέγαν θεόν].

The presence in Maresha of a statue base for Queen Arsinoe III, on which an honorary inscription was engraved (see no. 3513), has led Clermont-Ganneau to believe that a similar act of loyalty and devotion would have been directed at her husband, Ptolemaeus IV Philopator. Accordingly, he restored the text of the honorary inscription for the king, suggesting that it was a mirror image of the language used to pay homage for the queen. The restored text was not divided into lines, although Clermont-Ganneau expressed his belief that it would fit into four lines. An idea as to the approximate length of the lines may be gleaned from the partial characters in l.1, according to the sketch presented by Bliss. The first letter is undoubtedly a pi, while what remains of the second letter, a vertical downward stroke, may

point to several letters including an eta, iota, or rho. However, in the context of this particular fragment, with the name Berenice written in the line below, there can be little doubt that the second character of l.1 must be a tau, from the name Ptolemaeus. Thus l.1, with 21 letters (iotas are counted as half a letter), furnishes an approximate length to each of our four lines. This would suggest that Ptolemaeus' title in l.1f. is the more prevalent form of his accumulated titles βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος θεὸς Φιλοπάτωρ. See IG 12,6,1, 348; SB 4, 7453. The same title is also attested when referring to the king and queen together: OGIS I 88; T. Mitford, ABSA 56, 1961, 15 no. 39; A. Bernand, Pan du désert, 1977, nos. 77, 85; id., Les inscriptions grecques de Philae I, 1969, nos. 5, 7 (PHI). In other words, it is suggested that the honorary inscription for Ptolemaeus IV Philopator did not refer to the king as <math>μέγας or μεγάλος, while the inscription honoring Arsinoe did refer to the queen as μεγάλη. If we are wrong, then it must be assumed that the length of the inscription's first line (or perhaps even the first two lines) was significantly different from the length of ll.3 and 4, the two lines represented in our fragment.

Ptolemaeus bore the title theos since 217 BC.

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, CRAI 1900, 536ff. (ed. pr.). – F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 335f.; C. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 33, 1901, 54ff.; id. RAO 4, 1901, 152ff.; C. Conder, PEQ 33, 1901, 59; RB 10, 1901, 88-92 at 90; C. Wilson, PEQ 34, 1902, 198-227 at 220; Bliss – Macalister 70; M. Strack, APF 2, 1903, 544 no. 21; Schürer I,2, 4-7 n.8; P. Thomsen, ZDPV MN 15, 1909, 33-44 at 37f.; Hengel, Judentum und Hellenismus 115f.; Schürer II,2, 4f. n.8; W. Huss, Untersuchungen zur Außenpolitik Ptolemaios' IV., 1976, 71f., 262; A. Kloner, EAEHL 3, 1977, 782-91 at 784; Keel - Küchler 858; ESI 4, 1985, 64 (=HA 87, 38f. [Hebr.]); M. Avi-Yonah, NEAEHL 3, 1993, 950; Tal, Archaeology 66 (Hebr.); Thiel 2007, 153.

Photo: Bliss - Macalister 70 fig. 32 (dr.).

DG

# D. Inscription of public character

### 3515. An inscribed standard measure, 143/2 BC

The standard measure ( $\tau \delta \ \sigma \eta \kappa \omega \mu \alpha$ ), fashioned from a large block of limestone (qirton), was found broken in two. Complete, it had had the general appearance of a chest. The upper rectangular surface is framed by a raised rim ca. 4.5 cm wide. This surface is perforated by four upside-down bell-shaped cavities arranged in a row. These serve as funnels. The openings of the funnels are circular, and each one is crowned with a raised inscribed rim (b). The opening of Funnel I, on the left, has the smallest diameter, while those of Funnels II, III, and IV are gradually larger. Similarly, the funnels vary in storage space: Funnel I has the smallest capacity, while the volume of Funnel IV, on the right, is the largest. The four funnels are not exactly

identical in shape; a cylindrical drain was drilled from the bottom part of each funnel to the stone's base. The opening of each of these drain pipes at the bottom protrudes from the stone's face. Presumably, corks were used to cap the contents of the funnels and the pipes. When sealed, the four funnels and their drain pipes could hold liquids roughly at a ratio of 1:2:4:8, one unit being roughly equal to 0.06 of a liter. With the removal of the stops from the mouths of the drain pipes, the contents would be emptied at the bottom of this installation, where they could be collected in containers prepared in advance. Beside the four funnels, there was a shallow conduit at the top face of the stone, placed at their back. The channel was designed to collect any spilled liquids and lead them to the stone's left side beyond Funnel I. Here, another drainpipe was drilled, again leading to the bottom of the stone. The conduit indicates that the sekoma was used for measuring liquids (Finkielsztein). Five protomes of lions were sculpted on this block of stone. One of them is placed on the left narrow side of the stone before the conduit's drain pipe, while each of the other four fronts one of the funnels on the wide vertical face of the stone. An incised vertical line between the second and third protomes divides the sekoma in two almost equal parts (ca. 37 and 33 cm respectively). There is a long inscription, which runs above the four protomes (a). In the case of inscription (b), the rims of the funnels were inscribed, with each inscription denoting the capacity of its funnel. Originally, the incised letters were filled with red paint meant to make the inscriptions more readable. However, the rims of the funnels, most notably those of Funnels II, III and IV, have become weathered with use, hampering the reading of the inscriptions. The inscriptions were incised anti-clockwise, leaving considerable and irregular spaces between the letters. The starting point of each inscription was inscribed in a different location on the circular rims, but mostly around the point corresponding to 6 o'clock.

Meas.: h 13.5, w 70.8, d 21.9 cm (without the protruding elements); letters 0.7-1.3 cm (a).

Findspot: Maresha, Area 100, within an insula of the lower city lying adjacent to the upper city's northwestern fortifications, at the foot of a tall tower (A. Kloner - G. Finkielsztejn - Y. Arbel 1998, 155f., figs. 1-2; reg. nos. 9/93.100.214.978; 9/93.100.214.996).

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. 1997-3489. Autopsy: 15 Oktober 2013 (WE/DK).



fig. 3515.1

(a) LOPAΓΟΡ[.]NOMΟΥΝΤΩΝΑΝΤΙΓΙΑΕ[--]ΑΩΡΟΥΚΑΙΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΑΜΟΥΤΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ[..]

(b) Funnel Ι: ΕΚΚΑΙΔ[..]ATON

Funnel II:  $O[.]\Delta OON$ Funnel III: TET[.]PT[.]N

Funnel IV:  $\Delta I \Lambda I K \Delta OT[.] \Lambda ION$  (hedera)

- (a) ("Έτους) ορ' ἀγορ[α]νομούντων Ἀντιπά[τρου τοῦ Ἡλιο]δώρου καὶ Ἀριστοδάμου τοῦ Ἡρίστον[ος?]
- (b) Funnel I: Έκκαιδ[έκ]ατον
   Funnel II: "Ο[γ]δοον
   Funnel III: Τέτ[α]ρτ[ο]ν
   Funnel IV: Δι{λι}κ{δ}οτ[ύ]λιον
- (a) Year 170, the agoranomoi being Antipater son of Heliodorus and Aristodamus son of Ariston(?).
- (b) Funnel I: one sixteenth.
  Funnel II: one eighth.
  Funnel III: one quarter.
  Funnel IV: two kotylai.

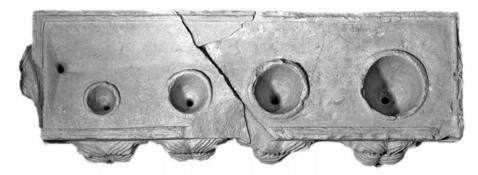


fig. 3515.2

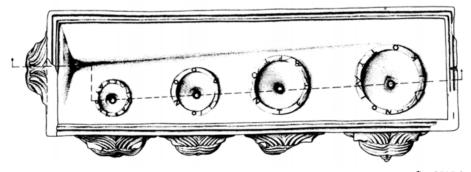


fig. 3515.3

Comm.: (a) Ed. pr. read 'Αντιπά [τρου]; Gatier (BE 2001): 'Αρίστον [ος].

The script is lapidary, despite the fact that the limestone is soft and conducive to a cursive script. The letter forms are entirely consistent with the inscription's date, year 170 Seleucid era, i.e. 143/2 BC.

The inscription attests that Marisa had two agoranomoi who had the authority to verify and sanction various standards: of measure, and of weight too (cf. no. 3674), so that the trade of foodstuffs and liquids would be conducted fairly, with the parties being aware of the volume or weight of the merchandise sold or bought. The existence of the magistracy of the agoranomoi attests that Marisa had a certain level of civic institutions. This is hardly surprising in an urban center in which statues and inscriptions honoring the Ptolemies were erected (nos. 3513, 3514) and in which a Seleucid royal prostagma with attached correspondence was set up (no. 3511). Unfortunately, we do not know whether Marisa had attained the status of a polis by 143/2, a distinction which the township clearly possessed in the mid 1 c. BC.

Passing on to the names and patronymics of the agoranomoi, the restoration 'Αντιπά[τρου] suggested by Finkielsztejn was vindicated by a later publication of an inscribed lead weight (see no. 3674). The weight, like this inscription, is dated to year 170 Seleucid era, and it mentions the agoranomoi Antipater son of Heliodorus and Aristodamus (sic) son of Ariston(?). Although the spelling of the names on the weight is fraught with difficulties, it is obvious that the two agoranomoi have the same names and patronymics as those of the standard measure. Thus, the weight can be attributed with certainty to Maresha, although we do not know where it was found. The first agoranomos mentioned in the inscription has a relatively popular Greek name, Antipater. The name recurs among members of the Herodian royal family, of Idumean stock. The most notable was Herod's father, Antipater I. The reading of Antipater's father's name, ['Ηλιο]δώρου, following the suggestion of A. Kushnir-Stein, is assured, since the two agoranomoi of the weight are identical with the ones in the inscription. The Greek name Heliodorus "gift of the sun" is only to be expected in Maresha, since the local god, Kos, was identified with Apollo, who was equated with the sun. The name appears five times in the Hermopolis Magna lists of Ptolemaic soldiers of Idumean descent (SB 1, 599 I, 1.13; 4206 I, 1.75, III, 206 bis; 5, 8066 II, 1.135). The name of the other agoranomos, Aristodamus, is attested four times in SB 5, 8066, although a variant spelling is used, Άριστόδημος (I, l.28, III, ll.166, 183, 186). After APIΣTON the stone is broken, allowing to restore three additional letters at most. This would suggest that the name of Aristodamus' father was actually Ariston (Ἀρίστων), but that the genitive form strays from the regular form (Ἀρίστωνος). Gatier (BE 2001) found the evident solution: ω>0. The name Ἀρίστων recurs in the lists of the Ptolemaic soldiers of Idumean extraction serving in Egypt (SB 1, 599 III, l.185; 681 I, 1.37, II, 1.77, III, 1.96?; 4206 I, 1.43 bis, II, 1.141, III, 1.199; 5, 8066 III, 1.207).

(b) Ed. pr. read  $\tau \acute{\epsilon}[\tau] \alpha [\rho \tau o] \nu$ , one quater.

Funnel III: for the location of the various characters: first *tau* - 6 o'clock; *alpha* - 4 o'clock; second *tau* - 3 o'clock; *rho* - 2 o'clock; third *tau* - 12 o'clock; *omicron* - 11:30; *nu* - 8 o'clock.

Funnel IV: location of the letters: first delta - 5:30; iota - 5 o'clock; lambda -5 o'clock; second iota - 2:45; kappa - 1:45; delta - 12:45; omicron - 12:15; tau -11 o'clock; partial second lambda - 8:45; third iota - 8 o'clock; second omicron - 7 o'clock; nu - 6:15; hedera - 6 o'clock. The reading here adds characters and signs not noted in the ed. pr. However, Finkielsztein did notice the superfluous first lambda (or delta) and suggested that the person writing the inscription was of two minds where to place the various letters. Passing to measuring systems used for the four funnels of the standard table, it may be noticed that one system of measurements applies to Funnels I, II and III and another to Funnel IV. The first three funnels are one sixteenth, one eighth, and a quarter of a measure not revealed to us, while Funnel IV is named dikotylai, or two kotylai. The kotylē is a measure for both wet and dry products, and in Athens four kotylai were equal to one *choinix*. Thus, the capacity for Funnel IV equals half a *choinix*. Finkielsztejn has demonstrated that the capacity of Funnel III (the drain-pipe included) is half the capacity of Funnel IV. Therefore, the capacity of Funnel III is one kotylē or a quarter of a *choinix*. Since the inscription on Funnel III reads Τέτ[α]ρτ[ο]ν, a quarter, the measure nomenclature used for Funnels I-III was the choinix. The capacity of Funnel I was one sixteenth of a choinix, that of Funnel II was one eighth of a choinix, and the capacity that went into Funnel III was double of that amount.

Bibl.: G. Finkielsztejn, Atiqot 38, 1999, 51-64 at 55f. (ed. pr.). – A. Kloner - G. Finkielsztejn - Y. Arbel, ESI 17, 1998, 157 [=HA 105, 145 (Hebr.)]; SEG 49, 2068; D. Rosenthal, Cathedra 92, 1999, 7-48 at 43 (Hebr.); BE 2001, 499; B. Bar-Kochva, Cathedra 100, 2001, 121-64 at 129 (Hebr.); A. Kushnir-Stein, IEJ 52, 2002, 226 no. 2 fig. 2; G. Finkielsztejn, Le monde de la Bible 140, 2002, 57; id., in: M. Sartre ed., La Syrie Hellénistique, 2003, 465-84 at 467, 472; BE 2003, 594; L. Di Segni, IMSA 4, 2005, 23-46 at 25; Tal, Archaeology 311 (Hebr.); G. Finkielsztejn, in: R. Descat ed., Approches de l'économie hellénistique, 2006, 17-34 at 20; E. Eshel - A. Kloner - É. Puech, BASOR 345, 2007, 39-62 at 40; G. Finkielsztejn, in: M. Sartre ed., Productions et échanges en Syrie hellénistique et romaine, 2007, 35-60 at 38f., 48; A. Kloner, NEAEHL 5, 2008, 1918-1925 at 1921; G. Finkielsztejn, Maresha III 176f., 179, 187f. no. 9; SEG 60, 1739; G. Finkielsztejn, in: V. Chankowski - P. Karvonis eds., Tout vendre, tout acheter. Structures et équipements des marchés antiques, 2012, 303-17 at 304ff., 310, 312; id., in: Capdetrey - Hasenohr, Agoranomes et édiles 148.

Photo: IAA; G. Finkielsztejn, Atiqot 38, 1999, 53 (dr.).

# E. Funerary inscriptions

# 3516.-3574. Eastern necropolis, Tomb E I with the so-called animal frieze

In 1902, on the occasion of Peters' and Thiersch's visit to Maresha, they were shown four tombs, of which two, Tomb E I (=551 on the plan fig. A below) and Tomb E II (=552 on the plan and cf. nos. 3575-3589), were richly decorated with wall paintings (see plans below figs. A-C). Naturally, these murals, originally created more than two millenia earlier, were not in pristine condition. Added damage was brought on by the earlier discovery of the caves by the local population, ca. 1900 (Peters - Thiersch 1f.). This occasioned a willful destruction of the human images that had been incorporated in the paintings. Nevertheless, the descriptions supplied by Peters and Thiersch, and the plates accompanying their publication, although very problematic (see below), reveal the multicolored nature of the designs.

In Tomb E I (so-called Sidonian cave, see figs. D-F below), this was apparent upon entering Vestibule A and viewing the paintings above and to the sides of the doorway leading to Burial Hall D. This opening is crowned by a wreath, suggested by Peters and Thiersch to have been designed by a later hand. At eye level, the opening was flanked by a pair of roosters, each standing on a horizontal twig. The branch, too, was accompanied by a wreath. Each cock was painted as if walking away from the doorway, but the heads of both were turned backwards as if to monitor the comings and goings. The birds were drawn in black lines, but their combs, the folds of their flesh and the tail feathers were painted red, as were the branches upon which they had been standing. Lower down on the righthand side of the doorway there was a drawing of Cerberus, the three-headed dog guarding the entrance to the world of the dead. Cerberus' front head is directed towards the doorway, while the other two are turned backward. The ears are upright and triangular, and the tail is extremely long. All three necks of this mythological animal have black collars, while the body is sketched with black lines (see no. 3532 with figs.). The painting of Cerberus at the doorway leading to the burial hall seems to serve as a marker of the border between the world of the living and that of the dead. The same may perhaps be said with regard to the roosters. This animal appears on tombstones, sarcophagi and urns, and therefore seems to be connected in some way with cultic customs related to the dead (F. Orth, RE 8,2, col. 2533).

Rooms B and C were decorated with a wavy band frieze livened up with dabs of red and black, representing flowers and leaves. The frieze was placed high on the walls, above the gabled loculi.

Burial Hall D has a series of gabled loculi to the right and to the left. The fronts of the dividing walls that separate each loculus from its neighbor were decorated with a design resembling plinted columns with capitals. The base of these decora-

tive pillars was painted reddish brown, while the body was painted gray, creating the impression of fluted ionic columns. Above the columns, olive wreaths were painted with brown ribbons hanging from them. Above that ran a frieze beginning with a hunting scene and inhabited by people, animals and mythological creatures (see fig. E below). This section was surmounted by a wavy band, similar to the ones found in Chambers B and C. Other elements were portrayed on the outer wall of niche E. The corners of this pedimented opening were filled with two large eagles with their wings spread out to the extent that the outer wing of the northern fowl extends to the northern wall of Room D.

Below the northern eagle, a red podium was painted, and above it there was a representation of a three-legged table. The table's legs were shaped like paws of a lion. The table had a bright yellow color, suggesting a likeness to a golden tripod. Above it stood an incense burner, its three legs shaped like griffons. The vessel was painted white but outlined in black. Red rays indicating a bursting fire emerged from the burner's opening. The opposite southern section of this wall may have been similarly decorated, but the damaged condition in which it was found limits our knowledge concerning the original mural. Visible on this wall were a red painted podium and a partial, different looking, incense burner. Red flames seem to have burst out from the top of this vessel as well (Peters -Thiersch, frontispiece; Jacobson, Marisa, frontispiece and pl. 10). Moving to the inner wall of recess E, each of the fluted pilasters flanking the doorway had a red disk decoration just below the capital. The disk was filled with a six-petal black flower. The architrave above the capitals was painted red, as were the pilasters. However, the abaci remained unpainted, as did two middle sections in the pilasters. Thus a pattern of red (architrave), white (non-painted capital), red (decorated disk), white (unpainted section of the pilasters) and red (lower part of the pilasters) colored the doorway in niche E. The architrave was surmounted by a frieze of the Doric order with metopes and triglyphs, the latter being painted light blue. Above the frieze there was a cornice that was crowned in its turn with a triangular pediment, the center of which was ornamented with a palm leaf outlined in black with leafy scrolls on the sides. The edges of the gable, and the acroteria as well, were painted red. A design of two large black-bodied amphorae flanked the decorated doorway. However, the amphora on the right had a white lid, red fillets and a pink central band, while the other vessel was capped by a red stop, was decorated with pink fillets and had a red central band.

In the years following the discovery and publication of painted Tombs E I and E II, colorful depictions quickly faded, ultimately disappearing altogether (Jacobson, Marisa 21, with references to earlier documentation and literature). Recent visitors to these underground burial sites may perhaps be unaware of the fact, due to the 1993 restoration of the multicolored interior by the Israel Antiquities Authority (A. Kloner - Y. Roman - Y. Shkolnik, Eretz Magazine 8, 1993, 53-8; Jacobson, Marisa 21). However, Jacobson's later study (2007) has taught us that the process leading to the publication of the plates in the essential report of

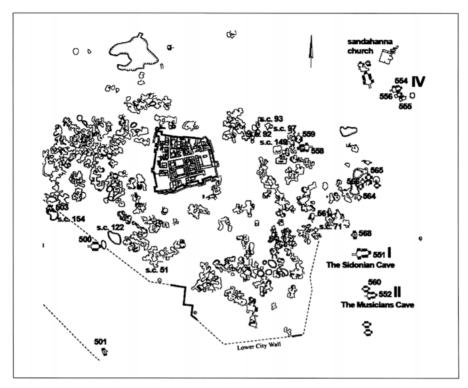


fig. 3516.A The city, subterranean complexes and tombs, Zissu - Kloner 2015, 101 fig. 1 (dr. by N. Graicer - A. Kloner, after Bliss - Macalister, IAA)

Peters and Thiersch, which also formed the basis for the restoration, casts serious doubts on their credibility. The photographer, Chalil Raad, documented the findings of Peters and Thiersch. However, his monochrome photographs could only partly express the views seen by Peters and Thiersch in 1902. The Dominican Fathers M.-J. Lagrange, A. Savignac and L. Vincent visited the site only one month after Peters and Thiersch and made watercolor drawings of the murals. These watercolors and the negatives of the photographs taken by C. Raad were relayed to the Palestine Exploration Fund. The watercolors and the contact plates from C. Raad's photographs were then forwarded by the PEF to a lithographic printer and it seems that various elements incorporated in the French sketches, not just colors, were then added on to the lithographic plates. A comparison of the pictures taken by Raad and Lagrange with the plates published in the PEF volume (see the figs. in no. 3585 from Tomb E II) shows that the plates have details which cannot be seen in the photographs. Jacobson concluded that "the colours for the plates and restoration of certain features depicted in the published illustrations, such as the head of the female harpist in the Tomb E II painting, were taken from the French drawings." These were to disappear later on. A demonstration of the

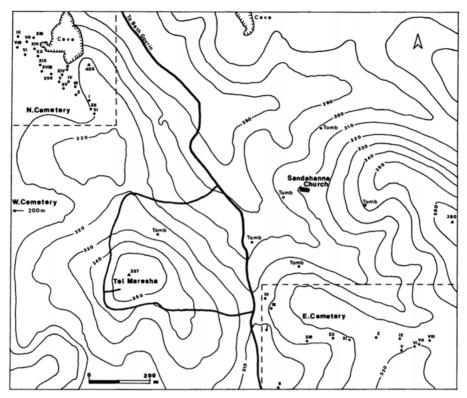


fig. 3516.B The necropoleis, Oren - Rappaport 116 fig. 1A

inaccuracy of the plates accompanying the Maresha tome of Peters and Thiersch is at hand with regard to many scenes from the animal frieze in Tomb E I, see the figures with various samples illustrating the following inscriptions.

The subjective visual interpretation accompanying the printed text of Peters' and Thiersch's work in Maresha should be taken into account when appreciating the painted inscriptions. Their report offers for example three different readings for a single dated inscription painted above, to the sides of, and over a crocodile appearing in one of the scenes of Tomb E I (see nos. 3555-3558 and written over it no. 3557 for the dated inscription). Meanwhile, the inscriptions have become inaccessible, at least for the time being, due to the understandable decision not to apply the restored Maresha murals directly on the walls of the tombs, but rather on a specially constructed coating partition.

The animal frieze is commonly held to be of a 3 c. BC date. That may very well be correct. However, a not insignificant evidence for placing the frieze in that century was the dated inscription no. 3557. It supplies a terminus ante quem for the section of the frieze beneath, and while the reading of the date was contested from the very start, the one offered in the ed. pr., the year 117 Seleucid era (196/5 BC), seems to have gained acceptance. Hence, a seemingly strong argu-

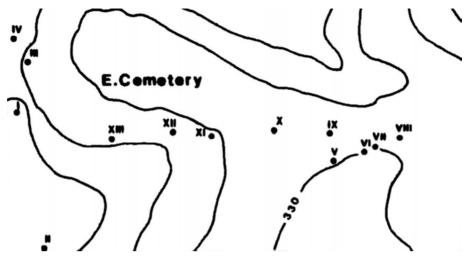


fig. 3516.C The eastern necropolis, Oren - Rappaport 116 fig. 1A

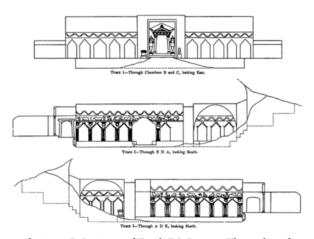


fig. 3516.D Sections of Tomb E I, Peters - Thiersch 17 fig. 2

ment for placing the animal frieze in the 3 c. BC (Peters - Thiersch 80 [for some reason Peters did not contest this argument]; Meyboom, Nile Mosaic 44, 282 n.5; Kloner, Maresha I 24; id., in: P. McKechnie - Ph. Guillaume eds., Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his World, 2008, 177). However, the alternative readings offered by Lagrange and Peters should surely cast some doubts on Thiersch's suggestion. Furthermore, it will be demonstrated below that this inscription is to be dated to the month of Panemos, 171 Seleucid era (summer 141 BC; cf. no. 3557). Thus, a Ptolemaic date for the animal frieze would entail that more than half a century had passed before the two earliest dated inscriptions (nos. 3547 and 3557) were

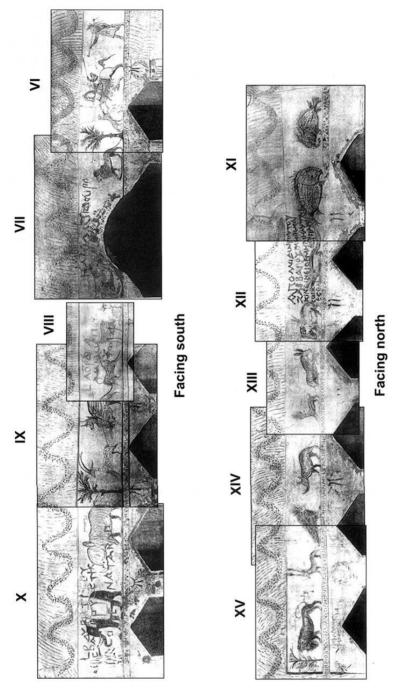


fig. 3516. E<br/> The animal frieze, Jacobson, Marisa 26 fig. 11  $\,$ 

painted above the animal frieze in 142/1 BC. Many of the Maresha animals represent, of course, Ptolemaic interest in the animals of the countries to the south. However, the inspiration to some of the animals depicted in the Maresha murals was probably local, see for example the leopard and the wild ass (nos. 3536 and 3559). Since we know very little about the tradition in Palestine with regard to animal decorations in the 3 and 2 c. BC, one wonders if the Maresha murals merely represent Ptolemaic decoration habit or whether this habit, which would have naturally influenced the people of Palestine in the course of a century of Ptolemaic control, could have been acted upon later on.

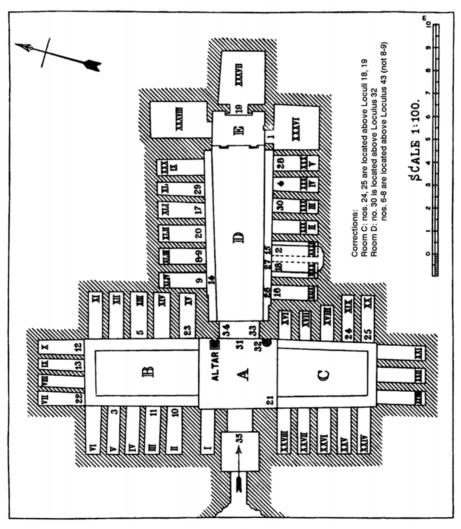


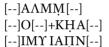
fig. 3516.F Ground plan of Tomb E I, Peters - Thiersch 16 fig. 1

The order follows the plan of Peters - Thiersch (fig. F), beginning from the entrance to Tomb E I, followed by the Rooms A-E.

### 3516. Unreadable Greek inscription on the outer wall of a tomb, 3-1 c. BC

A three line inscription cut into the rock was observed by Peters and Thiersch. Parts of the inscription were buried in the rubble, others were defaced. Only a few letters were read.

Findspot: Above the outer entrance to Tomb E I (no. 35 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).



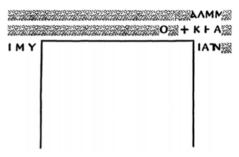


fig. 3516

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 61 no. 35 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Peters - Thiersch 61 fig. 21 (dr.).

DG

# 3517. Greek funerary inscription of Ortamax, 3-1 c. BC

Findspot: Vestibule A, carved above the entrance to the tomb (no. 21 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).

OPTAMAΞ ΔHM[--]ΟΥ [--]PE (?) XAIPE

'Ορταμαξ | Δημ[--]ου [--]ρε (?) | χαῖρε

Ortamax, son of Dem... farewell!

Comm.: OPTAM for OPTAMAΞ, Macalister. Macalister's additional statement that the inscription is complete, "Ορτας | Δημητρίου υἶο<υ> | χαίρε (sic), does not go well with his first suggestion.

The reading of the name in l.1 is suspect, as the suggested Ortamax is not documented elsewhere. Perhaps one should read " $O\rho\tau\alpha$ , the vocative form of the name  $O\rho\tau\alpha$ , (The name recurs in two other inscriptions from the same room, nos. 3518, 3519). But MAE still remains unexplained. A further problem are the letters  $\rho\epsilon$  in l.2 with the  $\chi\alpha\tilde{\imath}\rho\epsilon$  of l.3, a problem not addressed by Macalister. As suggested,  $\Delta\eta\mu$ [--] may point to the patronymic of the deceased as speculated by the first editors, or perhaps the full name was there, according to Macalister's statement. However, if the version of the ed. pr. is correct, other names such as Demarchus and Democritus are also possible.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 50f. no. 21 (ed. pr.). - Macalister, Addenda 139.

DG

### 3518. Greek funerary inscription of Ortas, 2-1 c. BC

Findspot: Vestibule A, carved high above and to the right of the doorway leading to Burial Hall D (no. 32 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).

**OPTA** 

'Ορτᾶ

Tomb of Ortas.

Comm.: As noted by the first editors, the writing of the name was probably an attempt to commemorate Ortas, but soon abandoned. The man responsible for this inscription later renewed his efforts lower down in a more visible section of the wall (no. 3519).

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 56 no. 32 (ed. pr.).

### 3519. Greek funerary inscription of Ortas, 2-1 c. BC

The graffito does not seem to be linked with a loculus used for burial. The *omicron* is large and central. The *sigma* is cursive, but rather elongated. The *omega* is also cursive. The *mu* is upright with the two inner bars branching out from the top of the two outer bars. It would seem that the *kappa* was initially forgotten, then added inside the *eta*, forming something similar to a ligature.

Findspot: Vestibule A, above the doorway leading to Burial Hall D (no. 31 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).

#### ΟΡΤΑΣΜΑΚΗΔΩΝ

'Ορτᾶς Μακηδών



Ortas, Macedonian.

Comm.: The name Ortas is attested in Macedonia, see SEG 42, 580 B l.22, 582 B l.10. For another Ortas in this tomb, see no. 3518 and for an Ortamax, see no. 3517. For the spelling Μακηδών, see Call. Del. 167 (cf. Hes. fr. 7.2, as the name of a hero). The finding of this poetic form in Maresha is unexpected, but perhaps a result of a

Bibl.: M.-J. Lagrange, CRAI 1902, 497-505 at 500 (ed. pr.). – Peters - Thiersch 56 no. 31; PEQ 35, 1903, 180-4 at 183; BE 1904 p. 261; BE 1908 p. 205ff.; Schürer I,2, 4-7 n.8; Hengel, Judentum und Hellenismus 115f.; Schürer II,2, 4f., n.8.

Photo: Peters - Thiersch, pl. 20 fig. 31 (squeeze).

DG

fig. 3519

### 3520. Greek funerary inscription of Apollophanes, 2-1 c. BC

common mistake, the exchange of an epsilon with an eta.

Findspot: Painted to the right of Loculus 15 (next to no. 3521), that is the first opening to the right of the eastern wall of Room B (no. 23 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).

ΑΠΟΛΛΟ ΦΑΝΟΥΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ

Άπολλο|φάνου τοῦ | υἱοῦ

(Tomb) of Apollophanes the son.

Comm.: See also comm. to no. 3521. The omission of the *sigma* in the genitive form of Apollophanes' name is not uncommon, see for example nos. 3580, 3586. The name was very popular among the Ptolemaic soldiers of Idumean origin who served in Hermopolis Magna and in Memphis, see SB 1, 599 and 4206; SB 5, 8066. On the possible family relations, see no. 3573 (comm.).



Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 52 no. 23 (ed. pr.). - Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 7a.

Photo: C. Raad, courtesy of S. Gibson.

fig. 3520 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

DG

### 3521. Funerary inscription of Demetria, 3-1 c. BC

Findspot: Painted above Loculus 15 (next to no. 3520), that is the first opening to the right of the eastern wall of Room B (no. 23 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).

### ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑΣ

Δημητρίας

(Tomb) of Demetria.

Comm.: Peters - Thiersch offered to combine the name read by them



fig. 3521 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

above Loculus 15 with a three-line inscription found in the neighboring Vestibule A to the left of the door leading to Room D (see no. 3520). Even though a clear-cut distinction between the end of the eastern wall of the Anteroom A and the beginning of the eastern wall of Room B is not discernible, the first editors admit that

what they consider to be a continuation of the inscription is placed lower down and to the right of the name Demetria, and readily concede that "it is not ... certain that the two are connected." The one argument in favor of such a reading is that it eliminates the need for ascribing a burial place to Apollophanes, who according to their view was mentioned simply as the father of the dead Demetria. However, the custom of successive burials within the same loculus is not unheard of in Maresha (no. 3537). The name Demetria recurs in no. 3610 and perhaps also in no. 3624.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 52 no. 23 (ed. pr.).

Photo: C. Raad, courtesy of S. Gibson.

DG

# 3522. Greek funerary inscription of Maimmus, 3-1 c. BC

Findspot: Engraved above Loculus 13, in the eastern wall of Room B, that is the third opening to the right when one is facing north (no. 5 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).

[[ΜΕΙ]] ΜΑΙΜΜΟΙΣΣΩΝΙΚΟΥ

[[Mει]] | Μαιμμο{ι}ς Σωνίκου

Maimmus son of Sonicus.



fig. 3522 (squeeze)

Comm.: l.1 "Above this a false commencement, Mεμ, had been made and marked out" (ed. pr.); l.2 Μαμμοισσωνίκου ed. pr. – The stonemason deliberately scratched out the misspelled characters of the first line, and made a fresh start with the name in l.2. The use of the name of the deceased in the nominative is quite a common feature in Maresha. A differently spelled form of the same name, Μάεμος, is recorded in the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods in Dura Europus (SEG 7, 350). According to PHI the Greek name, Σώνικος, is attested 56 times in the Greek world, 24 records of which come from Attica, and 16 come from the Greek Islands.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 42 no. 5 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Peters - Thiersch, pl. 17 fig. 5.

### 3523. Greek funerary inscription of Protus, ca. 100-40 BC

Several inscriptions (nos. 3523-3525) were incised one on top of the other, making it difficult to decide how many inscriptions were written in this location and what letters belong to which inscription. The solutions adopted here differ from those of the first editors, with the result that there is no correspondence between the arrangement found in the Peters - Thiersch tome and the one maintained here.

Findspot: Above Loculi 9-10 on the northern wall of Room B (no. 12 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).



fig. 3523 (squeeze)

#### ΣΗΜΑΠΡΩΤΟΥ

Σῆμα Πρώτου

Grave of Protus.

Comm.: l.1 Καλλικράτου καὶ τοῦ ed. pr.; l.2 Κοσβάνου υἱοῦ ed. pr. Peters - Thiersch's reading below assumes that the two-line inscription consisted of a left flank and a right one; Καλλικράτου καὶ τοῦ Κοσβάνου υἱοῦ. The photograph of the squeeze documents only the left side.

Protus is another example of a typically Greek name adopted by the Idumeans. A similar name, Protogenes, seems to have been in use among the Idumean military settlers in Hermopolis Magna (SB 1, 599 II, l.110; III, ll.169, 171; 5, 8066 III, l.159). It is possible that originally the inscription consisted of two lines. However,  $Ko\sigma\beta\acute{a}\nu\upsilon\upsilon$  (no. 3524) is obviously written by a different hand. Hence, the latter was not Protus' father. If a patronymic of Protus was mentioned in this tomb inscription, it is better to opt for no. 3525. However, the letters of that name are much taller than the first line, and it is therefore difficult to accept that the father of the deceased would have received more attention in the tomb inscription than the dead person himself. See also commentary to no. 3525.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 46 no. 12 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Peters - Thiersch, pl. 19.

DG

# 3524. Greek funerary inscription of Cosbanus, ca. 100-40 BC

See descr. no. 3523.

Findspot: Incised above Loculi 9-10 on the northern wall of Room B (no. 12 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).



fig. 3524.1 (squeeze)

#### ΚΟΣΒΑΝΟΥ

Κοσβάνου

(Tomb) of Cosbanus.

KO CBANOY

fig. 3524.2

Comm.: l.1 Καλλικράτου καὶ τοῦ ed. pr.; l.2 υἱοῦ ed. pr. – We have taken the text to be a one-line inscription denoting the name of the deceased, whereas the first editors thought this to be the second line of an inscription pointing to the deceased's patronymic (no. 3523). See also commentary to no. 3525.

The name is surely Idumean, "(god) Cos built," and attested in Aramaic characters *qwsbnh* קוסבנה on a jar shard from Maresha (E. Eshel, Maresha III 54f. no. 32), and as a patronymic in Greek of one of the soldiers of Idumean origin from Memphis in Egypt (SB I 681 I, l.39).

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 46 no. 12 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Peters - Thiersch, pl. 19, 46 fig. 11 (dr.).

### 3525. Greek funerary inscription of Cosacabus, ca. 100-40 BC

See descr. no. 3523.

Findspot: Incised above Loculi 9-10 on the northern wall of Room B (no. 13 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).



fig. 3525 (squeeze)

#### ΚΟΣΑΚΑΒΟΥ

Κοσακάβου

(Tomb) of Cosacabus.

Comm.: KOSBANOY Macalister. Because this name is written in very large letters (cf. no. 3523), they are likely to designate the name of the deceased. The very tall first *alpha* is superimposed on the first *omicron* of the name Ko $\sigma$ βάνου (no. 3524). The second *kappa* was initially forgotten and added later inside the second *alpha*, forming a ligature. The *upsilon* was inscribed on top and to the right of the second *omicron*, due to the long stem of the *rho* in  $\Pi \rho \acute{\omega} \tau$ ου (no. 3523). The name Cosacabus is Idumean and appears twice in an Idumean soldier list from Hermopolis Magna (SB 5, 8066 II, ll.83, 88).

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 46f. no. 13 (ed. pr.). - Macalister, Addenda 139.

Photo: Peters - Thiersch, pl. 19.

DG

# 3526. Greek warning inscription against grave desecration, 3-1 c. BC

The inscription is painted with brown mortar. No photograph is provided.

Findspot: Above Loculus 7 on the northern wall of Room B (no. 22 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).

#### ΜΗΘΕΝΑΑΝΟΙΓΕΙΝ

μηθένα ἀνοίγειν

Let no-one open (this tomb)!

Comm.: For other inscriptions warning against the desecration of tombs, see also nos. 3537, 3557 and 3560. The text in no. 3557 not only cautions people to respect the sanctity of a specific tomb, but also curses anyone who might violate it, cf. Hachlili, Funerary Customs 489-507; ead., in: D. Edwards - C. McCollough, The Archaeology of Difference, 2007, 243-55.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 51 no. 22 (ed. pr.).

DG

### 3527. Greek funerary inscription of Sabo, 3-1 c. BC

Meas.: w 45.7 cm (18 inches, ed. pr.).

Findspot: Chiseled in the western wall of Room B above Loculus 5 (no. 3 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).

#### ΣΑΒΟΥΣΣΕΣΜΑΙΟΥ



fig. 3527 (squeeze)

Σαβοῦς Σεσμαίου

(Tomb) of Sabo, daughter of Sesmaeus.

Comm.: The name of the deceased is Idumean (cf. no. 3618 for another example). Since Apollophanes, head of the Sidonians in Maresha, was also a son of Sesmaeus, Peters and Thiersch suggest that Sabo was the sister of Apollophanes. This is plausible, but not mandatory. Both names may have been in recurrent use in the family, as well as among the people of Maresha as a whole. On the possible family relations, see no. 3573 (comm.).

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 40f. no. 3 (ed. pr.). – I. Stern, in: Y. Levin ed., A Time of Change, 2007, 205-38 at 220f.

Photo: Peters - Thiersch, pl. 17 fig. 3.

### 3528. Greek funerary inscription of Babata, ca. 53/2 BC

The last *alpha* has a cross-bar with a serif at the angle, which is quite unusual in Maresha.

Meas.: w. 86.4 cm (34 inches, Peters - Thiersch).

Findspot: Engraved next to no. 3529 in the western wall of Room B, above Loculus 3 (no. 11 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).

LE ABBI ΒΑΒΑΤΑΣΚΟΣΝΑΤΑΝΟΥΤΟΥ ΑΜΜΩΙΟΥ



fig. 3528 (squeeze)

("Ετους) ε', Άβ βι'· | Βαβάτας Κοσνατάνου τοῦ | Άμμωίου

Year 5, 12th of Ab. Babata daughter of Cosnatanus, son of Ammoius.

Comm.: l.1: One may propose to identify this era with the refoundation of Marisa, as attested on dated coins of the city. This refoundation occured between 59/8 BC at the earliest and 55/4 at the latest. It is, of course, tempting to connect this era with the arrival of Aulus Gabinius in Syria, hence 57 BC is the earliest possible starting point - and Babata died most likely in 53/2 BC, see D. Gera.  $B\alpha\beta\dot{\alpha}\tau\alpha\varsigma$  can either be the nominative form of the name or else the genitive, see no. 3632. As the names of the deceased in the Maresha tomb inscriptions appear sometimes in the nominative, and sometimes in the possessive, judgement is difficult. Presumably, Babata was buried next to her brother Babas, no. 3529, whose name appears in the nominative. Hence the form preferred here. The loculi earmarked for the graves of Babas and Babata suggest that Babas was the first of the two to expire. On the possible family relations, see no. 3573 (comm.).

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 45f. no. 11 (ed. pr.). - Zissu - Kloner 2015, 102ff.; D. Gera, PEQ 149, 2017, 216ff.

Photo: Peters - Thiersch, pl. 18 fig. 11.

DG

# 3529. Greek funerary inscription of Babas, ca. 100-80 BC

Findspot: Engraved on the western wall of Room B, above Loculus 2 (no. 10 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).

ΒΑΒΑΣΚΟΣΝΑΤΑΝΟΥΤΟΥ ΑΜΜΩΙΟΥ

Βαβᾶς Κοσνατάνου τοῦ | Άμμωίου

Babas son of Cosnatanus, son of Ammoius.

Comm.: l.1 BABATA $\Sigma$ , Macalister. – The deceased is most likely a son of the Cosnatanus who was buried in Burial Hall D (no. 3570). Ba $\beta$ ã $\varsigma$  seems to be the nominative; the genitive form Ba $\beta$ ã is attested by Jos. AJ 15, 260; DJD XXVII 64 a, l.11 and b, l.33. Ba $\beta$ ã $\varsigma$  is a classical "Lallname," used by many people in many places, including evidently Idumeans (Ilan, Lexicon I 80). Cf. also CIIP II 1123. For the name Cosnatanus, see no. 3634 and additional references there. For the name Ammoius, see no. 3570. On the possible family relations, see no. 3573 (comm.).

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 45 no. 10 (ed. pr.). - Macalister, Addenda 138.

DG

# 3530. Greek funerary inscription of Apollodorus, 2-1 c. BC

Findspot: Painted on the eastern wall of Room C, above Loculus 18 (no. 24 on the plan, mistakenly connected there with Loculus 19; see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).

#### ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ

Άπολλοδώρου

(Tomb) of Apollodorus.

Comm.: For the name, see no. 3628.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 52 no. 24 (ed. pr.).

DG

# 3531. Greek funerary inscription of Straton, 2-1 c. BC

Findspot: Painted on the eastern wall of Room C, above Loculus 19 (no. 25 on the plan, mistakenly connected there with Loculus 20; see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).

#### ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ

#### Στράτωνος

(Tomb) of Straton.

Comm.: Straton is a fairly common Greek name (e.g. LGPN 1, 414f.), borne also by two kings of Sidon in the 4 c. BC, as well as by other Phoenician rulers. Therefore it is not surprising to find this name in use in a place inhabited by a "Sidonian" community, see also no. 3538. The name was quite popular among the Ptolemaic soldiers of Idumean descent serving in Hermopolis Magna and Memphis, see SB 1, 599 I, l.63; II, ll.99, 118; 4206 III, l.215; 681 I, l.41; II, l.82.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 52f. no. 25 (ed. pr.).

DG

# 3532. Greek poem, late 3/early 2 c. BC

Graffito in four lines (retraced with color after the restoration of the cave, cf. figs. 3-4 below). The lines run slightly downwards towards the right side, ll.2-4 more heavily so than l.1. "The script resembles that of the papyri of the end of the third century" (Peters - Thiersch 57); "Buchstaben in den schönen, breiten, ausgeprägten Zügen, die in den Papyri der mittleren Ptolemäerzeit üblich waren" (Crönert). Meas.: w (max., l.1) ca. 56 cm; letters 1 cm.

Findspot: On the right-hand jamb of the entrance leading from the Antechamber A to the main chamber, Room D, above the painting of a Cerberus (no. 33 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).

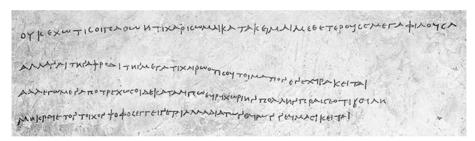


fig. 3532.1 (present-day view, retraced)

ΟΥΚΕΧΩΤΙΣΟΙΠΑΘΩΗΤΙΧΑΡΙΣΩΜΑΙΚΑΤΑΚΕΙΜΑΙΜΕΘΕΤΕΡΟΥΣΕΜΕΓΑ ΦΙΛΟΥΣΑ

ΑΛΛΑΝΑΙΤΗΝΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΝΜΕΓΑΤΙΧΑΙΡΩΟΤΙΣΟΥΤΟΙΜΑΤΙΟΝΕΝΕΧΥΡΑ ΚΕΙΤΑΙ

ΑΛΛΕΓΩΜΕΝΑΠΟΤΡΕΧΩΣΟΙΔΕΚΑΤΑΛΙΠΩΕΥΡΥΧΩΡΙΗΝΠΟΛΛΗΝ ΠΡΑΣΣΕΟΤΙΒΟΥΛΗ

ΜΗΚΡΟΥΕΤΟΝΤΟΙΧΟΝΨΟΦΟΣΕΓΓΕΙΝΕΤΑΙΑΛΛΑΔΙΑΤΩΝΘΥΡΩΝ ΝΕΥΜΑΣΙΚΕΙΤΑΙ

οὐκ ἔχω τί σοι πάθω ἢ τί χαρίσωμαι· ¦ κατάκειμαι μεθ' ἑτέρου, σὲ μέγα φιλοῦσα. |
(3) ἀλλὰ ναὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, μέγα τι χαίρω, ¦ ὅτι σου τὸ ἱμάτιον ἐνέχυρα κεῖται. |

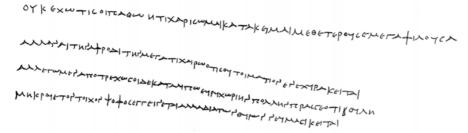


fig. 3532.2 (dr. ca. 1905)

- (5) ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἀποτρέχω, σοὶ δὲ καταλίπω ¦ εὐρυχωρίην πολλήν. πρᾶσσε, ὅτι βούλη. | (7) μὴ κροῦε τὸν τοῖχον, ψόφος ἐγγείνεται, ¦ ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν θυρῶν νεύμασι κεῖται.
- I know not why I suffer for you, or how I can grant you favors. I lie (regularly) with another man, even though I love you dearly. But, by Aphrodite, I take exceeding delight in the fact that your cloak lies as a pledge (with me). But I am leaving, and I leave behind for you a large open space. Go on doing what you like. Do not strike the wall, (because) noise arises; the agreement has already been made with nods through the door.



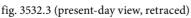




fig. 3532.4 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

Comm.: Inscription no. 3533 is on the other side of the entrance; these two inscriptions have been seen as relating to each other, because of their position and because both contain the word νεῦμα, but cf. comm. at no. 3533.

The sign "i" denotes the end of a verse; the following comments are given with a verse-number, not with a line-number. – Almost everything in this text is uncertain: one or more authors, assignment of speakers, meter and – of course – text and interpretation.

Macalister 1906 and Excavation 322f. used the different alignment of the lines to assume different writers in ll.1/3 (the woman), l.2 (the man) and l.4 (an anonymous, stumbling on this "correspondence"): he supports this conclusion with observations on the letter-forms, but cf. Pinto Colombo 20; Dahood 359 on a single writer; Hordern 81: "Attempts to introduce a 'third speaker' in the dialogue, or to appeal to three different hands in the composition, seem singularly misguided." All the attempts to construct a story with different dramatis personae (especially Macalister and Lamer) must be abandoned.

This is a subliterary product, and Peters considered the Greek of the inscription "ragged": he suggested an original in a Semitic dialect, but neither the idea nor the parallels found many adherents (cf. Powell 184: "de interpretatione delirat Peters"). Then again, this is no well-known popular poem or song (but popular enough to be inscribed in this place). Not every attempt at conjecture is therefore feasible, and only those that are necessary to make sense of the inscription should be printed (cf. Powell on Garrod's attempt in vv.7f.: "nimis audacter"; he continues: "ipse credere malim in vv. 6, 7, 8 scriptoris vim poeticam defecisse.").

The distribution of the lines between different speakers has been the subject of debate ever since the first edition. a) We have to decide whether vv.7f. are to be read in conjunction with vv.1-6: the meter works against the assumption of a single poem, but the characteristics of the handwriting for it: ll.2-4 appear as if they were written continuously. But one might argue from the content that  $\pi\rho\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\epsilon$ ,  $\delta\tau\iota$   $\beta\circ\iota\lambda\eta$  effectively finishes the dialogue. b) Some editors and commentators assumed that every line has to be taken as a single message in a dialogue of two lovers – either fictional or real (Lamer 65 emphasized the latter idea: two lovers used the grave as a rendezvous-place, and whenever they missed each other, scribbled a notice on the wall). Cemeteries and tombs are quite often attested as meeting places for lovers (the widow of Ephesus and Martial 1,34,8 [a Chione saltem vel ab Iade disce pudorem: / abscondunt spurcas et monumenta lupas]; 3,93,14f. [cum te lucerna balneator extincta / admittat inter bustuarias moechas] are used to demonstrate this), but these parallels are useful only if one claims that the lines reflect a reality, rather than a literary composition.

However, such a lovers' dialogue could hardly have been conducted in trochees (and/or iambs). This text is then a literary piece, and we cannot account for its presence on the walls of a grave. c) Most editors assume that vv.1-4 and vv.7f. are spoken by a woman (φιλοῦσα in v.2), but that vv.5f. belong to the lover. Only Crönert postulates the change of speaker already in v.6 and attributes the  $\pi\rho$ ᾶσσε, ὅτι βούλη (together with vv.7f.) to the woman. Wilamowitz gives a succinct summary of this argument (referring to Wünsch apud Crönert; Crusius gives the same resumé): "Der Liebhaber findet seine Dame besetzt; sie erklärt das ungeniert und begütigt ihn durch die Versicherung ihrer ungeschwächten Liebe und erklärt einen Rock, den der alte Schatz bei ihr hat liegen lassen, für ein teures Liebespfand. Er zieht auch ganz gelassen ab und lässt ihr freies Spiel." This reconstruction may be reconciled with one that eliminates vv.7f. d) It is sometimes assumed that all the verses are spoken by the woman alone (e.g. Sartre).

Most commentators looked for literary parallels for these verses and tried to assign them to specific a literary genre – starting with Locrian songs (Athen. 15,697c: μοιχικαί τινες τὴν φύσιν ὑπάρχουσαι [Athenaeus, indeed, declares Phoenicia to abound with this kind of songs, but he is talking about the end of the 2/beginning of the 3 c. AD; there is, then, nothing to be gained thereby for our text]), ending with genres close to new comedy, perhaps an Alexandrian mimiamb (Korzakova). Korzakova even tries to show that these verses are a quotation, not an ad hoc composition inspired by the situation. According to her, a courtesan's ransom might have been the subject of the text.

v.1: LSJ s.v. ἔχω A III 2: "after Hom., οὐκ ἔχω, folld. by a dependent clause, I know not." – τι for ὅτι (with a certain licence). "πάσχειν and χαρίζεσθαι are not necessarily to be understood in an erotic sense," Peters - Thiersch; Thiersch understood τί πάθω as "quid faciam," and Lamer took πάθω sensu obscoenico and believes that the woman wants to make her lover jealous, but cf. W. Pape, Griechisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch s.v. πάσχειν: "in der Frage τί πάθω ... ist immer der höchste Grad der Noth und Verlegenheit ausgedrückt, in welche jemand durch gewaltsam auf ihn eindringende Umstände gerathen ist." χαρίζομαι, "in erotic sense grant favours to a man": LSJ s.v. I 3, with reference to Ar. Eccl. 629 etc.

v.2: ὧδε κεῖμαι Wilamowitz, not in an attempt to restore the written text, but as a "Probe" to further its interpretation. κἆτα κεῖμαι Garrod, but cf. Merkelbach on κατάκειμαι: "Präsens. Sie liegt regelmässig bei ihm." Crönert understands this as lying at the table with somebody, not as shorthand for sexual intercourse (referring to Diodorus F 2, 38 K/A); cf. LSJ s.v. 7 with reference to Ar. Ach. 983 (inter alia): πῖνε κατάκεισο. We know nothing about the identity of the ἕτερος: he might be a husband (after a forced marriage, Macalister) or he might be another (paying?) lover of the woman (Thiersch). Dahood 360 pondered whether or not we are to understand that she lay with "the" other (a rival) or with "another." The use of the present tense is an argument in favor of understanding "the" other, i.e. a specific man in the woman's presence with whom she sleeps continuously. σὲ μέγα φιλοῦσα is taken to have a sexual innuendo by Sartre: "j'aie souvent fait l'amour avec toi."

v.3: καὶ τὴν Lagrange. The woman continues as a speaker, and the invocation to Aphrodite underlines her declaration of love in v.2. We are led to believe that the following v.4 has to be interpreted in the same way – though it is "a dark saying," which "refers to some circumstance in the previous relations of the lovers" (Macalister 1906, 59). μέγα χαῖρε: Hom. ω 402.

v.4: <δι>ότι σου τό <γ'> ἱμάτιον Wilamowitz (cf. on v.2); ὅτ<τ>ι σου θοἰμάτιον <ἐνθ'> ἐνέχυρα κεῖται Garrod, ὅτ<τ>ι <τοι> Powell. The plural form ἐνέχυρα is (supposedly) used because of the meter; ἐν ἐχυρᾶ (χώρα) Lamer, but ἐνέχυρον κεῖσθαι can be found in Plato, Nom. 820 e. The most simple interpretation is surely that of Crönert 435: the coat is seen as the pledge of the man's love. This corresponds well with Hordern 82: a himation suggests to him (at least in an erotic context) the use of a cloak by lovers to cover themselves (he gives a rather large number of parallels). Macalister, Excavation 321 explains the reference to the cloak with Theocr. 2,53f. (taken from J. Frazer, The Golden Bough 1, 1913, 206; cf. A. Gow, Theocritus II, 1950, 45 for further examples): a witch uses a part of the faithless lover's cloak for her magic (τοῦτ' ἀπὸ τᾶς χλαίνας τὸ κράσπεδον ὤλεσε Δέλφις, ὡγὼ νῦν τίλλοισα κατ' ἀγρίω ἐν πυρὶ βάλλω). Verg. Ecl. 8,91ff.: Has olim exuvias mihi perfidus ille reliquit, pignora cara sui: quae nunc ego limine in ipso, terra, tibi mando; debent haec pignora Daphnim. Powell comments: "sed non hic agitur de venefica"; Hordern 82 assents. Dahood 361 uses Gen 38,15ff. (Judah and Tamar) to establish the practice that a man might leave a pledge with a prostitute (this interpretation was accepted by Hengel 152): "there are three passages in Proverbs [27,13=20,16; 23,27f.] and one in Amos [2,7f.], all hitherto mistranslated, which reveal that this pledge was often a cloak. Hence the seemingly enigmatic statement of the graffito ... really means, 'I am very happy that you had intercourse with me'." However, with Judah and Tamar the pledge became only necessary because Judah could not pay instantly.

vv.5f.: According to Macalister 1906, a renewed dismissal of the man by the woman; according to Crönert the woman's dismissal by her lover. ἀποτρέχω, to leave, LSJ s.v. IV and Machon apud Athen. 8,349 d [F 11, 143 ed. Gow].

v.6: εὐρυχωρίην γ' ὅλην Garrod, but see Dem. 19,272 for εὐρυχωρία πολλή; Com. Adesp. \*257 K/A: εὐρυχωρίας σε δεῖ. – πράσσεό τι βουλῆ Lagrange, πρᾶσσ' ὅτ<τ>ι βούλη Garrod. Correct: πρᾶσσε ὅτι <ἄν> βούλη. If we understand εὐρυχωρίη (an Ionic form, hence perhaps a poetic reminiscence) not in a spatial sense, but as "freedom of action," the same speaker continues with the consequence of this freedom: πρᾶσσε, ὅτι βούλη.

νν.7f.: μὴ κρότει τὸ[ν] τοιχ<ί>ον, ψόφος ἐγγένοιτ' ἄν. ¦ ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν θυρ<ιδί>ων νεῦμ' εἰσικνεῖται Garrod. This line does not necessarily belong with the others, see above on the change of meter.

v.7: ἐπεὶ νέται Lagrange. Crusius compares P.Tebt. 1, 2 d, 14f. (written ca. 100 BC; a Paraklausithyron? a mimus? edited again, e.g., in I. Cunningham, Herodae Mimiambi, 1987, 38f. no. 2; F. Pordomingo, Antologías de época helenística en papiro, 2013, 174f.): ἐρῶ, μαίνομαι, κατ<έ>αγμαι ἐμ[--| κρο(ῦσον) τὰς θύρα(ς). μὴ μέγα Φώνει T+[--].

v.8: νεύμα σ' ίκεῖται Lagrange, νεύμασι κεῖται Peters - Thiersch; νεύμα σ' ίκ<ν>ειται, "plerique" Crusius, inter alia accepted by Wilamowitz 345: "Klopfe nicht an die Wand; das macht Lärm, durch die Tür erreicht dich ein Wink." <π>νεύμασι Conder ("yet beyond the walls she lies with ghosts," which he explains as follows: the lady in question does not lie in the grave of her first husband, but in the tomb of the second one whom she had married to please the first [Conder refers to Rth 3,9 and to the "custom of the levirate"]); contra already Macalister 1906, 158f., who finally accepted this in Excavation 325 with another rather fanciful story (the woman had killed herself and "through the doors she lieth with ghosts," the doors being temporary doors to shut off a part of the grave). Dahood 360 and Sartre take the last verse as an abbreviated (ἰμάτιον) νεύμασι κεῖται ("ves, it lies on the other side of the door in my control"; "oui, (ton manteau) est resté de l'autre coté de la porte, sous mon controle."), taking νεύμασι as an "expression of will, command" (LSJ s.v. 2). Others believe that the sign language of lovers is meant: it depends on signs made through the door. Crusius understood κεῖται=συνθήκη κεῖται, "i.e. pactum est": the agreement was reached with nods, made from one room to another, or – rather – made by the woman who is in the house to the man outside the house. Peters - Thiersch 58 quote "Ovid, Amores II 4; Art. I, 565ff. XVI Tibull, V, 21; VI, 25; Naev. fragm. com. 76" as examples for sign language between lovers.

Bibl.: M.-J. Lagrange, CRAI, 1902, 501f. (ed. pr.). – Peters - Thiersch 56ff. no. 33; J. Powell, Collectanea Alexandrina, 1925, 184 no. 5; Merkelbach - Stauber, Steinepigramme 4, 327f. no. 21/09/01; SEG 49, 2069; M. Steinhart, Griechische Inschriften als Zeugnisse der Kulturgeschichte, 2017, 98f. no. 41 (dr., transl.). – Cf. BE 1904 p. 261; J. Peters, in: Peters - Thiersch 72ff.; R. Macalister, PEQ 38, 1906, 54ff., 158f.; C. Conder, ibid. 147f., 238; H. Thiersch, AA, 1908, 412; BE 1908 p. 206f.; W. Crönert, RhM 64, 1909, 433-48; O. Crusius, Herondas, mimiambi, 5th ed. 1914, 129; W. Albright, BASOR 4, 1921, 5; U. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Griechische Verskunst, 1921, 344f.; H. Garrod, CR 37, 1923, 161f.; Macalister, Excavation 321ff.; H. Lamer, ZDPV 54, 1931, 59ff.; SEG 8, 244; S. Cook, PEQ 63, 1931, 234; M. Pinto Colombo, Epigraphica 8, 1946, 19ff.; C. Bowra, AJPh 79, 1958, 376f.; M. Dahood, Biblica 42, 1961, 359ff.; Hengel, Judentum und Hellenismus 152; A. Kloner, EAEHL 3, 1977, 787ff.; Keel - Küchler 870ff.; M. West, Greek Metre, 1982, 149; A. Kloner, NEAEHL 3, 1993, 955; id., BAR 23-2, 1997, 24-35, 67; J. Hordern, ZPE 126, 1999, 81f.; BE 2000, 46; Millard, Pergament und Papyrus 101; Sartre 2001, 274 (transl.); H. Korzakova, Hyperboreus 7, 2001, 185-95 (Russ., ES 194f.); SEG 51, 2028; Kloner, Maresha I 23; id., Maresha 2008, 175; Zugmann, Apostelgeschichte 215 n. 826; J. Geiger, Hellenism in the East, 2014, 56.

Photo: WE; Peters - Thiersch 59 fig. 19 (dr.); C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa pl. 7b).

WA

# 3533. Greek graffito mentioning a priest Myron and a woman Calypso

Peters - Thiersch 19 give a description of the various scratched figures and designs on the left intrados and add: "there is also a brief, two-lined inscription, very faintly cut, on this door jamb"; cf. iid. 60: "very lightly scratched, in a script

similar to the preceding" (i.e. no. 3532). Similarly Hordern: "The handwriting shows some similarities (i.e. with no. 3532), and is presumably of much the same date, but I doubt that there is any close connection." Unfortunately, no sketch of this graffito, let alone a photograph exists; but if these observations are correct, it was written ca. 200 BC.

Findspot: On the left intrados of the entrance leading from the Antechamber A to the main chamber, Room D (no. 34 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F). Inscription no. 3532 is on the other side of the entrance; these two inscriptions have been seen as related to each other (see comm.).

# ΗΛΙΟΣΚΑΙΩΝΜΥΡΩΝΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΕΠΙΝΕΥΜΑΚΑΛΥΨΟΥΣ

ήλιος καίων Μύρων ἱερεὺς | ἔπι νεῦμα Καλυψοῦς

The burning sun, Myron the priest, there is Calypso's nod.

Comm.: The present text and its translation are given with some hesitation, since the reading of l.1 is anything but certain; see Macalister, Addenda (and apud Lamer 60 n.3): "The opening letters seem to be not  $H\Lambda IO\Sigma$  KAI $\Omega N$ , but  $K\Lambda\Omega[..]I\Omega N$ "; his general impression of the graffito was (1906, 61f.): "first ... the transcript given ... is very doubtful; secondly, that if wrong, I could not see how to set it right." Peters - Thiersch's text has been retained here, as has been done by almost all those who wrote after them, because nobody was able to make sense of Macalister's reading. But one tends to share Macalister's doubt that an interpretation is all but impossible.

The general interpretation is given by Hordern: "If the reading is correct, the graffito must be a message arranging an illicit erotic meeting, and I take ἥλιος καίων to refer either to dawn or midday, both of which were common times for illicit meetings" (he refers the reader to J. Henderson, Aristophanes Lysistrata, 1987, 74: "Sex at midday was apparently associated with trysts," cf. Lys. 418; Pax 289-91: τὸ Δάτιδος μέλος | δ δεφόμενος ποτ' ήδε τῆς μεσημβρίας, Ι 'ώς ήδομαι καὶ χαίρομαι κεὐφραίνομαι' [with S. Olson, Aristophanes' Peace, 1998, 129]; Vesp. 500f.: κάμέ γ' ἡ πόρνη χθὲς εἰσελθόντα τῆς μεσημβρίας). καίω is used of the sun by Plat. Crat. 413b. According to this interpretation, ήλιος καίων is used as a temporal specification (but cf. BE 1908, 206: "Soleil brulant' parait être ou une invocation au dieu Sêmaš ou la traduction du nom théophore du prêtre Myron."); cf. Pinto Colombo 32 n.42, who reports Macalister's reading at the beginning of l.1 and his doubts and continues: "infatti, le parole "Ηλιος καίων non si accordano nè danno alcun senso al resto; non è quindi da tenerne gran conto." Wünsch apud Crönert 438 n.1 thought about καὶ ὧν, intending: "and (the gods), whose priest ..." We know, of course, nothing about Myron the priest, who is thought to be the male partner of Calypso.

l.2: ἔπι, Καλύψους Thiersch (toying with ἐπικαίων), contra Lamer, but his correction of ἔπι is doubtful: Thiersch intended the adverbial use, ἔπι for ἔπεστι meaning

"there is," cf. LSJ s.v. E II (examples from Homer);  $\mu[\nu\tilde{\eta}]\mu\alpha$  Lagrange, "but the  $\nu\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\mu\alpha$  is unmistakeable in the original" (Thiersch, n.\*). ἐπίνευμα Crönert 438 (the word is only twice attested, Pollux, Onomast. 10,120; Galen, de placitis 2,4,4). Calypso is a very rare name, therefore probably a courtesan's pseudonym – somebody able to hold a man's attention for years. Her  $\nu\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\mu\alpha$  is thought to be the nod as a sign of consent to the erotic encounter (different, but at least entertaining, is Crönert's attempt at translating this into a mimus: "Wenn die Frau des Liebhabers ansichtig wird, so soll sie ihm ein Zeichen geben, falls sie den Tag für ihn zu haben ist ... indem sie scheinbar gleichgültige Rede führt. 'Was ist doch die Sonne heute so heiss ...").

Some writers thought the text to be in Ionic tetrameters. Korzakova 195 calls it hexametric, but this is not even remotely probable (Hordern). Nor is a reference to Semitic usage of any use. Thiersch argued: "the writer was a Semite. The parallelism or balance of parts is plain. Moreover, in the two carefully balanced halves of the first line, the two equal words ending with the long syllable  $-\omega\nu$ :  $\kappa\alpha i\omega\nu$  and Múρων, have been brought into juxtaposition; and in a general fashion, familiar in Hebrew poetry, the concluding syllables of the two lines  $\varepsilon\nu\varsigma$  and  $\varepsilon\nu\varsigma$  rhyme or perhaps better jingle with one another"; contra Lamer 60: "einen semitischen parallelismus membrorum und eine gegenseitige Beziehung der 'sich reimenden' oder 'aneinander anklingenden' Wörter  $\kappa\alpha i\omega\nu$ , Múρων finden zu wollen ist sicher allzu gekünstelt."

The (possible) use of the word  $\nu\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\mu\alpha$  connects this inscription with no. 3532 and has sometimes been used to identify the persons in no. 3532 with Myron and Calypso – and to posit an intertextual dialogue between the left and the right intrados of the grave. These ideas were already discarded by Macalister 1906, 62. At best, one writer was inspired by the other (cf. Hordern 82), and Korzakova believes that no. 3532 may have been the source for the writer of this poem.

Bibl.: M.-J. Lagrange, CRAI 1902, 502 (ed. pr.). – Peters - Thiersch 60 no. 34. – Cf. BE 1904 p. 261; Macalister, Addenda 139; id., PEQ 38, 1906, 61f.; BE 1908 p. 206; W. Crönert, RhM 64, 1909, 438f.; Macalister, Excavation 321ff.; H. Lamer, ZDPV 54, 1931, 60; S. Cook, PEQ 63, 1931, 234; M. Pinto Colombo, Epigraphica 8, 1946, 32f.; A. Kloner, EAEHL 3, 1977, 789; id., NEAEHL 3, 1993, 955; J. Hordern, ZPE 126, 1999, 82; SEG 49, 2069; Millard, Pergament und Papyrus 101; H. Korzakova, Hyperboreus 7, 2001, 185-95 (Russ., ES 194f.); SEG 51, 2028; Kloner, Maresha I 23; id., Maresha 2008, 177.

WA

#### 3534. Lost Greek caption above the head of a trumpeter

The first scene of the animal frieze depicts a hunting scene, starting with a figure walking and blowing a straight trumpet. The scene then moves on to show a confrontation between a horse and its rider and a female leopard. The rider and the horse face east, and the gray-painted animal is galloping with its front legs in

the air, as are the leopardess' front paws. In his discussion of the hunting scene, Thiersch draws attention to the analogy between this scene and those depicted on the sarcophagi from the Sidon royal necropolis. There too, the hunt is conducted on horseback, with the dogs attacking their prey. The leopard also appears in the Sidon sarcophagi as one of the animals chased by the hunters. Finally, Thiersch points to the similarity in clothes and gear between the mounted hunter and the figures represented on the Sidon sarcophagi (Peters - Thiersch 90). He identifies the clothes of the horseman as well as those of his Sidonian counterparts as typically Persian. In light of the fact that there was in Marisa a koinon of Sidonians, the similarity is highly significant. Cf. also W. Held, Berytus 51/2, 2008/9, 226ff.

Findspot: On the southern wall of Room D at the room's southwestern corner. It extends to a point above the triangular gabled entrance to Loculus 29 (see fig. E in the introduction to nos. 3516-3574 no. VI).

Comm.: Peters and Thiersch claimed that "above the head (of the trumpeter) is painted in the same colour a title which is no longer legible." Yet, they cautiously suggested that the title probably read ΣΑΛΠΙΓΚΤΗΣ, but that this reading was "probable, but not certain" (Peters -Thiersch 23). The colored hand-illustrated plate of this scene, prepared by the French Fathers Vincent and Savignac, places the letters AM at that location (fig. 2). This sketch neither accords with what



fig. 3534.1 (photograph taken ca. 1902)



fig. 3534.2 (color plate ca. 1905)

was observed by Peters and Thiersch, nor with their hesitant suggestion. In late 1905 R. Macalister went to Maresha at the behest of the PEF, and he checked Peters and Thiersch's readings of the inscriptions. With regard to the inscription above the trumpeter, Macalister claimed that one could see only the letters [--]AM[--] (Macalister, Addenda). Since *alpha* and *lambda* are often interchangeable, his reading supports that of the French scholars. However, looking at the original photograph of that scene (fig. 1), one is not able to see any title above the trumpeter's head, and one can only accept the original observation of the first editors, as well as that of Jacobson 27, that the caption was already illegible when first seen.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 23-8 (ed. pr.). – Macalister, Addenda 138; Schürer I,2, 4-7 n.8; J. Peters, Art and Archaeology 7, 1918, 181-95; Schürer II,2, 4f. n.8; A. Kloner, NEAEHL 3, 1993, 955; Kloner, Maresha I 21-4; Jacobson, Marisa 25ff., pl. 12; SEG 57, 1839; Kloner, Maresha 2008, 174f.; S. Mucznik, SBF 60, 2010, 319-339 at 337; SEG 61, 1443. – Cf. C. Watzinger, Denkmäler Palästinas, 1935, 18 pl. 25 fig. 57; F. Bodenheimer, Animal and Man in Bible Lands I 1960; M. Rostovtzeff, The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World I 1972, 520; A. Steinmeyer-Schareika, Das Nilmosaik von Palestrina und eine ptolemäische Expedition nach Äthiopien, 1978, 103ff.; E. Rice, The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 1983, 96ff. nos. 187, 190; Meyboom, Nile Mosaic 44f., 282-6 nos. 6-9, 12-21, 23-26 pls. 57-65; G. Ilani, Leopard Stepe, 2004 (Hebr.).

Photo: C. Raad, courtesy of S. Gibson; Peters - Thiersch, pl. 6.

DG

## 3535. Greek caption of a hunter Libanus

The first line of this two-line inscription was painted above the head of a mounted hunter, while the second is divided between the left and the right sides of his upper body. The second *upsilon* of l.2 is written over the *rho*, seemingly like a ligature. Presumably, the artist initially omitted this *upsilon*, and then sought to correct the omission by writing that character over the *rho*. Below the horse and the leopard (no. 3536) are the later incised inscriptions nos. 3537, 3539 and the painted inscription no. 3538.

Findspot: Southern wall of Room D, above the opening to Loculus 29 (see fig. E in the introduction to nos. 3516-3574 no. VI).

 $\begin{array}{l} I\Pi\PiO\Sigma\Lambda IBANO\Upsilon \\ TO\Upsilon \ (rider) \ T\Upsilon PO\Upsilon \end{array}$ 



fig. 3535.1 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

 $^\circ I\pi\pi$ ος Λιβάνου | τοῦ Τύρου

Horse of Libanus of Tyre.

Comm.: The reading here is based upon Raad's photograph. Note, too, Jacobson's remark that "the form and placing of the inscription in the original photograph ... are different from these features in the lithographic print (...), which serve as a reminder that the colour plates in Peters - Thiersch are not accurate rep-

resentations of the tomb paintings" (36 n.8). Libanus is a personal name, as has been suggested by Meyboom, and see two inscriptions from the 2 c. BC in SGDI 2, 2184 ll.4-11 (Delphi); IG 9,1², 3, 624d ll.2-7 (Naupactus). The Libanii mentioned in these documents were manumitted slaves, of Syrian and Arabian de-



fig. 3535.2 (color plate ca. 1905)

scent respectively. The name Libanus appears as a patronymic of an ignotus, [--]ας Λιβανου, a witness, in a summons issued by Babatha to one John, son of Joseph Eglas in 125 AD (P.Yadin 14 l.40). For a later unattributed inscription, presumably from our region, see F. Manns, SBF 29, 1979, 239-42 (=SEG 29, 1615 1.7). The use of the name by Semites is understandable in light of the fact that the name was created from the geographical term Mount Lebanon. The name Libanus is particularly appropriate for this leopardess hunter since he originated from Tyre. Libanus lived in Maresha perhaps within a community organized as "the Sidonians in Maresha." It would seem that Phoenician descent, not necessarily a Sidonian one, was enough to gain entry to that group. See also in no. 3534 (descr.) Thiersch's view with regard to Libanus' Persian appearance, similar to the men depicted on the sarcophagi of Sidon's royal cemetery. Not only is it fitting that a member of the Sidonians in Maresha would be dressed and equipped in a fashion similar to that of the mother city, but the fact that he originated from Tyre, an important Phoenician center close to Sidon, would explain the similarity in clothes and gear (cf. also W. Held, Berytus 51/2, 2008/9, 226ff.). Peters and Thiersch's reading,  $\tau \circ \tilde{v}$  i $\pi \pi i \pi \circ \tilde{v}$ , the rider, actually characterized what was seen on the wall painting, a man on a horse. However, the number of letters to Libanus' right makes their reading impossible. The hunting scene in the Maresha mural could be a local one. Hence, the attempt to offer Aethiopian hunting scenes as a parallel to the one depicted in the Maresha murals is unconvincing (Meyboom 282 n.6).

Bibl.: See bibl. to no. 3534.

Photo: C. Raad, courtesy of S. Gibson; Peters - Thiersch, pl. 6.

# 3536. Greek caption of a female leopard

Caption placed above the head of a female leopard. Below the horse (no. 3535) and the leopard are the later incised inscriptions nos. 3537, 3539 and the painted inscription no. 3538.

Findspot: Southern wall of Room D, above Loculus 29 (see fig. E in the introduction to nos. 3516-3574 no. VI).

#### ΠΑΡΔΑΛΑΣ

Πάρδαλίζς

Leopardess.

Comm.: Meyboom, while accepting the reading of Peters and Thiersch ( $\Pi AP\Delta A\Lambda O\Sigma$ , ed. pr.), aptly remarks that one would have expected the caption to read πάρδαλις (282 n.7), the appropriate word for a female leopard in Ancient Greek (cf. LSJ s.v. πάρδαλις I). The reading adopted in the ed. pr. for leopard is attested only once, if at all, as a variant for πάρδοι in Aelian. nat. an. 1,31 (so LSJ s.v. πάρδαλος Ι; however, such a reading is absent in the app. crit. for this passage, cited as 1,30, in: M. García Valdés et al. eds., Claudius Aelianus: De Natura Animalium, 2009, 15). Admittedly, there is no attestation for the reading  $\Pi AP\Delta A\Lambda A\Sigma$  in the present inscription, to mean



fig. 3536.1 (photograph taken ca. 1902)



fig. 3536.2 (color plate ca. 1905)

a female leopard, so probably the mural painter made a spelling mistake when writing the caption for his design. The name keeps recurring later on as well as a personal name (e.g. LGPN 5a, 358). If the name was known to the mural painter, he might have mistakenly thought it to mean a female leopard.

Hunting scenes such as the one depicting the chase and killing of the leopardess by Libanus the horseman (see no. 3535), were a stock in trade by the late clas-

sical period and the beginning of the Hellenistic period (Jacobson 27). Leopards were known to have inhabited Syria (which may refer to Palestine as well), see HA Probus 19,7: *editi deinde centum leopardi Libyci, centum deinde Syri* (Bodenheimer 43f.). More importantly, leopards were sighted and even photographed in the Judean Desert near the Dead Sea as late as 1989/90 (Ilani, esp. 156-74).

Bibl.: See bibl. to no. 3534.

Photo: C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 12); Peters - Thiersch, pl. 6.

DG

# 3537. Greek warning inscription against grave desecration, 2-1 c. BC

The person responsible for the inscription seems to have taken care not to cause harm to the underbelly of the galloping horse or to the hunting dog running alongside. Nevertheless, some of the letters are partly concealed due to a later inscription painted over it (no. 3538). The lateral stroke of the *mu* begins at the top corner of the left vertical hasta. It descends a bit, creating a concave line and joins the right vertical stroke a little bit below its upper end. The *epsilon* and *sigma* are large and cursive. The *theta* is elliptical. The *iota* is mostly concealed, because of the painted inscription on top.

Findspot: Room D, above Loculus 29 (no. 16 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F), beneath the scene depicting Libanus and his horse in pursuit of the leopardess (nos. 3535, 3536).

ΜΗΘΕΙΣ

Μηθείς

fig. 3537.1

Nobody!

Comm.: The form μηθείς - μηθέν (rather than μηδείς - μηδέν) is attested more widely in the pre-Christian era than afterwards, and its use in Maresha accords with the general phenomenon. Presumably, someone had the intention of



fig. 3537.2 (photograph taken ca. 1902, detail)

writing an explicit warning against grave sacrilege, but for some reason left the text unfinished. For such inscriptions see also nos. 3526, 3557 and 3560. The sanctity of

the graves was important among various peoples, including Phoenicians and Jews as well as Idumeans, cf. Hachlili, Funerary Customs 489-507; ead., in: D. Edwards - C. McCollough, The Archaeology of Difference, 2007, 243-55. As noted by the first editors, the fact that the warning inscription is partly covered by a later funerary inscription (no. 3538) requires that Loculus 29 was used for burial at least twice.



fig. 3537.3 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 48 no. 16 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Peters - Thiersch 48 fig. 13 (dr.); C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 12).

DG

# 3538. Greek funerary inscription of Straton, 2-1 c. BC

Painted inscription below the underbelly of Libanus' galloping horse (no. 3535). The inscription is later than no. 3537, for the painted text partly covers the scratched inscription.

Findspot: Above the opening to Loculus 29 in the southern wall of Room D (no. 26 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).

ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ

Στράτωνος

(Tomb) of Straton.

(TPATW NOC

fig. 3538.1



fig. 3538.2 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

Comm.: On the name, see comm to no. 3531.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 53 no. 26 (ed. pr.). - Jacobson, Marisa, pls. 11f.

Photo: Peters - Thiersch, pl. 6, 53 fig. 26 (dr.); C. Raad, courtesy of S. Gibson.



fig. 3538.3 (color plate ca. 1905)

DG

### 3539. Graffito concerning human destiny, 2-1 c. BC

The inscription is placed below the animal frieze (left side of the inscription below no. 3540, the right side below nos. 3535, 3536 and the incised inscription no. 3537 as well as below the painted inscription no. 3538). l.1 of the inscription begins to the left of one of the wreaths decorating the space between the dividing pillars and the upper animal murals. But some of the characters of the first word are inscribed within the wreath and are continued in l.2, again to the left of the wreath. The rest of the text is incised to the right of the wreath, above the eastern half of the gabled

Loculus 29. Some of the letters on both the left and the right side are smeared with paint and are therefore impossible to read from the photograph.

Findspot: On the southern wall of Room D, between Loculi 29-30 (no. 18 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F and fig. E, nos. VI-VII) – in the area delimited by the gabled opening of that loculus and the arch-like doorway leading to the combined spaces of Loculi 30-31.

# ΚΑΧΕΚΤΕΥ ΚΑΙΤ[..] +ΣΘΑΙ ΤΟ

Καχεκτεύ|εσθαι || καὶ τ[οῦ]|το

Be miserable about this (dying) as well.



fig. 3539.1 (left side of inscription, photograph taken ca. 1902)



fig. 3539.2 (right side of inscription, color plate ca. 1905)

Comm.: Macalister saw two inscriptions: KATE|XETAI and KAI TOY|TO KA. This seems to be the first appearance of the verb καχεκτεύομαι on stone. The only other testimony for this verb is BGU 1141 l.31 (1 c. BC). For the active form, καχεκτέω, see Polyb. 20,4,1 and 7,4; 29,17,4.



fig. 3539.3 (right side of inscription, photograph taken ca. 1902)

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 49 no. 18 (ed. pr.). – Macalister, Addenda 139.

Photo: C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa, pls. 11, 13); Peters - Thiersch, pl. 6.

DG

# 3540. Greek caption for a walking lion

Since the partition wall between Loculi 30-31 had been broken, the original openings to these combined loculi had been altered as well, with the result that the later enlarged entrance resembles an arch. The animal to the right of the arch is obviously a lion.

Findspot: Southern wall of Room D, between Loculi 29-30 (see fig. E in the introduction to nos. 3516-3574 nos. VI-VII).

ΠΑΝΘ[.]ΡΟΣ

Πάνθ[η]ρος

Panther.

Comm.: Above the epigraph and to its right there are traces of other letters. but the black and white photograph does not allow to see if these were painted too, or perhaps chiseled. These letters may have induced the first editors to suggest the genitive form of the animal's name, rather than the nominative. One would have expected the caption to call the animal a lion, but in fact the beast is termed a panther. It would seem that originally this defective passage equated the Arab lions to the African ones. For lions found in Ethiopia, see Strabo 17,2,2 (822). In fact, lions were spread all over the Near East. They are attested in India, Persia, Mesopotamia, Israel, Libya and Ethiopia (O. Keller, Die antike Tierwelt I 1909, 37-40).



fig. 3540.1 (photograph taken ca. 1902)



fig. 3540.2 (color plate ca. 1905)

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 24 (ed. pr.). - Jacobson, Marisa 27f.; see bibl. to no. 3534.

Photo: C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 13); Peters - Thiersch, pl. 7.

## 3541. Greek funerary inscription, 2-1 c. BC

The carved inscription is partly covered by the painted *eta*, *lambda* of no. 3544 above the back of the bull, no. 3545. To the right is inscription no. 3542.

Findspot: Southern wall of Room D, above the left side of the combined openings to Loculi 30-31, that is above Loculus 31 (no. 2 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).

# ΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΕΙΤΑΙ [--]

Ένθάδε κεῖται [--]

Here lies ...

Comm.: 1.2 [--]μαῖος ed. pr.; Macalister did not see any additional text on the same line, nor did he observe a second line. Our study of the photograph has brought

us to the same conclusion. Macalister suggested that there was just one line and that the missing name was chiseled away.



fig. 3541.1 (photograph taken ca. 1902)



fig. 3541.2 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 40 no. 2 pl. 7 (ed. pr.). - Macalister, Addenda 138.

Photo: C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 13).

DG

# 3542. Greek funerary inscription of Alexander, 2-1 c. BC

The first line of the incised inscription is well executed, so much that there may be a doubt if l.2 on the squeeze (no. 3543) was executed by the same hand. Therefore, it is possible that the names in ll.1 and 2 are not that of a father and son, but that they attest to two separate burials in this much enlarged loculus. The inscription is partly covered by no. 3544 and to the right of no. 3541, see below fig. 2. For the reuse of tombs, see nos. 3537 and 3610.

Findspot: Southern wall of Room D, above the arch-like opening of the joint Loculi 30-31 (no. 15 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).

#### ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ

Άλεξάνδρου

(Tomb) of Alexander.



fig. 3542.1 (squeeze)

Comm.: The name Alexander was repeatedly taken up by Jews (Ilan, Lexicon I 258ff., 313f.).

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 47f. no. 15 (ed. pr.). - Macalister, Addenda 139.

Photo: Peters - Thiersch, pl. 19,15; C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 13).



fig. 3542.2 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

DG

### 3543. Greek funerary inscription of Illasius, 2-1 c. BC

This line is partly covered by paint, possibly from the later painted inscription no. 3544 and was incised below no. 3542. Only faint traces are visible on the photograph from C. Raad (fig. 2). The *alpha* has a broken cross-bar, however, the *sigma* is lunate shaped and large. The *omicron* is not only large, but it is angular. The shape of the letters is a reason to disassociate this line from the one above it.

Findspot: Southern wall of Room D, above the arch-like opening of the joint Loculi 30-31, incised below no. 3542 (no. 15 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).

ΙΛΛΑΣΙΟΥ

Ιλλασιου

(Tomb) of Illasius.



fig. 3543.1 (squeeze)

Comm.: Γλαύκων[ος] ed. pr. – Illasius is a rare name, and it is probably a Semitic name in a Hellenistic garb. One may think here of names like 'llhy '(Eph'al - Naveh, Ostraca 72 l.5) or 'lšyw עלשיו (?) (Lemaire 2002, 190 l.3) as possible sources for the name Illasius.



fig. 3543.2 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 47f. no. 15 (ed. pr.). - Macalister, Addenda 139.

Photo: Peters - Thiersch, pl. 19,15; C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 13).

DG

# 3544. Funerary inscription of Heliodorus, 57/6 BC

The lion is seen to the right and slightly below the inscription which was painted over nos. 3541-3543.

Findspot: Southern wall of Room D, above the arch-like opening to the space combining Loculi 30-31 (no. 27 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).

LΑ ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΔΟΩΥΡΟ



fig. 3544.1 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

("Ετους) α'· | Ήλιοδώρ $\{\delta\}$ ο $\{\omega\}$ υ $\{\rho o\}$ 

Year 1: (tomb) of Heliodorus.

HATOSLIPOKIPO

fig. 3544.2

Comm.: The date in l.1 seems to have been added as an afterthought. Hence the very low *alpha* wedged in between l.2 and the upper border of the animal frieze. The lower part of the year sign's vertical stroke is sketched high up in the animal frieze while its upper part is painted at the bottom of the decorative band



fig. 3544.3 (present-day view)

placed above. On the era used for dating, see no. 3528 and Gera. The writer of the inscription made a mistake after completing the first six characters of l.2 without any incident. Then, wrongly assuming that he had merely written the first four letters, he continued to write  $\Delta\Omega PO$ , thus writing  $H\Lambda IO\Delta\Omega\Delta\Omega PO$  (the probable reason for this mistake is confusion between *omega* and *omicron*, cf. no. 3674). Recognizing his mistake at this point, the person squeezed a *rho* between the first *omega* and the *delta*, wrote a second *omicron* on top of the second *delta* and an *upsilon* on top of the second *omega*. For the name Heliodorus, see no. 3515.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 53 no. 27 (ed. pr.). – G. Finkielsztejn, Maresha III 199; D. Gera, PEQ 149, 2017, 212-8.

Photo: C. Raad (publ. in Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 13); Peters - Thiersch 53 fig. 17 (dr.); DK.

DG

### 3545. Greek caption above a kneeling bull

At some point Loculi 30 and 31 were transformed into a single space, which now had a new entrance, broader and higher than the two original openings and having the form of an arch. This building activity destroyed parts of the animal frieze, to the effect that the image of one animal, or maybe two, was irrevocably destroyed. Peters and Thiersch identified a long tail of a feline animal as well as a part of that animal's hindquarters. Both anatomical parts were painted yellow, and it has been conjectured that the much destroyed animal was another lion (Meyboom 44). Following it to the left, but still above the combined space of Loculi 30-31 there is a scene depicting a kneeling bull with his head bent down facing a recoiled snake. However, Peters and Thiersch reported that this scene's "details are not distinctly visible," and Jacobson has dwelled on the inaccuracy of the plates depicting this scene in the Peters - Thiersch tome. The photograph from 1902 and the color plate from 1905 (see introduction to nos. 3516-3574) do not show the complete animal and above the animals's back only faint traces of the inscription (see below figs. 1, 2); after present-day repaintings (fig. 3) the inscription is no longer visible. The inscription was located to the left of nos. 3541-3544 and on the same level as the lower part of l.2 of no. 3544.

Findspot: Southern wall of Room D, to the left of the combined Loculi 30-31 (see fig. E in the introduction to nos. 3516-3574 nos. VII-VIII).

ΒΟΥΣ

Βοῦς

Bull.

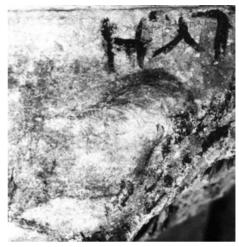
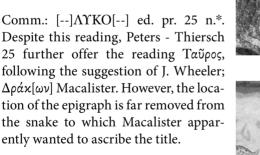


fig. 3545.1 (photograph taken ca. 1902)



fig. 3545.2 (color plate ca. 1905)



Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 25 (ed. pr.). - Macalister, Addenda 138; Jacobson, Marisa 28; see bibl. to no. 3534.

ently wanted to ascribe the title.

Photo: C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 13); Peters - Thiersch, pl. 7; DK.



fig. 3545.3 (present-day view)

### 3546. Greek caption above a giraffe

The animal is a four legged spotted mammal with a long neck. Peters and Thiersch identified it, correctly as it seems, as a giraffe, even though the head lacks the two hornlike ossicones and the animal's back is more or less horizontal, rather than sloping towards the tail. In light of this, the editors' remark that this animal represents "a creature which the painter had probably never seen in his life," seems justified. Then comes a boar that is centrally depicted above Loculus 32. The animal is facing westward as if confronting the giraffe which preceded it (fig. 2). The boar is painted gray with some red streaks. If there had been a caption above this animal, it was not observed by Peters and Thiersch who suggest that a later tomb inscription covered the animal's epigraph with paint (no. 3547).

Findspot: Southern wall of Room D, above the partition wall between Loculi 31-32 (see fig. E in the introduction to nos. 3516-3574 nos. VIII-IX).

Comm.: Peters - Thiersch claim that "the title seems to read:  $KAME\LambdaO\Pi AP\Delta A\LambdaO\Sigma$ ." The editors' reading seems to rely on their identification of the painted animal. The color plate from 1905 seems to show:  $XA[--]\Pi[--]$ . While the epigraph describing the animal may have started above the animal's back, one may only positively read one letter to its right, *chi*.

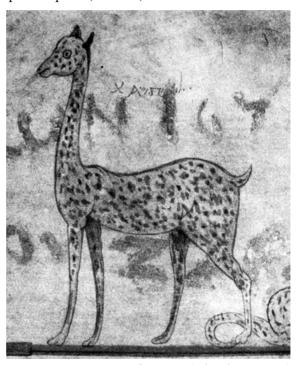


fig. 3546.1 (color plate ca. 1905)

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 24f. (ed. pr.). - Jacobson, Marisa 28f.; see bibl. to no. 3534.

Photo: Peters - Thiersch, pl. 8; DK.



fig. 3546.2

## 3547. Greek funerary inscription of Ammonius, 142 BC

The inscription was painted over a section of the animal frieze which depicts a boar and a giraffe (no. 3546) confronting one another. The letters have been depicted over and under the two animals, and the third line seems to have been extended to the right of Loculus 32, to the scene delineating the bloody struggle between the bull and the snake (no. 3545). This too seems to have been the outcome of the effort not to inscribe characters on top of the boar. Consequently, the right flank of l.3 proved to be quite difficult to read. The *omega* is cursive while each of the *omicrons* is differently depicted.

Findspot: Southern wall of Room D, above Loculus 32 (no. 30 on the plan, mistakenly connected there with Loculus 33; see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).

LΑΟΡΔΙΟΕ ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥΖΑ+ΔΟΥ



fig. 3547.1 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

("Έτους) αορ' Δίο(υ) ε': | Άμμωνίου | τοῦ Ζάβδου

Year 171, on the 5th of the month of Dios. (Tomb) of Ammonius son of Zabdi.

Comm.: If the reading is correct, then the date, the 5th of Dios 171 Seleucid era (autumn 142 BC), is the earliest dated inscription in Tomb I, preceding no. 3557 by a few months.



fig. 3547.2 (present-day view)

The inscription here belongs to the first month of the year, while no. 3557 is dated towards the end of that year. The name of the deceased is Ammonius; see P.Tebt. 3,1, 815 Fr. 5 l.29 for one Ḥaρ... Ἰμμωνίου Ἰδανμαίωι (the document is an early Roman copy of a 3 c. BC contract). The name also recurs among the Idumean soldiers stationed in Hermopolis Magna (SB 1, 599 II, l.102; III, l.186bis; 5, 8066 I, l.37; II, l.96; III, l.191). The patronymic was written in l.3. On the right flank there is a *delta* 

below the bull's mouth and next to it to the right and somewhat lower an *omicron* and an *upsilon*. The name Zάβδου like Zαββαίου (nos. 3557, 3645) belongs to a group of Semitic names taken from the root zbd τατ. Among the similar names from Maresha see zbd' ατατ in Eshel 47 no. 13, 53f. no. 30 l.2, 68 no. 64 l.5. See also zbdy τί in Eshel 65 no. 63 ll.5, 7, and 68 no. 64 l.14. In Greek see the form Zάβδα (IGLS 6, 2985 B l.6 from the Beqa'; Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia Ia, 24 l.4, 117 l.3); Zάβδαι (IGLS 7, 4057 ll.4f.); Zαβδαῖος (IGLS 5, 2698-2699); Zαβδίων (SEG 35, 1572 l.11); Zάβδ(ου) (IGLS 13,1, 9211, 9225). Such names are also found among the soldiers of Idumean origin stationed in Memphis and Hermopolis Magna (SB 1, 681 I, ll.29, 42; II l.69; 5, 8066 I, ll.7, 34, 42).

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 55f. no. 30 pls. 8-9 (ed. pr.). – Macalister, Addenda 139; Jacobson, Marisa, pls. 15, 17. – Cf. E. Eshel, Maresha III 35-88.

Photo: C. Raad, courtesy of S. Gibson; DK.

DG

# 3548. Greek caption above a griffin

The following two creatures are a griffin and a member of the deer family (no. 3549). The griffin is seen standing with its back turned to the hindquarters of the boar from the scene in no. 3546 fig. 2. The monster is facing eastward. The griffin's front paw is raised above ground as if it is giving chase to the animal in front and the caption is painted above the wings.

Findspot: Southern wall of Room D, midway between Loculi 32 and 33 (see fig. E in the introduction to nos. 3516-3574 nos. VIII-IX).

ΓΡΥΨ

Γρύψ

Griffin.



fig. 3548.1 (color plate ca. 1905)

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 25f. (ed. pr.). - Jacobson, Marisa 29f., pls. 17-18; see bibl. to no. 3534.

Photo: Peters - Thiersch, pl. 9.



fig. 3548.2 (color plate ca. 1905)

DG

### 3549. Greek caption above an oryx

See no. 3548 and fig. 2 there for the complete scene. The caption is placed midway between the animal's turned-back ears and its back.

Findspot: Southern wall of Room D, above Loculus 33 (see fig. E in the introduction to nos. 3516-3574 no. IX).

ΟΡΥΞ

"Ορυξ

Oryx.

Comm.: Meyboom 284 n.13 adds parallels to the representation of this animal in various hunting scenes.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 25f. (ed. pr.). – Jacobson, Marisa 29f., pls. 17-18; see bibl. to no. 3534.

Photo: Peters - Thiersch, pl. 9.



fig. 3549 (color plate ca. 1905)

DG

# 3550. Greek caption above a rhinoceros

The scene shows a rhinoceros walking eastward. The animal's enormous body is painted red-brown, and the artist scraped the painted body in curved lines, thus simulating the folds that exist in these animals' hides. The two horns indicate that this rhinoceros is African, since the Indian animal has just one horn (Toynbee

125). Despite this detail, the poor quality of the painting as well as the animal's undivided hooves (in place of the three toes these animals are equipped with) probably indicate the artist's scant acquaintance with this species. However, the very readable inscription above the rear half of the animal's back leaves little doubt about its identity. To the left of the animal are letters of the painted inscription no. 3553 visible.

Findspot: Southern wall of Room D, above Loculus 34 (see fig. E in the introduc-

tion to nos. 3516-3574 no. X).

#### ΡΙΝΟΚΕΡΩΣ

Υινόκερως

Rhinoceros.

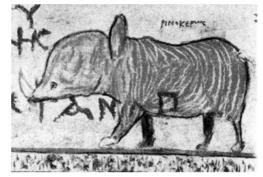


fig. 3550.1 (color plate ca. 1905)

Comm.: The Palestrina mosaic similarly depicts a captioned rhinoceros, but the epigraph there is misspelled PINOKEY $\Omega\Sigma$ . See IG 14, 1302 r; cf. SEG 45, 1452.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 26 (ed. pr.). - Jacobson, Marisa 30. - Cf. J. Toynbee, Animals in Roman Life and Art, 1973; see bibl. to no. 3534.

Photo: Peters - Thiersch, pl. 10; C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 19).



fig. 3550.2 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

DG

# 3551. Greek funerary inscription of Demetrius, 2 c. BC

The paint framing the opening to Loculus 34 seems to cover some of the characters in l.2. In other words, it postdates the incised inscription.

Meas.: 25.4 cm (10 inches, ed. pr.).

Findspot: On the southern wall of Room D, to the right of the opening for Loculus 34, and below the rhinoceros mural no. 3550 (no. 4 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).

# ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥΤΟΥ ΜΕΕΡΒΑΛΟΥ

Δημητρίου τοῦ | Μεερβαλου

(Tomb) of Demetrius, son of Meerbalus.

Comm.: Demetrius is a common Greek name, and its popularity among the Idumean military settlers in Hermopolis Magna and Memphis in the Ptolemaic period is well attested (see e.g., SB 1, 599 I, ll.1, 10, 20; 4206 I, ll.5, 23, 29; 5, 8066 III, ll.151, 158, 159; SB 1, 681 II, ll.48, 50, 53). The name Meerbalus recurs in no. 3562 which is perhaps the burial inscription of Demetrius' father. For his name, see the commentary there.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 41f. no. 4 (ed. pr.). – Keel - Küchler 870f.

Photo: C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 19); Peters - Thiersch, pls. 10, 17 fig. 4.



fig. 3551.1 (photograph taken ca. 1902)



fig. 3551.2 (squeeze)

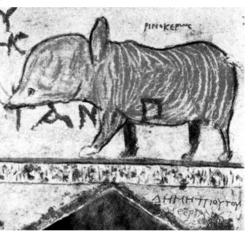


fig. 3551.3 (color plate ca. 1905)

DG

# 3552. Greek caption above an elephant

In front of the massive rhinoceros (no. 3550) another huge animal is seen, the elephant, as well as two people standing in front of it (no. 3554). The animal is painted in a grayish-black color, walking eastward like the other animals. The elephant's back is covered with a saddle-rug. One can observe the triangular ear of the beast, although it is somewhat distorted by the superimposed *beta*, which is part of a later inscription drawn over the animal (no. 3553). An element not discussed in previous studies is the man seated above the elephant's ear, that is on the elephant's neck, who is to be identified as the animal's handler (mahout), known in Greek as "Indian"

(ὁ Ἰνδός, cf. Phylarchos, FGrHist 81 F 36; Polyb. 1,40,15; 1 Macc 6,37). Only partial traces of this figure remain. It is obvious that the rider's neck and head were defaced. in the same way that the upper body of the horseman-hunter in no. 3535 had been scratched out. Furthermore, in front of the elephant stands a much destroyed figure, with one black hand outstretched toward the animal as if presenting it with something, perhaps food. One other barely visible detail is an axe, seemingly slung over this man's shoulder, on the side further away from the elephant. Apart from these two elements, this man's body parts were thoroughly effaced. There was also another figure whose outlines were scratched in the stone "on the side away from the elephant" and this figure was tentatively described "with flowing robes, possibly female ... represented in full face" (Peters - Thiersch). However, while there may have been a plan to incorporate a second human figure in this mural, it was never executed. The final painted picture in this section of the mural consisted of just one black African. The caption is set above the rear part of the elephant's saddle rug. The animal's long ear, seen from the side, and the concave back point to this elephant's African origin, see Toynbee 347 n.3.

Findspot: On the southern wall of Room D, above Loculus 35 (see fig. E in the introduction to nos. 3516-3574 no. X).

#### ΕΛΕΦΑΣ

Έλέφας

Elephant.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 26 pl. 10 (ed. pr.). - Jacobson, Marisa 30f. - Cf. J. Toynbee, Animals in Roman Life and Art, 1973; see bibl. to no. 3534.



fig. 3552 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

Photo: C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 20).

DG

#### 3553. Greek funerary inscription of Sabo, 56/5 BC

A relatively long inscription painted in sizable letters in and over the elephant, its rider and the rhinoceros (nos. 3550, 3552). The spaces between the characters are not uniform, and it seems that some effort was made to write the various letters on top of a bright background to make them more readable. Indeed, the characters written over the dark rhinoceros are barely readable. The writing is uncharacteristically square: the angle between the two bars of the year sign L is approximately

90 degrees, the *omicrons* and *sigmas* are square (the latter form cannot be found elsewhere in Maresha).

Findspot: On the southern wall of Room D, above Loculi 34-35 (no. 28 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).

LΒΔΥΣΤΡΟΥ ΣΑΒΟΥΣΤΗΣ ΚΟΣΝΑΤΑΝΟΥ



fig. 3553.1 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

("Έτους) β' Δύστρου. | Σαβοῦς τῆς | Κοσνατάνου

Year 2, in the month of Dystros. (Tomb) of Sabo, daughter of Cosnatanus.

Comm.: For the name Sabo, see nos. 3527, 3618. On Cosnatanus, see no. 3634. For the possible family relations, see no. 3573 (comm.). On the era used for dating, see no. 3528 and Gera.

BAYBOY ETH KOENATAN DY fig. 3553.2

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 54 no. 28 pl. 10 (ed. pr.). - Jacobson, Marisa, pls. 19-20; D. Gera, PEQ 149, 2017, 212-8. - See bibl. to no. 3534.

Photo: C. Raad, courtesy of S. Gibson; Peters - Thiersch 54 fig. 18 (dr.); WE.



fig. 3553.3 (present-day view)

DG

# 3554. Greek caption of Ethiopia

Peters and Thiersch's description implies that the caption is placed above the female figure, and this is also Meyboom's view. As a result, the outlined but not painted female figure was seen by them as a "representation or personification of central Africa" (cf. Meyboom 45). However, the photograph clearly shows that the epigraph was painted above the man standing in front of the elephant (cf. no. 3552). This man therefore represents the country Ethiopia, and since he is one of two people who take care of the animal, it may be argued that his ethnic origins also point to the elephant's country of origin.

Findspot: On the southern wall of Room D, above Loculus 35 (see fig. E in the introduction to nos. 3516-3574 no. X).

ΑΙΟΙΟΠΙΑ

ΑΙΘΙΟΠΙΑ

fig. 3554.1

Αίθιοπία

Ethiopia.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 26 pl. 10 (ed. pr.). - Jacobson, Marisa 30f.; see bibl. to no. 3534.

Photo: H. Thiersch - J. Peters, ZDPV MN 8, 1902, 41 (dr.); C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 19).



fig. 3554.2 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

DG

## 3555. Greek caption of a crocodile

A yellowish crocodile with a raised head and an open mouth faces west. On the crocodile's back stands an ibis on one of its legs (no. 3556 and see fig. 2). The bird is partly concealed by a later inscription (no. 3557) which was painted above and to the sides of the crocodile, slightly covering it as well. The caption is not visible on C. Raad's photograph.

Findspot: On the northern wall of Room D, above Loculus 40 (see fig. E in the introduction to nos. 3516-3574 no. XII).

#### ΚΡΟΚΟΔΙΛΟΣ

Κροκόδιλος

Crocodile.



fig. 3555.1 (color plate ca. 1905, detail)

Comm.: Contrary to the assertion of Peters and Thiersch, followed by Jacobson, that the title is to be found "above its [i.e. the animal's] head," the color plate (see fig. 2) depicts the caption in mid-air below the ibis (no. 3556) and above the crocodile. In fact, the caption had been painted at a lower level, on the crocodile's arched back.



fig. 3555.2 (color plate ca. 1905)

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 27 (ed. pr.). – Jacobson, Marisa 32f., pls. 21-22; see bibl. to no. 3534.

Photo: Peters - Thiersch, pl. 12.

DG

# 3556. Greek caption above an ibis

Above no. 3555, see description there. The caption is slightly visible on C. Raad's photograph.

Findspot: On the northern wall of Room D, above Loculus 40 (see fig. E in the introduction to nos. 3516-3574 no. XII).

IB[..]

<sup>3</sup>Ιβ[ις]

Ibis.

Comm.: Peters - Thiersch in ed. pr. read  $IBI\Sigma$ , see color plate fig. 2.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 27 (ed. pr.). – Jacobson, Marisa 32f.; see bibl. to no. 3534.

Photo: C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 22); Peters - Thiersch, pl. 12.

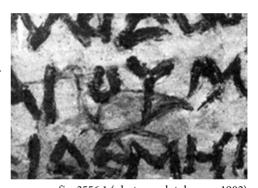


fig. 3556.1 (photograph taken ca. 1902)



fig. 3556.2 (color plate ca. 1905)

# 3557. Greek funerary inscription of Apollodorus, 141 BC

The three upper lines of the painted inscription are relatively long and are written over the crocodile and the ibis (see nos. 3555 and 3556). They extend to the left of the crocodile's head and to the right of its tail. Two additional short lines may be seen lower down to the left of the beast, and another half-line was delineated on the right side above the crocodile's tail. This line is placed on the same level as l.4 on the left. However, the text is read continuously from the upper lines to the two lower lines on the left. Thus, the short line on the lower right is actually l.6. The writer seems to have made an effort to place it around the crocodile and the ibis standing on the reptile's back. Nevertheless, a few letters were painted over these two creatures.

Findspot: On the northern wall of Room D, above Loculus 40 (no. 29 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).

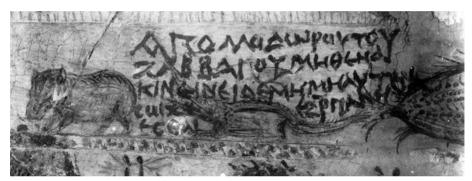


fig. 3557.1 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔ $\Omega$ POΥΤΟΥ ZABBAIOΥΜΗΘΈΝΑ KINΕΙΝΕΙΔΕΜΗΜΗΑΥΤΟΥ  $\Sigma\Omega$ Z (crocodile)  $E\Sigma\Theta$ AI (crocodile) LΑΟLΡΠΑΝΗ



fig. 3557.2 (color plate ca. 1905)

Άπολλοδώρου τοῦ | Ζαββαίου. Μηθένα | κινεῖν· εἰ δὲ μή, μὴ αὐτοῦ | σώζ|εσθαι. | (Ἐτους) αο{(ἔτους)}ρ', Πανή(μου)

(Tomb) of Apollodorus, son of Zabbaeus. Let no-one disturb (this tomb)! If not, let not his (grave) be saved! Year 171, in the month of Panemos.

Comm.: For the name Apollodorus, see no. 3628. For the name of his father, see no. 3645. Beside writing the name of the deceased and his patronymic, the inscription adds a warning formula against causing disturbance to the tomb, see also nos. 3526, 3537, 3560. The example used here adds a curse to anyone violating the tomb. The most important feature of this inscription is its date, and the implications thereof with regard to the time that the animal frieze was painted (see introduction to nos. 3516-3574). Lagrange, while admitting that the inscription's date was not altogether clear (this view is shared by Peters), offered the date "year 107" (Lζρ'). However, in that year, 107 Seleucid era (206/5 BC), Maresha was still under Ptolemaic control. Lagrange's suggestion that the Sidonians of Maresha employed the Seleucid era while being ruled by the Ptolemies is unacceptable. The ed. pr., which reflects the view of H. Thiersch, reads the date as LIZP, interpreting it as "year 117" (196/5 BC). However, if that were the case, the date would have been inscribed LZIP. The suggestion that the placing of the characters was inverted seems unlikely (for earlier doubts, but without discussion, see Regev 20). Finally, a third proposal was made by J. Peters. The latter's reading LEP, "year 160" (153/2 BC), entails no special difficulties, but given the different readings suggested by these three contemporaneous scholars, a renewed inquiry into the date is mandatory. Here, the photographs taken by C. Raad are of incomparable value. Raad's relevant photograph (fig. 1) shows l.6 beginning at the rear of the crocodile's body and continuing above the tail. The first letter of this line is an alpha. Standing on the head of the alpha is the year sign L, written with an acute angle. To the right of these two signs, there is a small suspended circle, a rho. The year sign to the left was probably written after the omicron was already in place, since the lateral bar of the year sign seems to conceal a part of the omicron's otherwise perfect circle. This small letter stands on the head of another year sign with an acute angle. In fact, the combined picture of an omicron standing on the head of year sign below looks a bit like a zeta, thus explaining the misreading of Lagrange and Thiersch. Therefore, it is suggested that the person painting the inscription first entered the letters AOP, denoting the year 171. Then, wanting to add a year sign, he saw no place on the left, as the *alpha* is painted right on the crocodile's back. He therefore inserted it in the space below the minute omicron, only to realize that the year sign was not properly placed to the left of the letters expressing the date. To correct this mistake, he inserted another year sign, this time on top of the alpha's head. To conclude the matter of the date, the painted inscription was written in the month of Panemos, that is the late summer/early autumn of the year 171 Seleucid era, and therefore in 141 BC.

1030

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 54f. no. 29 (ed. pr.). – M.-J. Lagrange, CRAI 1902, 497-505 at 503f.; Macalister, Addenda 139; D. Regev, The Greek Onomasticon of Maresha in the Hellenistic Period, unpubl. MA thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1994 (Hebr.); Jacobson, Marisa 48 n.2, pls. 22, 24. – See bibl. to no. 3534.

Photo: C. Raad, courtesy of S. Gibson; Peters - Thiersch, pl. 12.

DG

# 3558. Greek caption above a hippopotamus

Preceding the crocodile (no. 3555), and looking in the same direction, there is a fat hippopotamus with short chubby legs. Its head bears similarity to that of a horse, although it is wider and its eye seems to be deep-set. The animal's skin is painted in unnatural red and yellow stripes. There is a long caption above the animal which begins above the head and continues over the body. Above the head of the hippopotamus is the incised inscription no. 3560; to the right the painted inscription no. 3557.

Findspot: On the northern wall of Room D, above Loculi 40-41 (see fig. E in the introduction to nos. 3516-3574 no. XII).



fig. 3558 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

[.] ΠΠΟ (ear of the animal) ΣΠΟΤΑΜΟΥ

["Ι]ππος ποταμοῦ

Hippopotamus.

Comm.: The reading of the inscription is difficult, and what is offered here is tentative. Peters and Thiersch claimed that they "sought in vain for any traces of a title." Cf. for the genitive Ach. Tat. 4,2: ἵππον δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ Νείλου ἐκάλουν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι.

Bibl.: Unpublished. – Peters - Thiersch 27, pls. 12-13; Jacobson, Marisa 33; see bibl. to no. 3534. Photo: C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 22).

# 3559. Greek caption above a wild ass

The long-eared ass is devoid of any of the trappings of a domesticated animal, such as saddle, reins etc. The ass bites the snake close to its head. There is a pool of red blood beneath the fighting animals, but it is not clear which of the two animals has been hurt. The ass is depicted in yellow, with colored stripes, while the serpent is white and is dotted with black spots. There is an inscription above the animal's back. The second word is easier to discern than the first. The figs. show from right to left nos. 3558, 3559, 3561 and scratched above these no. 3560.

Findspot: On the northern wall of Room D, above the western half of Loculus 41 (see fig. E in the introduction to nos. 3516-3574 no. XIII).



fig. 3559.1 (color plate ca. 1905)

## ΟΝΟΣ ΑΓΡΙΟΣ

"Ονος ἄγριος

Wild ass.

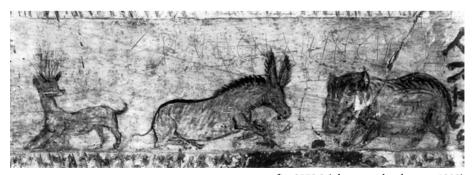


fig. 3559.2 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

Comm.: ONAΓΡΙΟΣ ed. pr. The word suggested by Peters and Thiersch does not exist, and it is in fact a conflation of two words,  $\delta$  ὅναγρος and its diminutive form

τὸ ὀνάγριον. A Jewish dignitary in the service of Ptolemaeus II Philadelphus, Tobias, is attested as sending a wild ass (τὸ ὀνάγριον) to his king in 257 BC, P.Cair. Zen. 59075 l.5 (=CPJ 1, 5), perhaps half a century prior to the painting of the animal frieze in Maresha. The inspiration to this particular drawing may have been the local wildlife (Jacobson 33f.). It is therefore not necessary to suppose a Somalian origin of the wild ass depicted here – as Meyboom 286 no. 24 did.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 27 (ed. pr.). - Jacobson, Marisa 33f.; see bibl. to no. 3534.

Photo: Peters - Thiersch, pl. 13; C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 24).

DG

# 3560. Greek warning inscription against grave desecration. 2-1 c. BC

The text is scratched above the wild ass and the hippopotamus (nos. 3558, 3559), but some of the characters damaged the head of the wild ass.

Findspot: On the northern wall of Room D, above Loculus 41 (no. 17 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).

# EMHΘENAKINEIŅ ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ



fig. 3560.1 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

{Ε}Μηθένα κινεῖν <τὴν> | τυγατέρα

Let no one disturb the daughter.

fig. 3560.2

Comm.: ETATEPA Macalister. For the other inscriptions from Maresha forbidding any transgression against the entombed, see nos. 3526, 3537 and 3557.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 48f. no. 17 (ed. pr.). - Macalister, Addenda 139; see bibl. to no. 3534.

Photo: C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 24); Peters - Thiersch 48 fig. 14 (dr.); DK.



fig. 3560.3 (present-day view)

DG

# 3561. Unreadable caption above an unidentified animal

An animal walking westward, its rear is turned towards the ass's hindquarters (no. 3559 and see figs. there) and its head is turned backward as if it is following the struggle of the ass and the serpent. It has distinguishable long upright hair grouped together between its ears. The body seems similar in size to that of a dog and it has a very short upturned tail. It is painted yellow (Peters - Thiersch). The sketched creature has no clear resemblance to any known animal, nor were the efforts to decipher the caption successful (see. fig. 1, photograph of C. Raad). Consequently, it has been variously identified as a hyena, a field rat, a wolf or a jackal.



fig. 3561.1 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

Findspot: On the northern wall of Room D, above the dividing wall between Loculi 41-42 (see fig. E in the introduction to nos. 3516-3574 no. XIII).



fig. 3561.2 (color plate ca. 1905)

Comm.: Peters - Thiersch read [--]IYI[.] $\Lambda$ [--]. They tentatively suggest to read this as λύκος, wolf; the color plate shows: IYOΛIE, see fig. 2 (to the right: nos. 3558-3559).

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 27 (ed. pr.). - Jacobson, Marisa 34 pl. 24; see bibl. to no. 3534.

Photo: C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 24); Peters - Thiersch, pl. 13.

DG

# 3562. Greek funerary inscription of Meerbalus, 2 c. BC

Since there is no space between the apex of the opening and the border of the animal frieze above, three characters are placed to the left of the apex, and the remaining six to its right.

Meas.: Peters - Thiersch estimate the length of the first three letters at about 7 inches (17.8 cm) and the second group encompassing six letters as being about 16.5 inches (41.9 cm).

Findspot: On the northern wall of Room D, above Loculus 42 (no. 20 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).



fig. 3562.1 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

ΜΕΕΡΒΑΛΟΥ

Μεερβαλου

1034

(Tomb) of Meerbalus.



fig. 3562.2

Comm.: The name Meerbalus is mentioned also in no. 3551, as the patronymic of one Demetrius. Perhaps father and son shared the same burial hall. When discussing the father's name, the first editors rightly comment that it is "the Grecized form of the Phoenician and Punic name Maharbal or Maherbal (מהרבעל mhrb'l), 'gift



fig. 3562.3 (color plate ca. 1905)

of Baal'" (Peters - Thiersch 42); see CIS 1,1, 139; RES 3, 1916/18, 1216 l.3; 1580 l.6. Josephus, c. Apionem 1,158, lists an homonymous person, spelled Μέρβαλος, as one of the kings of Tyre in the 5 c. BC.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 50 no. 20 (ed. pr.). - A. Schalit, ASTI 1, 1962, 109-60 at 114, 146f.

Photo: C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa, pls. 24 and 26 combined); Peters - Thiersch 50 fig. 15 (dr.), pls. 13 and 14 combined.

DG

## 3563. Unreadable caption above a wolflike animal

To the left of the mysterious creature (no. 3561), another enigmatic animal is seen walking westward. Peters and Thiersch describe it as a composite. Because of the horn on the animal's snout they would assign it "to the class of Nasicornia," while the rather slim body and long, thin tail remind them of the tapir. The horn at the end of the snout has led Meyboom to suggest identifying it with the black rhinoceros, but this seems highly unlikely because of the animal's slim body and triangular upright ears. Other suggestions with regard to the identity of the animal are that it was a cat (Macalister) or a deer (Jacobson), but they stem more from attempts to read the caption for the animal rather than from its picture. In fact, the animal looks like a wolf, or perhaps a fox or a hyena, but with a horn attached to its nose. The photograph suggests that prior to the execution of this painting an effort had been made to trace on the rock the outlines of an enormous animal, perhaps a rhinoceros or an elephant. It is likely that the horn was delineated on the rock as part of this early design. However, this plan for the northern wall was later shelved, and the gigantic animals, the rhinoceros and the elephant (nos. 3550, 3552), were sketched on Burial Hall D's southern wall. Instead a much smaller wolflike animal was painted. However, the pre-existing horn now appeared as if it were attached to this animal's snout. The porcupine no. 3564 is visible to the left.

Findspot: On the northern wall of Room D, above the western half of the opening to Loculus 42 (see fig. E in the introduction to nos. 3516-3574 no. XIV).

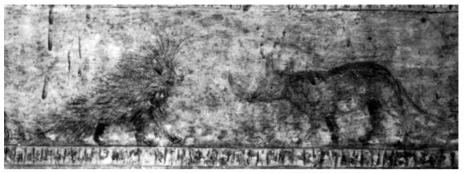


fig. 3563.1 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

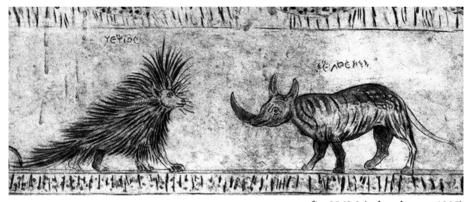


fig. 3563.2 (color plate ca. 1905)

Comm.: Peters - Thiersch in ed. pr. read [.] $\Lambda$ OΦ[--]. In a note they added: "perhaps something like ὑλοφάγος, wood-eating"; Macalister read [AI] $\Lambda$ OΥ[POΣ] and Jacobson ΕΛΑΦΟΣ. Perhaps one may read ΘΛΟΣ+++(?) from the color plate (fig. 2).

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 28 (ed. pr.) – Macalister, Addenda 138; Jacobson, Marisa 34; see bibl. to no. 3534.

Photo: C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 26); Peters - Thiersch, pl. 14.

# 3564. Greek caption above a porcupine

A porcupine facing a wolf-like animal (no. 3563), and therefore looking eastward. Its quills are painted red and black while the legs are painted black. The caption is written above the animal, at the back of its head.

Findspot: On the northern wall of Room D, above Loculus 43 (see fig. E in the introduction to nos. 3516-3574 nos. XIV-XV).

ΥΣΤΡΙΞ

"Υστριξ

Porcupine.

Comm.: Reading from the photograph of C. Raad presented by D. Jacobson. The color plate presents YETIO $\Sigma$ . For photographs, see no. 3563.

The porcupine is an Asiatic species and can still be found in Israel. Hence, there is nothing to suggest that inspiration to paint that animal was drawn from Ptolemaic Egypt, but one should mention at least that porcupines live in Egypt too.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 28 (ed. pr.). – Jacobson, Marisa 34; see bibl. to no. 3534.

DG

## 3565. Greek funerary inscription of Ptolemaeus, 2-1 c. BC

The remains of at least three graffiti (nos. 3565-3567) were incised above Loculus 43. There are difficulties in assigning the various letters to the different inscriptions. The level of the gable's apex was not taken into consideration when inscribing the first letters. Hence, starting from the *mu* and to the right, the letters are incised on a higher level.

Findspot: On the northern wall of Room D, above Loculus 43 (no. 6 on the plan, mistakenly mentioned there as nos. 8-9; see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).

ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ



Πτολεμαίου

(Tomb) of Ptolemaeus.

fig. 3565.1 (squeeze)

1038

Comm.: For the name Ptolemaeus among the local residents, see nos. 3592, 3637 (comm.).



fig. 3565.2



Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 42 no. 6 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Peters - Thiersch 42 fig. 8 (dr.), pl. 17; C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 26).

fig. 3565.3 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

DG

# 3566. Partly deciphered Greek funerary inscription, 2-1 c. BC

The jumble of inscriptions above Loculus 43 proved to be a stumbling block in the attempt to decipher the left part of this inscription; see also nos. 3565, 3567.

Findspot: On the northern wall of Room D, above Loculus 43 (no. 7 on the plan, mistakenly mentioned there as nos. 8-9; see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).



fig. 3566.1 (squeeze)

# ΠΟΛΛΙΗΛΑΤΥΣ Τρύφωνος

(?) son of Tryphon.

TON ENGROPPEN

fig. 3566.2

Comm.: Πτολεμαίου γύνη ed. pr.; Πτολεμαίου ΓΥΜ-ΗΛΩΝΟΣ Macalister. – The name Tryphon appears twice in the Hermopolis Magna lists of Idumean soldiers serving in the Ptolemaic army (SB 1, 599 III, l.163; 5, 8066 II, l.126). This Greek name was also adopted by Jews, see CIIP I 220.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 43 no. 7 (ed. pr.). - Macalister, Addenda 138.



fig. 3566.3 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

Photo: Peters - Thiersch 43 fig. 9 (dr.), pl. 17; C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 26).

DG

# 3567. Undeciphered Greek funerary inscription, 2-1 c. BC

The characters of this inscription are much larger than those of nos. 3565 and 3566 from the same place.

Findspot: On the northern wall of Room D, above Loculus 43 (no. 8 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).

**EPANAH** 

Ga 25(7)

fig. 3567.1

Comm.:  $\Delta$ PTN AIK ed. pr. and see fig. 1 here. Peters and Thiersch do not rule out the possibility that the first character was a *pi*. They also suggest alternative readings for the third letter: *gamma*, *lambda* and *alpha*; (?)P $\Gamma$ AIA Macalister.

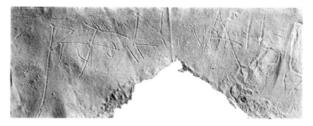


fig. 3567.2 (squeeze)

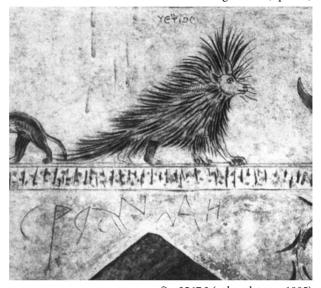


fig. 3567.3 (color plate ca. 1905)



fig. 3567.4 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 43 no. 8 (ed. pr.). - Macalister, Addenda 138. - See bibl. to no. 3534.

Photo: Peters - Thiersch 43 fig. 10 (dr.), pls. 14, 17 (squeeze); C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 26).

# 3568. Greek caption above a lynx

The animal moves westward and its tail actually brushes the porcupine's (no. 3564) rear. It has short legs and a long body, while the very long ears are hairy and they stand upright. The inscription is written above the rear part of the animal's back. For the lion to the left on the photograph, see no. 3569.

Findspot: On the northern wall of Room D, above the Loculi 43-44 (see fig. E in the introduction to nos. 3516-3574 no. XV).



fig. 3568.1 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

ΛΥΝΞ

Λύνξ

Lynx.

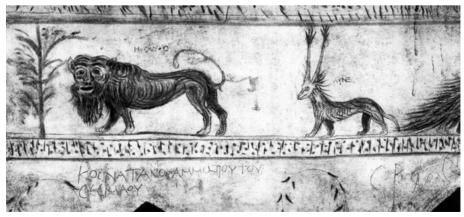


fig. 3568.2 (color plate ca. 1905)

Comm.: The usual spelling of this animal's name is  $\lambda \dot{\nu} \gamma \dot{\xi}$ , but note the identical spelling in the Palestrina mosaic, IG 14, 1302 p, noted by Meyboom.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 28 (ed. pr.). - Jacobson, Marisa 35; see bibl. to no. 3534.

Photo: C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 28); Peters - Thiersch, pl. 15.

DG

# 3569. Greek caption above a human-faced lion

Ahead of the lynx (no. 3568) one can see another creature that is not really an animal, walking westward. Before it stands a tree painted in grey, presumably an acacia, sealing the decorated frieze as it were. Beyond this point towards the northwestern corner of the room, a 137 cm section of the wall is unadorned. The painted creature is seen in profile, but the large head is turned full face towards the viewer. The body is that of a lion, with a long tail arching over the back. The head, however, is distinctly human in appearance, with thick eyebrows and a long beard. The creature's hide is dotted with black, yellow and red spots. The fact that the drawing combines features from different species marks this creature as a hybrid, like the griffin (pace Meyboom, see no. 3548). Another legendary monster with some similarity to the creature depicted in Maresha is the man-eating martichoras, described by Ctesias (in Arist. HA 501a25-501b2; Paus. 9,21,4; Aelian, NA 4,21). However, the various literary descriptions do not agree completely with the visual model, so that the identification of the Maresha monster as the Indian martichoras is not necessarily correct. According to the plate accompanying the Peters - Thiersch tome, the inscription is written above the middle of the creature's back. Below the animal, see the incised and painted inscriptions nos. 3570-3572.

Findspot: On the northern wall of Room D, above the Loculus 44 (see fig. E in the introduction to nos. 3516-3574 no. XV).

 $H[--]M[--]\Sigma$ 

Comm.: Previous editions gave different readings:  $H[--]\Sigma$  (ed. pr.);  $H[--]\Xi$  Macalister.



fig. 3569.1 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 28 (ed. pr.). - Macalister, Addenda 138; Jacobson, Marisa 35; see bibl. to no. 3534.

Photo: C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 28); Peters - Thiersch, pl. 15.



fig. 3569.2 (color plate ca. 1905)

DG

# 3570. Greek funerary inscription of Cosnatanus, ca. 100 BC

Three inscriptions (nos. 3570-3572) are located below the human-faced lion of the animal frieze (no. 3569).

Meas.: w 59.7 cm (23.5 inches, ed. pr.).

Findspot: On the northern wall of Room D, above the Loculus 44 (no. 9 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).



fig. 3570.1 (squeeze)

# ΚΟΣΝΑΤΑΝΟΣΑΜΜΩΙΟΥΤΟΥ ΣΕΣΜΑΟΥ

Κοσνατᾶνος Άμμωίου τοῦ | Σεσμάου

(Tomb) of Cosnatanus son of Ammoius son(?) of Sesmaus.

Comm.: For additional characters read by Macalister, see no. 3572. For the name Cosnatanus, see no. 3634. Peters and Thiersch suggested that the name of Cosnatanus' father is "corrupted from Ammônios." This seems

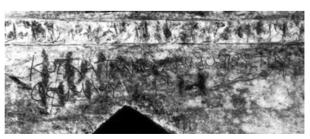


fig. 3570.2 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

unlikely, as the name recurs in two other tomb inscriptions of people from the same family (nos. 3528, 3529; on the possible family relations, see no. 3573 [comm.]). The name seems to be a Grecized form of the name 'mw ממו which is repeatedly documented among the non-provenanced ostraca from Idu-



fig. 3570.3 (color plate ca. 1905)

mea (Lozachmeur - Lemaire 136 no. 7 ll.2, 5; 137f. no. 8 l.1; Lemaire, Musée d'Israël 112 l.1, 124A l.1; Lemaire 2002, 88 l.4, 118 l.3, 163 l.1, 275 l.1). The same name also appears in a bilingual Aramaic and Greek inscription incised on a sarcophagus found at Beit 'Anun in Idumea (see no. 3762): in Aramaic as 'mw, and in Greek as  $A\mu\mu\alpha$ 1δος or perhaps  $A\mu\mu\alpha$ 1δες (Magen 54f.). For Sesmaus/Sesmaeus, see no. 3573. Sesmaus was either Cosnatanus' grandfather or a more removed ancestor to whom his descendants claimed affiliation.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 44f. no. 9 (ed. pr.). - A. Schalit, ASTI 1, 1962, 109-60 at 114, 146f. - Cf. H. Lozachmeur - A. Lemaire, Semitica 46, 1996, 123-42; Y. Magen, Qadmoniot 34, 2001, 53-9 (Hebr.).

Photo: Peters - Thiersch, pls. 15, 18; C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 28).

DG

# 3571. Greek funerary inscription of Cimolius, 2-1 c. BC

The inscription was located immediately above nos. 3570 and 3572.

Findspot: On the northern wall of Room D, above the Loculus 44 (no. 14 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).

ΚΙΜΩΛΙΟΣ

Dr mylok

fig. 3571.1

Κιμώλιος

Cimolius.

Comm.:  $[--]\omega\lambda\iota o\varsigma$  ed. pr.; NYΣ-KΩΛΙ[OΣ] Macalister. – The reading is offered here with caution. For this rare name, see IG 12,3, 1259 ll.13f.

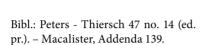




fig. 3571.2 (squeeze)

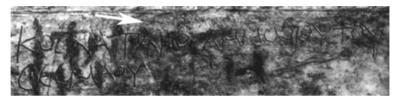


fig. 3571.3 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

Photo: Peters - Thiersch 47 fig. 12 (dr.), pl. 18; C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 28).

DG

# 3572. Undeciphered Greek funerary inscription, 2-1 c. BC

The same squeeze as for nos. 3570 and 3571 shows delicate traces of some other letters (not recognizable on the photograph). These characters overlap with the other two inscriptions.

Findspot: On the northern wall of Room D, above the Loculus 44 (no. 14 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).



fig. 3572 (squeeze)

# $[--]PM\Sigma EN$

Comm.: [--]I $\Sigma$ M $\Sigma$ EN[.] Macalister (mentioned by him in connection with Peters - Thiersch 44 no. 9, no. 3570).

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 47 no. 14 (ed. pr.). - Macalister, Addenda 138.

Photo: Peters - Thiersch, pl. 18,9.

# 3573. Funerary inscription for Apollophanes, leader of the Sidonians in Maresha, 200-160 BC

The vaulted entrance was framed by a vertical pilaster and a horizontal one, hewn out of the bedrock but creating the impression of independent architectural elements. The inscription was scratched on the horizontal pilaster, above the vaulted gateway. A photograph of this doorway was taken between the two World Wars (see below fig. 1), giving a non-too good representation of the inscription. Later on this architectural element was cut out and removed by robbers. Strips of squeezes of the three-line inscription are kept at the PEF building in London (autopsy of squeeze: 10 February 2015). However, the longer lines 1 and 2 are only partly preserved in these strips. l.1 extends to the right up to the word  $\tau \rho i \dot{\alpha} \kappa o \nu \tau [\alpha]$ , while l.2 does not go beyond the verb  $\dot{\alpha}\pi \dot{\epsilon}\theta \alpha \nu \epsilon [\nu]$ .

Meas.: letters 0.5-1.5 cm (as measured from the squeeze).

Findspot: Southern wall of Recess E, above the opening leading to Loculus 36. (no. 1 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3519 fig. F).



fig. 3573.1

ΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑΝΗΣΣΕΣΜΑΙΟΥΑΡΞΑΣΤΩΝΕΝΜΑΡΙΣΗΙΣΙΔΩΝΙΩΝΕΤΗ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑΚΑΙΤΡΙΑΚΑΙΝΟΜΙΣΘΕΙΣ ΠΑΝΤΩΝΤΩΝΚΑΘΑΥΤΟΝΧΡΗΣΤΟΤΑΤΟΣΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΙΚΕΙΟΤΑΤΟΣ ΑΠΕΘΑΝΕΝΔΕΒΙΩΣΑΣΕΤΗ ΕΒΔΟΜΗΚΟΝΤΑΚΑΙΤΕΣΣΑΡΑΕ

Άπολλοφάνης Σεσμαίου ἄρξας τῶν ἐν Μαρίσηι Σιδωνίων ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ τρία καὶ νομισθεὶς | πάντων τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν χρηστότατος καὶ φιλοικειότατος ἀπέθανεν δὲ βιώσας ἔτη | ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ τέσσαρα {ε}

Apollophanes son of Sesmaeus led the Sidonians in Marisa for thirty three-years, and was considered the most worthy and the most kin-loving of all his contemporaries. He died, having lived for seventy-four years.

Continuation of first and second lines.

fig. 3573.2

Comm.: l.1 Μαρίσηι Lagrange 500; see also Peters - Thiersch in the drawing of the inscription. l.3 τέσσαρα ἐν Lagrange 500; τέσσαρα Ε, Peters - Thiersch (dr.). However, on p. 38 they print τέσσαρα ἐτ[--]; the squeeze has a clear *epsilon* with nothing beyond.

The letters display the cursive nature of the writing and are consistent with an early 2 c. BC date.

Apollophanes is one of the most common names in Maresha, see nos. 3520, 3580, 3586. Indeed, the Apollophanes of no. 3520, who was also interred in Tomb E I, was probably a descendant of the man mentioned here. The name of Apollophanes' father, Sesmaeus, recurs in two other funerary inscriptions in this tomb: a Sabo, daughter of Sesmaeus, no. 3527, and a Cosnatanus, son of Ammoius, son of Sesmaus, no. 3570 (the name also appears in an Aramaic ostracon from the area [Eph'al - Naveh, Ostraca 189 l.3]). Possibly, Sabo and Cosnatanus were descended from Sesmaeus, their common ancestor. Other possible members of this family were the siblings Babas and Babata, children of Cosnatanus, son of Ammoius, see nos. 3529 and 3528. Possibly, Sesmaeus was the great grandfather of the two, Ammoius being their grandfather (cf. Peters - Thiersch 61f.). Babata died most likely in 53/2 BC. Presumably, her great grandfather died around 180-170 BC, while her putative great-uncle Apollophanes, the presumed brother of Ammoius, died ca. 145-135 BC. This conclusion is inconsistent with the form of the letters in this inscription, which suggest that Apollophanes died in between 200 and 160 BC. Perhaps then, one should assume the existence of two people named Sesmaeus, the earlier one being the father of Apollophanes, while the later one was father to Sabo and Ammoius, grandfather to Cosnatanus and great grandfather of Babas, Babata and possibly also to Sabo daughter of Cosnatanus who expired in 55 BC (no. 3553). We suggest that the later Sesmaeus was either a son or a grandson of the first Sesmaeus, making Apollophanes a brother or an uncle of Sesmaeus II. It should also be mentioned that the Greek-named Apollophanes of this inscription was the son of a man whose name was current among Phoenicians (Benz 148 s.v. SSMY; Lipiński 292-6) despite the possibility that the deity Sasm may have originated in the Cypro-Minoan world (Lipiński 292f.). It is interesting that Apollophanes' relative, Sabo, the daughter of Sesmaeus II, had an Arab name (no. 3527), while the name of her putative brother, Ammoius, was either Idumean or Arab (no. 3570). The name of Ammoius' son, Cosnatanus, is indubitably Idumean (no. 3634). The siblings Babas (no. 3529) and Babata (no. 3528) have Aramean names. The variety of names, Phoenician, Idumean, Aramean, Arab and Greek attest to the many sources of influence surrounding the "Sidonians in Marisa" including one of their most prominent families. The eulogy for Apollophanes who is said to have led the "Sidonians in Marisa" marks him as the most important personality of the Marisa subterranean tombs.

The location of the inscription, above the entrance to Loculus 36, on the south side of recess E which is placed innermost in Tomb E I also points to Apollophanes' importance. However, Loculi 37 and 38 which also branch out from recess E may have been originally allocated to other persons of considerable standing. We are told of Apollophanes that he led "the Sidonians in Marisa" for more than three decades. This suggests that a section of the population of Maresha was organized as a politeuma whose members were known as Sidonians. A similarly named community, τῶν ἐν Σικίμοις Σιδωνίων, "the Sidonians in Shechem," addressed a memorandum to Antiochus IV Epiphanes. The king's response seems to accept the group's self-styled title without qualifications, Jos. AJ 12,258-264. Another parallel is available from an inscription from Jamnia-on-the-sea mentioning "the Sidonians in the port of Iamnia," CIIP III 2267. Here again the name appears in a memorandum addressed to a king, this time Antiochus V Eupator, as well as in the king's reply. The presence of these groups in the coastal regions to the west of Judea is also attested in Pseudo-Scylax p. 79 Müller (M. Stern, Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism III, fr. 558), who names Dor as a Sidonian city and Akko and Ascalon as Tyrian ones. Later on the entire coast down to Pelusium was thought to be Phoenician (Strabo 16,2,21-33 [756-760]; cf. Livy 35,13,4). It would seem, therefore, that the above-mentioned cities were considered colonies of their mother city, be it Sidon or Tyre. Moreover, Straton's Tower, later re-founded by Herod the Great as Caesarea, was evidently a Sidonian foundation of either Straton I or of Straton II. It would also seem that there were groups of Phoenicians in other cities and settlements, and that the groups of Sidonians attested in Jamnia-on-the sea, Shechem and Maresha point to their organisation into politeumata during the Hellenistic period. It should also be noted that the cases of Shechem and Maresha are somewhat different in that they seem to attest to the existence of these Phoenician nuclei not just in the coastal plain but also in the hilly (Maresha) and mountainous areas (Shechem; cf. Isaac, 1991, 141-4, who rightly rejects on p. 143 n.45, the idea of Bickerman 390-5 that the Sidonians in Shechem actually identified themselves as southern Canaanites). There may be two persons among those entombed in Maresha who are specifically referred to as Sidonian, a woman named Philotion, buried in Tomb E II (no. 3578) and an unnamed person buried in Tomb E VII (no. 3627). See however no. 3535 above, accompanying a hunting scene with one Libanus from Tyre. Already towards the end of the 19 c. and at the very beginning of the 20 c. it was suggested to identify Tel Sandahannah with the biblical town of Maresha (W. Flinders Petrie, PEQ 22, 1890, 243f.; F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 336f.). Thus, the mention of the Greek name

Marisa in Tomb E I adjacent to the tell verified an already existing theory (Peters - Thiersch, PEQ).

Bibl.: M.-J. Lagrange, CRAI 1902, 500f.; Peters - Thiersch 37-40 no. 1 (edd. prr.). – J. Peters - H. Thiersch, PEQ 34, 1902, 393ff.; OGIS 593; BE 1904 p. 261; H. Thiersch, AA, 1908, 344-413 at 407-12; BE 1908 p. 205ff.; Schürer I,2, 4-7 n.8; Macalister, Excavation 62, 263f.; C. Watzinger, Denkmäler Palästinas, 1935, 17f.; Goodenough, Jewish Symbols I 72f.; Hengel, Judentum und Hellenismus 115f.; Schürer II,2 4f. n.8; J. Strange, ANRW 19,1, 1979, 646-85 at 650; Keel - Küchler 870ff.; Kuhnen, Nordwest-Palästina 62f.; Kloner, Maresha I 21-4; Jacobson, Marisa 11; SEG 57, 1839; I. Stern, in: Y. Levin ed., A Time of Change, 2007, 205-38 at 220f.; Kloner, Maresha 2008, 173-7; SEG 58, 1762; Zugmann, Apostelgeschichte 210f.; Zissu - Kloner 2015, 100-4; M. Bianco, Semitica et Classica 8, 2015, 53-62 at 54f. – Cf. F. Benz, Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions, 1972; B. Isaac, IEJ 41, 1991, 132-44; E. Lipiński, Dieux et déesses de l'universe phénicien et punique, 1995; Isaac, Near East 3-20; E. Bickerman, Studies in Jewish and Christian History I 2007, 376-407.

Photo: Jacobson, Marisa, fig. on the frontispiece; Peters - Thiersch 36 fig. 7 (dr.).

DG

# 3574. Greek funerary inscription of Antagoras, 118 BC

Carelessly engraved with large strokes, deeply cut into the background (Peters - Thiersch).

Meas.: w 112 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: Eastern wall of Room E, on the architrave above the doorway leading to Loculus 37 (no. 19 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. F).



fig. 3574.1 (squeeze)

# ΛΚΙΔΟΡΟΛΩΟΥΛΑΝΤΑΓΟΡΑΖΗΝΟΔΥ ΑΛΕΧΑΙΡΕ

{ΛΚ} ("Έτους) δορ' 'Ολώου λ'. 'Αντάγορα Ζηνοδ(ώρο)υ, | ἄλ(υπ)ε, χαῖρε

Year 194, on the 30th of the month of Oloos (=Loos). You are (now) misery free, Antagoras son of Zenodorus. Farewell.

Comm.: l.1 ΛK not in ed. pr.; Zηνοδώ[ρου] ed. pr.; l.2 ἄλυ[ $\pi$ ε], ed. pr.

As the photograph of the squeeze shows, the first two letters are small, having been incised with a meticulous hand. The rest of the inscription is characterized by tall letters, cursive script and a lack of attention to form. Clearly, a different hand was responsible for the two opening letters. It may be noticed that towards the end of l.1 the person responsible for the insciption was left with too little space. Consequently, the last three characters are much smaller, and are placed on the line's upper plane. Nevertheless,



fig. 3574.2 (photograph taken ca. 1902, detail)



fig. 3574.3 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

there was not enough space left for the patronymic, so an abbreviated form of the name was inscribed, but the last character of the name was kept. More striking still is the carelessness in 1.2. Although there was ample space there for the remaining two words, the first word, ἄλυπε, was written in an abbreviated form using the letters alpha and lambda. This was followed by the word χαῖρε. Afterwards, it was thought that the abbreviation was not sufficiently clear, so an epsilon tilted on the side was placed on top of the lambda (Peters and Thiersch assumed the superimposed letter to be an upsilon). Note that the first and second alpha in l.1 have a diagonal cross-bar, as does the alpha in l.2. However, the third alpha in l.1 has a broken cross-bar. The first rho is normal, but the two others have a triangle on top, rather than a semicircle. The *omicrons* hang from the top of the line, and two of them are very narrow on both the top and the bottom. The epsilons are cursive, although one is angular, the other lunate shaped. The spelling of the name of the month in the genitive, 'Ολώου, is quite rare. But see IK 69, 121 l.20 (Priene) with the commentary on pp. 299f. To the examples cited there, add the 2-1 c. BC attestations from Sardeis, SEG 41, 1022 ll.2f. and 1028 l.3. Since this form does exist elsewhere, there is no need to connect the name of the month with the Babylonian and Hebrew month of Elul, as suggested by the first editors. The formula  $\mathring{a}\lambda \upsilon \pi \varepsilon$ ,  $\chi \alpha \widetilde{\imath} \rho \varepsilon$  appeals directly to the dead, hence the name is in the vocative, cf. no. 3631. There are numerous inscriptions employing the formula used here, ἄλυπε, χαῖρε. For its later usage in Caesarea, see CIIP II 1454; cf. CIIP II 1474 for the formula χρηστὲ καὶ ἄλυπε, χαῖρε.

For other Idumeans named Zenodorus, see no. 3587.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 49f. no. 19 (ed. pr.). – A. Schalit, ASTI 1, 1962, 109-60 at 114, 146f.; Zissu - Kloner 2015, 102ff.

Photo: Peters - Thiersch, pl. 19; C. Raad (publ. in: Jacobson, Marisa pl. 10).

DG

#### 3575.-3589. Eastern necropolis, Tomb E II

For plans see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 figs. A-C. The tomb (=552) is located about 80 m to the south of Tomb E I and its plan is reminiscent of it. One enters a Vestibule A from the west, and the whole construction has a west-to-east axis (see fig. A below). This anteroom is ca. 3.5 m wide and 2.8 m deep (Jacobson notes that the scale attached to the plan of this tomb, fig. A below [by Peters - Thiersch], is erroneous. The scale bar actually represents 5 m, not 10 m as stated). Two side rooms branch out from the vestibule. The rectangular Room B to the north is ca. 3.5 m long and 2.35 m wide (nos. 3576-3578). It has three loculi (1-3) on its western wall, three openings on the northern wall (4-6), and another two burial spaces were dug in the eastern wall (7-8). Room C branching out of Vestibule A to the south is small and almost square, (ca. 2.5x2.2 m), and is devoid of any loculi. Vestibule A opens also to Room D to the east, which served as the main burial hall (nos. 3579-3581). The room's northern wall opens to five loculi (9-13) as does the southern wall (21-25). There are benches along these walls, as well as along the western wall. Burial Hall D is ca. 5.4 m long and 4.3 m wide. Room D opens into Room E (ca. 5.8x2.9 m; nos. 3582-3589), which has seven niches earmarked for sarcophagi. All the rooms of Tomb E II's western wing, A, B, and C, have a flat roof while that of Burial Hall D has a barrel vault. The decoration of this tomb was already visible on the outside, where palm branches with clusters of fruit were decorated on both sides of the doorway. Macalister, re-visiting Maresha in 1905, accepted Peters and Thiersch's description of the decoration on the south side of the doorway, but claimed that the north side was adorned with acanthus leaves. He also noticed a "much defaced figure of a cock on the west side of Chamber A." The vestibule was also decorated with a leaf stalk. All these elements have not been sketched or photographed. In Chamber D, on the sides of the doorway leading to Anteroom A, two large amphorae were painted with ribbons tied to the handles. Room D was also decorated with an unelaborate frieze above the openings. Above the apex of every gabled opening a circle was painted, and the space between these oval decorations was filled with bands of leafy garlands. On both piers flanking the passage from Room D to Room E, tall thin candelabras are painted, with the flames burning. Each cresset is accompanied by small human figures. The highpoint of the decoration of Tomb E II, flanked the doorway to Loculus 17 (see no. 3585), the central burial space accessed from Room E. Two

musicians, a male and a female, are sketched to the left of the loculus' opening (see no. 3585 figs. 2, 3). On the other side, a much destroyed libation scene was seen by Peters and Thiersch. Aside from a tripod and a kantharos, there was little left of this picture to describe.

The order follows the plan of Peters - Thiersch (fig. A below), beginning from the entrance to Tomb E II, followed by the Rooms B-E.

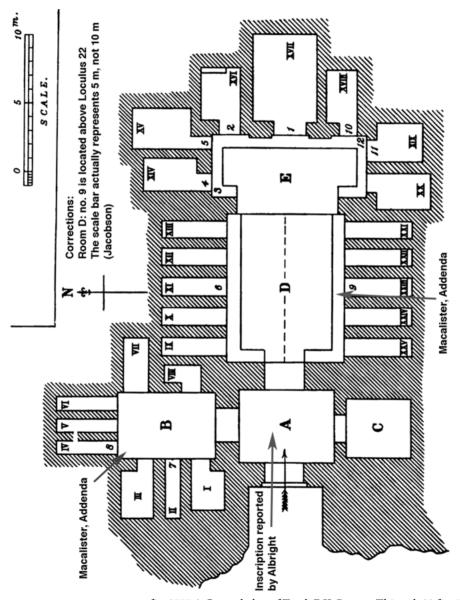


fig. 3575.A Ground plan of Tomb E II, Peters - Thiersch 30 fig. 5

# 3575. Aramaic graffito on the wall of the vestibule, 2 c. BCE(?)

In 1924, Albright described an Aramaic graffito, which contained three lines: "We spent over an hour copying it, with results only partly satisfactory, since a third of it is almost illegible. So far we have made only slight progress towards its decipherment, though several words have been read."

Findspot: "On this visit we only entered the second tomb, since the first one, with the famous animal frieze [nos. 3516-3574], had a jammed lock, and could not be opened. This circumstance was in a way fortunate, since we spent more time in the other one, and Mr. Carroll's sharp eye described an Aramiac graffito, hitherto unknown, on the wall of the vestibule [i.e. Room A]" (Albright 1924). See the plan in introduction to nos. 3575-3589 fig. A.

Comm.: In 1937 Albright wrote: "This three-line graffito was discovered by Mr. W. D. Carroll and the writer in the spring of 1924; it was later recopied by Dr. Harald Ingholt and Père Vincent. Owing to the difficulty of the script and its poor preservation Dr. Ingholt has delayed publishing the inscription, so that it is still inaccessible. On my last visit to the tomb the graffito had completely disappeared. In the Marisa graffito we have a number of ligatures, but medial letters appear otherwise in the older elongated ('final') form, contrasting in this respect sharply with the Nash Papyrus and the Khálaṣah inscription. In form the closest resemblances are definitely with the 'Aqabyah epitaph from Alexandria ..., dating from the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century BC; the ligature bar ('son'), the alef, bêt, hê, waw, yôd, and nûn are virtually identical."

Bibl.: W. Albright, BASOR 15, 1924, 2-11 at 4; PEQ 57, 1925, 2; W. Albright, BASOR 17, 1925, 4-9 at 8; id., JBL 56, 1937, 145-76 at 165f.; F. Cross, in: G. Wright ed., The Bible and the Ancient Near East, 1961, 133-202 at 196 n.93.

JJP

#### 3576. Greek funerary inscription of Balsalo, 2 c. BC

Findspot: On the left northern wall of Room B, above Loculus 4 (no. 8 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3575-3589 fig. A).

#### ΒΑΛΣΑΛΩΙΕΡΕΩΣ

Βαλσαλω ἱερέως

(Tomb) of Balsalo the priest.

1054

Comm.: The name Balsalo is a transcription of the Phoenician name b'lslh (בעלעלח). See RES 2, 1907-14, 930 l.2; Peckham 11. For some Punic examples, see Benz 98. Since the name b'lslh is known, the suggestion of Lagrange, as quoted by the first editors, to correct the reading to Balsmo is unhelpful.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 66 no. 43 (8) (ed. pr.). – Cf. B. Peckham, IEJ 16, 1966, 11-7; F. Benz, Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions, 1972.

DG

# 3577. Greek funerary inscription, 2 c. BC

Findspot: On the left northern wall of Room B, above Loculus 4 (not seen by Peters - Thiersch, see introduction to nos. 3575-3589 fig. A).

#### $Z\Omega\Sigma A\Sigma$

Ζωσᾶς

Zosas.

Comm.:  $Z\omega\sigma\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$  is a normal personal name, and there are many examples for this name in the nominative.  $Z\tilde{\omega}\sigma\alpha$ , on the other hand, would yield a genitive, but is only found once in LGPN.

Bibl.: Macalister, Addenda 140 (ed. pr.).

DG

## 3578. Greek funerary inscription of Philotion, 2 c. BC

Findspot: On the left western wall of Room B, above Loculus 2 (no. 7 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3575-3589 fig. A).

# ΦΙΛΩΤΙΟΥΣΙΔΩ ΝΙΑΣ

Φιλωτίου Σιδω νίας

(Tomb) of Philotion the Sidonian.

Comm.: Peters and Thiersch print the fifth character of this inscription as a vertical hasta connecting the middle of two parallel horizontal bars. They suggest this to be an error for a *tau*. The feminine name Φιλώτιον is quite rare, see LGPN 2, 464;

SEG 38, 472 col. II, 1.22; 478 col. I, 1.16; 490 col. V, ll.95f. If the reading of the first editors is correct, then Philotion is the only named person in Maresha whose place of origin is given as Sidon (note an unnamed person in no. 3627). However, Maresha had an established community of the "Sidonians in Maresha" (see no. 3573), so this inscription may simply attest that the deceased had lived and died as a Sidonian.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 66 no. 42 (7) (ed. pr.). – G. Finkielsztejn, in: M. Sartre ed., La Syrie Hellénistique, 2003, 465-84 at 471.

DG

# 3579. Greek funerary inscription (?), 2 c. BC

The inscription was not mentioned by Peters - Thiersch. According to a short note by Macalister the letters  $\text{EY}\Sigma(?)$  "form a peculiar monogram."

Findspot: On the southern wall of Room D, round Loculus 23 (ed. pr., not mentioned on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3575-3589 fig. A).

## ΑΠΟΛΕΥΣ(?) ΛΥΚΥΚΟΥ

Bibl.: Macalister, Addenda 140 (ed. pr.).

DG

# 3580. Greek funerary inscription of Apollophanes, 164/3 BC

The inscription was both incised and painted, and was judged to be the best preserved inscription in Tomb II (Peters - Thiersch).

Findspot: On the southern wall of Room D, above Loculus 22 (Macalister; no. 9 on the plan, mistakenly connected there with Loculus 23; see introduction to nos. 3575-3589 fig. A).

LΘΜΡ ΑΠΟΛ ΛΟΦΑΝΟΥ

("Ετους) θμρ': | Άπολ|λοφάνου

Year 149. (Tomb) of Apollophanes.

Comm.: For the spelling of Apollophanes' name, see no. 3520. Year 149 Seleucid era=164/3 BC.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 67 no. 44 (9) (ed. pr.). - Macalister, Addenda 140.

DG

# 3581. Greek funerary inscription of Persis, 2 c. BC

Findspot: On the northern wall of Room D, above Loculus 11 (no. 6 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3575-3589 fig. A).

ΠΕΡΣΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΛΛ+++ ΝΙΥΠΕ+ΒΛ

Πέρσις | Άπολλ{ολλ}+++ | ΝΙΙΥΠΕ+ΒΛ

Persis ...

Comm.: l.2 ΑΠΟΛΛΟΛ Macalister; l.3 NIΥΠΕΡΒΑ Macalister. – For another Persis in Tomb II, see no. 3589. As noted by the first editors, the misspelled name was in all probability either Apollodorus or Apollophanes, both popular names in Maresha. However, their attempt to render most of l.3 as Ύπε[ρ]β(ερεταίου)  $\lambda$ ' is unconvincing, as one would expect the year date first. The word  $\delta \pi \dot{\epsilon}[\rho]$  is possible, but a votive inscription to Apollo,  $A\pi\delta\lambda\lambda[\omega]$  |νι  $\delta\pi\dot{\epsilon}[\rho]$  ΒΛ, is unlikely given the location of the inscription.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 66 no. 41 (6) (ed. pr.). - Macalister, Addenda 140.

DG

# 3582. Greek funerary inscription of Isodemus, 143/2 BC

With the exception of the first letter, all the characters were painted, not incised (Peters in a dissenting note).

Findspot: In the corner of the eastern to the southern wall of Room E, round Loculus 19 (no. 11 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3575-3589 fig. A).

+LΟΡΙΣΟΔΕΜΜΟΥ

TLOPICIODEMMOY

{+} ("Ετους) ορ': Ἰσοδέμ{μ}ου

fig. 3582

Year 170. (Tomb) of Isodemus.

Comm.: ΤΟΥ ΣΙΔΕΜΜΙΟΥ(?), the son of Sidemmios (?), Peters apud Peters - Thiersch 68 n.\*; LOPHOΔΕΜΜΜΟΥ, year 178 (sic): of Odemmos, Macalister. – The transcript follows the facsimile, presumably made after a sketch of L. Vincent. – 170 Seleucid era=143/2 BC.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 67 no. 46 (11), 68 n.\* (ed. pr.). - Macalister, Addenda 140.

Photo: Peters - Thiersch 67 fig. 23 (dr.).

# 3583. Greek funerary inscription (?), 2 c. BC

Undeciphered letters.

Findspot: In the southeastern corner of Room E, between no. 3582 and no. 3584 (no. 12 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3575-3589 fig. A).

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 68 no. 47 (12) (ed. pr.).

DG

# 3584. Greek funerary inscription, 135/4 BC

The facsimile was made after a copy done by L. Vincent.

Findspot: Near the southeastern corner of Room E, above Loculus 18 (no. 10 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3575-3589 fig. A).

LΗΟΡΩΙΘΎΡΕΝΟΎ+ΜΡΠΗΝ LΗΟΡ ΘΝΡ LHOP WIOTR-NOVEMPRHN

fig. 3584

(ἔτους) ηορ' ΩΙΘΥΡΕΝΟΥ+ΜΡΠΗΝ | {Lηορ'} | {ΘΝΡ}

Year 178 ...

Comm.: l.1: Peters apud Peters - Thiersch 68 n.\*, supplevit υίοῦ. l.2: id. deletes the date here. – The transcript follows the facsimile in ed. pr. rather than the printed text. Year 178 Seleucid era=135/4 BC.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 67 no. 45 (10), 68 n.\* (ed. pr.).

Photo: Peters - Thiersch 67 fig. 22 (dr.).

DG

## 3585. Greek funerary inscription of Antiochus, 143/2 BC

The painted inscription had faded considerably at the time of the visits of Peters and Thiersch to Maresha. This can be seen from the photograph taken by C. Raad in 1902 (figs. 1, 2). Thus, the reading of this inscription, especially on the right side, is tentative at best.

Findspot: On the eastern wall of Room E above the musicians' mural (see figs. 2, 3 below). It begins directly above the fluttering fillets of the male musician and continues above the horizontal opening leading to Loculus 17, the central doorway in that wall (no. 1 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3575-3589 fig. A).



fig. 3585.1 (photograph taken ca. 1902, detail)

ETOΥΣΟΡΑΝΤ[.]ΟΧΟΥ+++++  $H\Lambda IO\Delta\Omega P$ [.]Υ++++++

"Ετους ορ' Άντ[ι]όχου +++++ | 'Ηλιοδώρ[ο]υ +++++++

Year 170. (Tomb) of Antiochus ... (of) Heliodorus ...



fig. 3585.2 (photograph taken ca. 1902)

Comm.: l.1 ἀπελλαίου Κλεοπάτρα τοῦ ed. pr.; ἀπελλαίου rejected by Macalister; his reading ΔΡΗ[--]ΚΑ; τοῦ doubtful, Macalister; l.2 ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ[--] P[--], Macalister; l.3 [--] χαῖρε ed. pr.; ΑΣΙΑΥΧΑΙΡΕ Macalister. – Year 170 Seleucid era=143/2 BC.

If the text on the right-hand side belongs to the same inscription, then Heliodorus was probably not the father of Antiochus.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 64 no. 36 (1) (ed. pr.). - Macalister, Addenda 139; G. Finkielsztejn, Maresha III 199.

Photo: C. Raad (publ. in Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 30); Peters - Thiersch, pl. 16.



fig. 3585.3 (color plate ca. 1905)

# 3586. Greek funerary inscription of Zenodorus, 168 BC

The inscription was painted in brown earth-like mortar.

Findspot: On the eastern wall of Room E above the doorway leading to Loculus 16 (no. 2 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3575-3589 fig. A).



fig. 3586

 $L\Delta MPZHNΟ \Delta \Omega POΥΤΟΥ$  $ZN\Delta IΚΟΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑΝΟΥ$  $\Xi ΑΛ/Δ/Α$ 

("Ετους) δμρ' | {Ζ}Ξανδικο(ῦ) | λ/δ/α, || Ζηνοδώρου τοῦ | Ἀπολλοφάνου

Year 144, 30/4/1(?) of Xandikos. (Tomb) of Zenodorus son of Apollophanes.

Comm.: The name of the deceased and his patronymic were painted in tall, nicely spaced characters from somewhere to the left of the gable's apex up to the end of the delimited area above the loculus. The first character of the name of the father of the deceased was sketched directly below the opening letter of the son's name. It would therefore seem that this part of the inscription was designed first, and the dating formula to the left was added as an afterthought. While the year sign and the letters denoting the year were also written in a large expansive hand, the letters below in 1.2 are crowded, two letters were left out (an alpha and an upsilon) and a spelling mistake was made. In order to correct some of these errors, a third line was added on the left side, in which the correct letter, a xi, was added, as well as the alpha omitted in l.2. One should also note that the alignment of ll.1 and 2 on the left is lower than in the inscription's right flank. On the left side, there are remains of a diagonal line slightly below and to the right of 1.3 where the corrections to the name of the month were scribbled. This addition is to be understood to denote the day of the month, but whether this was a lambda (30), a delta (4) or an alpha (1) is impossible to tell. As a result of the way the inscription was written, one should read the date formula on the left first and then move to the right side, which mentions the deceased and the name of his father.

For Apollophanes' name, see no. 3520, and for the name Zenodorus see no. 3587. The son of Zenodorus mentioned there died in 125 Seleucid era=188/7 BC. If the

father is the same person as the Zenodorus in this inscription here, then he survived Apollodorus the son by nineteen years.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 64 no. 37 (2) (ed. pr.). - Macalister, Addenda 140; Jacobson, Marisa, pl. 30 (partial, see no. 3585 fig. 2).

Photo: Peters - Thiersch, pl. 20.

DG

# 3587. Greek funerary inscription of Apollodorus, 188/7 BC

Findspot: On the northern wall of Room E, above the entrance to Loculus 15 (no. 5 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3575-3589 fig. A).

# LΕΚΡΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΤΟΥΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΥ

("Έτους) εκρ': Ἀπολλοδώρου | τοῦ Ζηνοδώρου

Year 125. (Tomb) of Apollodorus son of Zenodorus.

Comm.: For the name Apollodorus, see no. 3628. For the name of the father, Zenodorus, in Maresha, see nos. 3574, 3586. It is also documented three (or perhaps four) times in the lists of Idumean soldiers posted in Memphis (SB 1, 681 II, l.84; I, l.43 is doubtful) and in Hermopolis Magna (SB 1, 4206 III, ll.181, 193). Year 125 Seleucid era=188/7 BC. If the father Zenodorus is identical with the person in no. 3586, then he survived the son for nineteen years.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 65 no. 40 (5) (ed. pr.). - W. Albright, BASOR 85, 1942, 18f.

DG

# 3588. Greek funerary inscription of Badon, 159/8 BC

Findspot: On the northern wall of Room E, above Loculus 14 (no. 4 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3575-3589 fig. A).

LΔΝΡ ΒΑΔ ΩΝΟΣ

("Ετους) δυρ' Βαδ | ῶνος

Year 154. (Tomb) of Badon.

Comm.: Year 154 Seleucid era=159/8 BC. The name spelled  $B\alpha\delta\tilde{\omega}\nu\sigma\zeta$  in the genitive seems to go back to the Semitic  $\Box bdn$ , Harding, Index 98, a name that is also attested in some of the non-attributed ostraca from Idumea. See Eph'al - Naveh, Ostraca 104 l.2, 142 l.1. The reading of the name in the second ostracon is suggested by Lemaire 2002, 266. See also there 104 l.1; Lemaire, Musée d'Israël 25 l.3. The interpretation of the first editors, suggesting that the Greek name has its origin in the Phoenician name  $\Box bn'$  is less convincing. Due to the proximity of this inscription to no. 3589, the first editors suggest that the woman mentioned there, Persis, was Badon's wife who outlived her husband by fifteen years.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 65 no. 39 (4) (ed. pr.).

DG

#### 3589. Greek funerary inscription of Persis, 143 BC

The two-line inscription is presented as having four lines, with ll.1 and 3 representing the text on the western wall, and l.4 showing the text on the northern wall. l.2, from that same wall, "is a sign ... which indicates ... that both parts of the inscription ... belong together" (Peters - Thiersch).

Findspot: The inscription begins on the western wall of Room E, continuing along its northern wall (no. 3 on the plan, see introduction to nos. 3575-3589 fig. A).

LΘΞΡΠΑΝΗ  $\parallel$  Z ΜΟΥΠΕΡΣΙΣ  $\parallel$  ΓΥΝΗ

("Ετους) θξρ' Πανή||{ζ}|μου Πέρσις || γυνή

Year 169, in the month of Panemos: Persis the wife (died).

Comm.: Year 169 Seleucid era=143 BC. For the recurrence of the name Persis in Maresha, see no. 3581. Otherwise, the name is not well documented, but see IG  $2^2$ , 2358 l.54 (Attica); IK 30, 4 l.8 (Keramos); Romans 16,12.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 65 no. 38 (3) (ed. pr).

DG

#### 3590.-3591. Eastern necropolis, Tomb E III

For general plans see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 figs. A-C. In addition to Tombs E I and II, Peters and Thiersch described two other tombs visited by them, but without furnishing detailed plans. In Tomb E III they recorded two inscriptions. The tomb is located on the hill in which Tomb E I was cut, a little to its north. The original plan consisted of a wide dromos, a doorway leading to a small vestibule, similar in size and function to the anteroom A in Tombs I and II. There were four loculi on each of the two side walls of this small anteroom. Unlike Tombs I and II, the vestibule did not open to side chambers, but only led to a large burial hall. The two long walls had six loculi each, while the lateral wall at the back had four openings. The two central loculi in the rear wall had flat ceilings, while all the rest had the well-recognized gabled ceilings. No sign of painting was found in this tomb, the plan of which was afterward remodelled through the obliteration of all the dividing walls. The inscriptions from this tomb are painted with a brown-red color. They belong to loculi placed at the back of the main chamber, prior to the re-modeling of this tomb. No photographs were furnished.

#### 3590. Greek funerary inscription, 134/3 BC

```
LΘΟΡΛΗ[--]
ΛΛΙ[--]
ΤΟΥ[--]
```

("Ετους) θορ'  $\Lambda$ H[--] $\Lambda$ ΛΙ[--]TΟΥ[--]

Year 179. (Tomb of) ...

Comm.: Peters and Thiersch conclude from the date that Tomb E III was used at the same time as Tombs I and II. Year 179 Seleucid era=134/3 BC.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 34, 69 no. 48 (1) (ed. pr.).

DG

# 3591. Greek funerary inscription, 3-1 c. BC

```
[--]ΠΑΝΗΜΟΥ
[--]ΤΟΥ
```

[--] Πανήμου | [--]ΤΟΥ

... in the month of Panemos. (Tomb of) ...

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 69 no. 49 (2) (ed. pr.).

DG

#### 3592.-3612. Eastern necropolis, Tomb E IV

For plans see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 figs. A-C. The tomb (=554) is situated near the Sandahanna church, to the north of Tombs E I and E III. Peters and Thiersch (34f.) provided no detailed plan, but their description speaks of a tomb consisting of two chambers. The doorway was flanked by two loculi, one on each side. Four additional loculi were located in this room's northern wall. The loculi were sealed with masonry. The eastern wall of this room opened into a large burial hall 5.62 m long. The western side of this room was 1.92 m wide, while the eastern wall was 2.22 m wide. Each of the long walls had 6 loculi, while the far lateral wall had two openings. The roof is flat. The tomb seems to have been reused in the Byzantine period, and possibly during this period a winged figure with a human face was painted in red centrally above the two openings of the far wall. Beneath this figure, a red circle was sketched. The tomb was re-examined in 1984, and Kloner speaks of a two-stage use of this tomb. The first stage occurred in the middle of the 3 c. BC when inscriptions were incised above and in between the loculi. Later, painted inscriptions written in a less formal hand were added. This stage is dated by Kloner to the end of the 3 c. and to the 2 c. (see Zissu - Kloner 2015, 107 with plan fig. 8). However, the inscriptions of Tomb E IV have not been re-published, and the claim of a two-stage use of this tomb has yet to be proven. No photographs are provided. The order follows the revised list of Macalister, Addenda 140.

## 3592. Greek funerary inscription of Ptolemaeus, 3-1 c. BC

Painted inscription.

Findspot: Above the first loculus on the left-hand wall of Chamber 1.

ΠΤΟΛΕΜ[--]

Πτολεμ[αίου]

(Tomb) of Ptolemaeus.

CXXI. Marisa (Maresha, mod. Tell Sandahannah)

Comm.: For other private people named Ptolemaeus see nos. 3565, 3637 (comm.).

Bibl.: Macalister, Addenda 140 (ed. pr.) – ESI 4, 1985, 64 (=HA 87, 38f. [Hebr.]).

DG

## 3593. Greek funerary inscription of Saria, 3-1 c. BC

Incised inscription.

Findspot: On the left-hand wall of Chamber 1, above the second loculus (Macalister).

#### ΣΑΡΙΑΣ

1064

Σαρίας

(Tomb) of Saria.

Comm.: Peters and Thiersch suggest that this is "a good Jewish name." There can be no doubt that a Semitic name lurks under the Greek form. Ezra 10,40 records the name *šry* , but this form is probably Aramaean, and was not used exclusively by Jews. E. Eshel, Maresha III 53 no. 28, raises the possibility that this name was mentioned in one of the Maresha ostraca. There is also a name *sry* , mentioned in a Palmyrene inscription, RES 1, 1900/5 no. 369 l.2; cf. Stark 102. A similarly spelled name is recorded in a Safaitic inscription; cf. PAES II A 152 no. 74. A papyrus discovered in Hermopolis and dated ca. 500 BC mentions a man named *srh* 10; see J. Gibson, Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions II 1975, 141 no. 27 vi l.11. See also Harding, Index 316 (*sr'*), 317 (*sry*). In other words, our Σαρίας may be a transliteration of one of these Aramaic names, and the bearer of this name was probably Idumean, not Jewish.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 69 no. 50 (1) (ed. pr.). – Macalister, Addenda 140; ESI 4, 1985, 64 (=HA 87, 38f. [Hebr.]).

DG

#### 3594. Greek funerary inscription, 3-1 c. BC

Painted inscription.

Findspot: Above no. 3593.

 $OP\SigmaO\Upsilon$  (?)

Bibl.: Macalister, Addenda 140 (ed. pr.).

## 3595. Greek funerary inscription, 3-1 c. BC

Incised(?) inscription.

Findspot: Above the fourth and last loculus on the left-hand wall of Chamber 1.

ΘO[--]IKN[--]

Bibl.: Macalister, Addenda 140 (ed. pr.).

DG

1065

# 3596. Greek funerary inscription, 3-1 c. BC

Findspot: On the left-hand wall of Chamber 2, above the first loculus (Macalister).

ΑΡΙΣΤΑΝΕ[.]Α[..]ΣΙΝ ΑΡΙΠΟΥ [.]ΒΙΑΟΡΔ[--]

Comm.: 1.1 PIΣΤΑΙΟΥ Macalister; 1.2 ΑΡΙΠΕΙΟΥ Macalister; 1.3 see no. 3599.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 70 no. 51 (2) (ed. pr.). - Macalister, Addenda 140.

DG

#### 3597. Greek funerary inscription of Saria(?), 3-1 c. BC

Findspot: On the left-hand wall of Chamber 2, above the second loculus (Macalister).

ΣΑΡΙΑΣΙΗ

Σαρίας ΙΗ

(Tomb) of Saria(?).

Comm.: For the name, see no. 3593. Macalister suggested that the two letters following the name form the beginning of a date. In view of the fact that the *iota* has a higher numerical value than the *eta*, this seems unlikely.

Bibl.: Macalister, Addenda 140 (ed. pr.).

DG

#### 3598. Funerary inscription of Irene, 3-1 c. BC

Deeply incised and filled with colored earth (ed. pr.).

Findspot: On the left-hand wall of Chamber 2, above the third loculus (Macalister).

#### **EIPHNH**

Εἰρήνη

Irene (is buried here).

Comm.: The fact that the name appears in the nominative is not at all unusual in Maresha. It may be noted that the masculine form, Εἰρηναῖος, appears among the names of the Idumean soldiers in Hermopolis Magna and Memphis; cf. SB 1, 4206 I, l.83; II, l.155; 5, 8066 III, l.195; SB 1, 681 II, l.60. No. 3614 possibly mentions a woman whose name is Salam, or perhaps Selampsio. In either case the Semitic name and the Greek name both convey the word "peace."

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 70 no. 52 (3) (ed. pr.). – Macalister, Addenda 140; ESI 4, 1985, 64 (=HA 87, 38f. [Hebr.]).

DG

## 3599. Greek funerary inscription, 3-1 c. BC

Incised inscription.

Findspot: On the left-hand wall of Chamber 2, above the third loculus and above no. 3598 (Macalister); Peters - Thiersch identified it as l.3 of no. 3596 above Loculus l, see comm.

#### ΝΙΚΟΡΛΗΙΑ

Comm.: BIAOP $\Delta$  Peters - Thiersch 70 no. 51 l.3 (see no. 3596) "The NIK was first written in monogram; afterwards the engraver changed his mind and expanded it" (Macalister).

Bibl.: Macalister, Addenda 140 (ed. pr.) - ESI 4, 1985, 64 (=HA 87, 38f. [Hebr.]).

DG

#### 3600. Greek funerary inscription of Berenice, 3-1 c. BC

Findspot: On the left-hand wall of Chamber 2, above the fourth loculus (Macalister).

#### ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ

## Βερενίκης

(Tomb) of Berenice.

Comm.: BEPENIKH $\Sigma \mid \Lambda \Delta AI$  ed. pr.; Macalister places the second name above the following loculus, see no. 3601.

For the name Berenice, see CIIP I 399. Ptolemaic queens carrying this name were mentioned in two inscriptions in Maresha too (nos. 3513, 3514), and it is more than probable that the name here is a proof of this influence.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 70 no. 53 (4) (ed. pr.). – Macalister, Addenda 140; ESI 4, 1985, 64 (=HA 87, 38f. [Hebr.]).

DG

#### 3601. Funerary inscription of Adaeus, 3-1 c. BC

Findspot: On the left-hand wall of Chamber 2, above the fifth loculus (Macalister; cf. no. 3600 comm.).

 $A\Delta AI[..]$ 

Άδαί[ου]

(Tomb) of Adaeus.

Comm.: The name Adaeus is attested 34 times in LGPN 4, 6f., the volume covering Macedonia and northern Greece, but only 11 times in the accumulated testimony from the other volumes of this collection. The name is undoubtedly Macedonian; cf. J. Robert - L. Robert, BE 1964, 404. One may therefore link it with that of the Macedonian Ortas (no. 3518) and speak of a Macedonian element in Maresha. Indeed, J. Robert - L. Robert, BE 1969, 206 (p. 453), speak of "la colonie macédonienne de la ville." A son of an Adaeus is mentioned in one of the lists of Idumean soldiers from Hermopolis Magna (SB 1, 4206 III, 1.205).

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 70 no. 53 (4) (ed. pr.). - Macalister, Addenda 140.

DG

## 3602. Greek funerary inscription of Philoxenus, 3-1 c. BC

Findspot: On the left-hand wall of Chamber 2, above the sixth and last loculus (Macalister).

ΦΙΛΟΞΕ[.] ΟΥ

Φιλοξέ[ν]|ου

(Tomb) of Philoxenus.

Comm.: For the name Philoxenus among the Ptolemaic soldiers of Idumean origin stationed in Egypt, see SB 1, 599 II, l.128; 5, 8066 I, l.34; II, l.145 (Hermopolis Magna); SB 1, 681 III, l.101 (Memphis).

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 70 no. 54 (5) (ed. pr.). – Macalister, Addenda 140; ESI 4, 1985, 64 (=HA 87, 38f. [Hebr.]).

DG

#### 3603. Greek funerary inscription of Aristeides, 3-1 c. BC

Findspot: On the back wall of Chamber 2, above the first loculus (Macalister).

ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙ ΑΟΥΠΟΒΑ

Άριστεί | δ'ου ΠΟΒΑ

(Tomb) of Aristeides son of Pobas(?).

Comm.: The first editors read the first name as a feminine one, 'Aρίστεια (cf. no. 3604), and understood her to be the daughter of a man with an Egyptian name, whom they link with the name Ποβεῦς (cf. Preisigke, NB 335). Since they assumed "the omission of a tau in the second line," it is obvious that the two names were thought by them to be connected by the masculine definite article in the genitive singular, [ $\tau$ ]οῦ. However, if the inscription documented the family relationship between a woman and her father, and if it employed a definite article, it would have used the feminine form in the genitive:  $\tau$ ῆς. It seems preferable to assume that the delta was read by Peters and Thiersch as an alpha. The genitive form of the name as suggested, 'Aριστείδου, is the most common in Greek inscriptions, while the alternative, 'Aριστείδους, is rare. Since Greek names with similar endings in Maresha, like Apollophanes, consistently omit the sigma (nos. 3520, 3580, 3586), there seems to be no problem with the ending of Aristeides' name.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 71 no. 55 (6) (ed. pr). - Macalister, Addenda 140; ESI 4, 1985, 64 (=HA 87, 38f. [Hebr.]).

DG

#### 3604. Greek funerary inscription of Aristeia, 3-1 c. BC

It has to be assumed that the *sigmas* in this incised inscription are lunate shaped, since the third *sigma* of the inscription is understood by the first editors to represent an *epsilon*, as in the name 'Apí $\sigma \tau \epsilon i \alpha$ .

Findspot: On the back wall of Chamber 2, above the second and last loculus (Macalister).

ΑΡΙΣ[--] ΑΡΙΣΤΣΙΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΥ[--]

{ΑΡΙΣ} | 'Αρίστ' ε ια | 'Απολλο {υ} [φάνου vel -δώρου]

Aristeia daughter of Apollo(phanes/dorus?).

Comm.: l.3 ΑΠΟΛΛ Macalister. He does not read ll.1-2. Cf. no. 3603 init.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 71 no. 56 (7) (ed. pr.). - Macalister, Addenda 140; ESI 4, 1985, 64 (=HA 87, 38f. [Hebr.]).

DG

#### 3605. Greek funerary inscription, 3-1 c. BC

Incised inscription.

Findspot: On the back wall of Chamber 2, above the second and last loculus and above no. 3604 (Macalister).

ΑΙΦΟ[--] ΑΡΚΙΔΙΟΥ

Bibl.: Macalister, Addenda 140 (ed. pr.).

## 3606. Greek funerary inscription of Deme..., 3-1 c. BC

Findspot: On the right-hand wall of Chamber 2, above the first loculus.

 $\Delta HMH[--]$ 

Δημη[--]

Deme...

Bibl.: Macalister, Addenda 140 (ed. pr.).

DG

#### 3607. Greek funerary inscription of Patrobalaus, 3-1 c. BC

Findspot: On the right-hand wall of Chamber 2, between the first and the second loculus (Macalister).

#### ΠΑΤΡΟΒΑΛΑΟΣ

Πατροβαλαος

Patrobalaus.

Comm.: Peters - Thiersch translated "Patrobala"; ΠΑΤΡΟΒΛΑΣ Macalister. – No such name is known. The suggestion of the first editors is that the name is a composite, half Greek and half Aramaic, and that it stands for the Phoenician name 'bb'l/ 'byb'l'אביבעל/א

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 71 no. 57 (8) (ed. pr.). – Macalister, Addenda 140; ESI 4, 1985, 64 (=HA 87, 38f. [Hebr.]).

DG

## 3608. Greek funerary inscription of Apollonia, 3-1 c. BC

Findspot: On the right-hand wall of Chamber 2, between the second and the third loculus.

## ΑΠΟΛΛΙΩΝΙΑΣ Α[--]ΟΥ

Άπολλ{ι}ωνίας | Α[--]ΟΥ

(Tomb) of Apollonia daughter of A...us.

Comm.: Names containing the deity Apollo were popular in Maresha. See no. 3628 for Apollodorus, and the other examples of that name cited there, and likewise no. 3520 for Apollophanes. See also the partial inscriptions nos. 3587, 3604. The restoration offered by Macalister for the patronymic,  $\lambda[\lambda \dot{\epsilon} \xi]$  ou, is arbitrary. See for example another possibility,  $\lambda[\delta \alpha i]$  ou, no. 3601.

Bibl.: Macalister, Addenda 140 (ed. pr.).

DG

#### 3609. Greek funerary inscription, 3-1 c. BC

Findspot: On the right-hand wall of Chamber 2, above the fourth loculus.

#### **OPETPA**

Bibl.: Macalister, Addenda 140 (ed. pr.).

DG

#### 3610. Greek funerary inscription of Demetria, 3-1 c. BC

Painted inscription. This inscription and nos. 3611, 3612 were published by Peters - Thiersch as one inscription with three names in it. However, Macalister offered reasons for classifying these names as three inscriptions.

Findspot: On the right-hand wall of Chamber 2, above the fifth loculus "on the roof" (Macalister); "above a loculus near the door of the main chamber" (Peters - Thiersch).

#### ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑΣ

#### Δημητρίας

(Tomb) of Demetria.

Comm.:  $\Delta$ HMHTPIA $\Sigma$  BAB |  $\Phi$ IAOY $\Sigma$  Peters - Thiersch. But the feminine name Philus is in the nominative whereas Demetrias is in the genitive case. Therefore it seems not possible that the two painted names, Demetria and Philus, actually belong to one and the same funerary inscription. Perhaps the presence of the name

Philus insinuates that the loculus was reused for a second burial. For a grave that was possibly reused, see the commentary for no. 3537.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 71f. no. 58 (9) (ed. pr.). – Macalister, Addenda 140; ESI 4, 1985, 64 (=HA 87, 38f. [Hebr.]).

DG

#### 3611. Greek funerary inscription of Philus, 3-1 c. BC

Painted inscription.

Findspot: On the right-hand wall of Chamber 2, above the fifth loculus and below no. 3610 (Macalister).

ΦΙΛΟΥΣ

Φιλοῦς

Philus.

Comm.: See comm. to no. 3610. For the feminine name Philus, see IG 12 suppl. 628; Inscriptiones Creticae IV 372; cf. Preisigke, NB 464.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 71f. no. 58 (9) (ed. pr.). - Macalister, Addenda 140.

DG

#### 3612. Funerary inscription of Baba(?), 3-1 c. BC

Incised inscription.

Findspot: On the right-hand wall of Chamber 2, above the sixth loculus and to the right of no. 3610 (Macalister).

BAB

 $B\alpha\beta(\tilde{\alpha})/B\alpha\beta(\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma)$ ?

Baba(?) (is buried here) or (tomb of) Baba(?).

Comm.:  $\Delta$ HMHTPIA $\Sigma$  BAB |  $\Phi$ IΛΟΥ $\Sigma$  ed. pr., see comm. to no. 3610. The name may be restored to Babas, either in the genitive case, B $\alpha$ β $\tilde{\alpha}$ , or in the nominative (B $\alpha$ β $\tilde{\alpha}$ ς). For the name, see no. 3529. It is also possible to restore here the female variation of the name, Babata. Again, both the nominative and the genitive forms are possible, see nos. 3528 and 3632.

Bibl.: Peters - Thiersch 71f. no. 58 (9) (ed. pr.). - Macalister, Addenda 140.

#### 3613.-3617. Eastern necropolis, Tomb E V

In March 1921, C. McCown and W. Albright surveyed an already looted tomb to the north of the famous painted Tomb E I. The tomb was again visited by F.-M. Abel in 1923. Publishing his results two years later, he was not aware of the Americans' visit and of McCown's publication. However, the indications given concerning the tomb's location, the descriptions of the tomb itself and the placing of the inscriptions within the burial hall, and the almost identical readings of inscriptions nos. 3615 and 3617 leave no doubt that both publications speak of the same underground burial hall, named Tomb E V by Abel (for plans see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 figs. B-C).

The entrance to the tomb was from the west, with seven steps leading down to the opening of the subterranean burial hall. Beyond the entrance, there were

three additional steps to the floor of the burial hall. The hall's measurements as given by Abel are: the west to east walls are 5.75 m and 5.55 m long, while the north to south walls measure 3.30 m and 3.55 m. The height is given as 2.20 m. The ceiling of the burial hall is supported by a central round column. carved out of the bedrock. There is a bench running along the northern, eastern and southern walls. The bench's width ranges from 40 cm to 1.00 m. The five gabled loculi along the northern wall and also the southern wall are between 1.12 and 1.25 m high (see fig. A). The average depth of the loculi is 2.1 m. The inscriptions were carelessly engraved, but the characters were then painted. The order follows Abel.

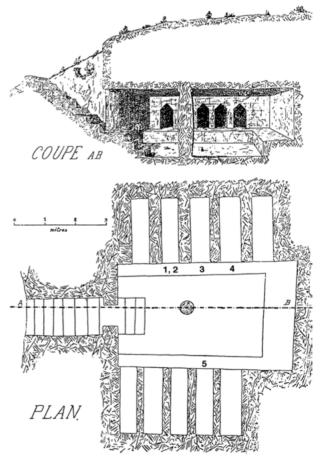


fig. 3613.A Cross section and ground plan of Tomb V, P. Lavergne apud Abel, Marisa 268 fig. 1

## 3613. A subterranean Greek funerary inscription, 2-1 c. BC

Findspot: On the northern wall, above the second loculus, see introduction to nos. 3613-3617 fig. A.

**TZANA** 

Τζάνα

Tzana. fig. 3613

Comm.: ΠΑΝΑΠ | ΩΛΟΨ McCown. Abel tentatively suggested that l.2 was a separate inscription (see no. 3614). He explains the name as deriving from a warlike people named Τζάνοι, also known as Μάκρωνες, who were living in Asia Minor to the northeast of Pontus (cf. A. Herrmann, s.v. Makrones, RE 14,1, 815). He further suggests that Tzana as well as other women who were buried in Tomb E V, were foreigners who were taken captive in the course of the Macedonian wars, and then taken as wives by some of the Sidonians of Maresha (cf. M. Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism I 1974, 62). However, there is no evidence of Tzana as a personal name. McCown suggested to read the two-line inscription as Παναπόλλων, "Stephanus of Byzantium reports Παναπόλλωνες as a designation for 'Egyptians'"(?), admitting that such a reading requires the acceptance of scribal mistakes within the text.

Bibl.: C. McCown, AASOR 2, 1921/2, 109-15 at 111f.; Abel, Marisa 269f. no. 1 (edd. prr.). – SEG 8, 247. Photo: Abel, Marisa 270 fig. 2,1.

DG

#### 3614. Subterranean Greek funerary inscription, 2-1 c. BC

Two names were apparently inscribed in two separate lines, although McCown's understanding was that one single name was spread over these two lines (cf. comm. to no. 3613). The alternative approach is preferable.

Findspot: On the northern wall, above the second loculus, see introduction to nos. 3613-3617 fig. A.

 $\Sigma A \Lambda A M$  or  $\Sigma A \Lambda A M \Psi$ 

Σαλάμ or Σαλάμψ

fig 3614

Salam or Salamps.

Comm.: ΩΛΟΨ McCown (see no. 3613); ΣΑΛΑΜ vel ΣΑΛΑΨ Abel.

The reading  $\Sigma \alpha \lambda \dot{\alpha} \mu$  suggested by Abel, is paralleled by  $\Sigma \alpha \lambda \alpha \mu / \Sigma \alpha \lambda \alpha \mu \iota$  and Σαλάμη, also known as שלום šlwm, attested on ossuaries from Jerusalem (CIIP I 436, 587). The Hebrew forms שלם šlwm and שלם šlm are richly documented there (e.g. CIIP I 25, 37, 58, 66, 143, 190). The name has therefore been identified as Hebrew, or Jewish (Ilan, Lexicon I 166f., 249ff.). However, the Semitic form שלם šlm does not seem to be exclusively Hebrew, and it is documented among various peoples. Thus the name שלם šlm appears as a feminine name in a Palmyrene inscription (H. Ingholt, Berytus 5, 1938, 118; Stark 51, 114), and a male form of the same name, to be read as Salim, appears in many Safaitic inscriptions (F. Winnett - G. Harding, Inscriptions from Fifty Safaitic Cairns, 1978; Harding, Index 39 no. 24, 57 no. 121, 60 no. 135 and see there p. 583 for the full list). More important still is the fact that the name recurs in Phoenician inscriptions (Donner - Röllig, KAI I 40 1.4, 43 l.3, 49 ll.13 and 46). Considering the fact that the Maresha population had a Phoenician element (no. 3573), as well as inhabitants bearing Arab names (cf. Negev, Personal Names 64 nos. 1142, 1143, 1146: Harding, Index 325; Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 103) the man buried in this loculus, if indeed he was a man (cf. the Palmyrene example), was not necessarily of Jewish stock.

However, Abel suggested an alternative reading to the name  $\Sigma \alpha \lambda \alpha \mu$ , that of  $\Sigma \alpha \lambda \alpha \psi$ . This latter reading reminded him of names like  $\Sigma \alpha \lambda \alpha \psi \iota \omega$  and  $\Sigma \alpha \lambda \alpha \mu \psi \iota \omega$  (cf. Jos. AJ 18,130). Nevertheless, Abel's sketch of the inscription suggests that the fifth sign in the name is actually a ligature of two characters, a mu and a psi. For a similar case see no. 3661. If this is indeed so, then what we have is  $\Sigma A \Lambda A M \Psi$ , a form closer to the names suggested by Abel, than that offered by him. Indeed, this form is similar to the names  $\Sigma \epsilon \lambda \alpha \psi \iota \nu$ ,  $\Sigma \epsilon \lambda \alpha \mu \alpha \epsilon \iota \omega \nu$  and  $\Sigma \epsilon \lambda \alpha \mu \nu \epsilon \iota \omega \nu$  (CIIP I 309a, 279b, 588; III 2215). See also the forms  $\Sigma \epsilon \lambda \alpha \mu \psi \iota \omega \nu \eta$ ,  $\Sigma \epsilon \lambda \alpha \mu \psi \iota \epsilon \iota \omega \nu$  (e.g. P.Yadin 18 ll.4 and 11) and  $\Sigma \epsilon \lambda \alpha \mu \mu \iota \epsilon \iota \omega \nu$  (XḤev/Se 69 l.10). Ilan, Lexicon I 427 plausibly suggests that the name  $\Sigma \epsilon \lambda \alpha \mu \psi \iota \omega \iota \omega \nu$  is a transliteration of the name Shelamzion, and indeed the name in its various forms is not found among non-Jews. However, the two possible readings of the inscription leave the question of whether the buried person was a man or a woman open, just as whether that person was a non-Jew or a Jew.

Bibl.: C. McCown, AASOR 2, 1921/2, 109-15 at 111f.; F.-M. Abel, RB 34, 1925, 269f. no. 2 (edd. prr.). – SEG 8, 248. – Cf. M. Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism I 1974, 62.

Photo: Abel, Marisa 270 fig. 2,2 (dr.).

## 3615. Greek funerary inscription of Naḥuma, 2-1 c. BC

Findspot: On the northern wall, above the third loculus, see introduction to nos. 3613-3617 fig. A.

ΝΑΟΥΜΑ

Ναούμα

Nahuma. fig. 3615

Comm.: This is a masculine personal name, despite Abel's assertion that it is a feminine one. See BT Yoma 28b. For the parallel Tanḥuma, see no. 3484. McCown had difficulties to identify the last character of this inscription, but suggested it to be a peculiar form of *sigma*, and therefore read the name as Nαούμας. Whether one accepts Abel's reading or the alternative one, Naḥuma is a name prevalent among Jews, as noted by Hengel. The name is identical to that of the prophet Naḥum, but with an Aramaic ending. The name occurs on ostraca without provenance from Idumea (Lemaire, Musée d'Israel no. 88; Lemaire 2002 no. 211) and on one from Maresha itself (E. Eshel, Maresha III 48f. no. 17 l.1). Note also the possible occurrence of the name in Arad (Naveh 161 no. 22 l.1). Thus, the name should not be considered as singularly Jewish, but a Semitic one prevalent among Jews and other peoples of Semitic origin.

Bibl.: C. McCown, AASOR 2, 1921/2, 109-115 at 111f.; Abel, Marisa 269f. no. 3 (edd. prr.). – SEG 8, 249. – Cf. M. Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism I 1974, 62; J. Naveh, in: Y. Aharoni ed., Arad Inscriptions, 1981, 153-76.

Photo: Abel, Marisa 270 fig. 2,3.

DG

# 3616. Greek funerary inscription of Scodris, 2-1 c. BC

Findspot: On the northern wall, above the fourth loculus, see introduction to nos. 3613-3617 fig. A.

ΣΚΟΔΡΙΣ

CKUTLIC

MAOYMA

Σκοδρις

fig. 3616

Scodris.

Comm.: Neither the reading Φαδρις supplied by McCown, nor that furnished by Abel connect the inscription to any known personal name. Abel suggests that Scodris is a feminine name form, and that it signifies an attachment to a locality named Scodra. This unattested locality he then connects with the Scutari of Asia Minor or those of India. To him, therefore, she is a female slave married to one of the Maresha Sidonians (cf. M. Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism I 1974, 62), like Tzana in no. 3613. But it seems more likely to connect the name with the city of Scodra in western Ilyricum, a region under the rule of Macedonia. As for McCown's reading, Phadris, he tries to connect it either with the name  $\Phi$ ατρῆς (OGIS 660 l.16) or with the name  $\Phi$ ατρῆς (CIS 1,1, no. 220 l.5).

Bibl.: C. McCown, AASOR 2, 1921/2, 109-115 at 111f.; Abel, Marisa 269f. no. 4 (edd. prr.). – SEG 8, 250.

Photo: Abel, Marisa 270 fig. 2,4.

DG/WE

## 3617. Greek funerary inscription of Eunice, 2-1 c. BC

Findspot: On the southern wall, above the fourth loculus, see introduction to nos. 3613-3617 fig. A.

ΥΝΙΚΗΣ

<Ε>ὐνίκης

(Tomb of) Eunice.

YMIXHC

fig. 3617

Comm.: The reading Ὑνίκης (Abel) is nowhere else attested as a personal name. Abel sought to explain it as being derived from the Οὖννοι, the Huns, living near the Caspian sea. However, the masculine personal name Εὐνίκος appears quite regularly, and there are a few attestations of the feminine form Εὐνίκη. Cf. IG 2/3², 3632 l.24 (Athens); A. Woodward, ABSA 28, 1926/7, 127 no. 23 l.2 (Halikarnassos); T. Mitford, ABSA 56, 1961, 13 no. 32 l.4 (Old Paphos).

Bibl.: C. McCown, AASOR 2, 1921/2, 109-115 at 111f.; Abel, Marisa 269f. no. 5 (edd. prr.). – SEG 8, 251.

Photo: Abel, Marisa 270 fig. 2,5.

#### 3618.-3629. Eastern necropolis, Tomb E VII

The tomb is said to be located about a 100 yards beyond Tomb E II, perhaps to the south (for plans see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 figs. B-C). It was initially explored by W. Moulton in 1913, and seen again by F.-M. Abel in 1923. Abel refers to this underground space as Tomb E VII. Several inscriptions were found in an oblong underground room with a flat ceiling. The room's two long walls measure 8.94 m and 9.12 m; the entrance wall on the west is 3.7 m long while the width of the far wall is 3.41 m. The hight of the room was found to be about 2 m. There are twenty-five loculi cut in the walls of the burial chamber, two on both sides of the entrance, ten on the left wall, an identical number on the right wall and three were cut into the far wall. All the loculi, with the exception of Loculus 9, had gabled roofs. The loculus on the right-hand side of the entrance wall is also exceptional in that it was cut diagonally from the wall and not at 90° to it, as was usually the case. The loculi were not hewn to the room's floor level, but to a level of 40 cm above the burial hall's floor, leaving a bench along the walls, which was 50 cm wide. Some of the loculi were found to be 70-78 cm wide at the bottom and 66-70 cm at the top. The height of the opening of the loculi proved to be 1.31-1.43 m. The inscriptions in the burial hall were traced with brown mortar and placed above the gabled openings to the loculi. The order follows Moulton.

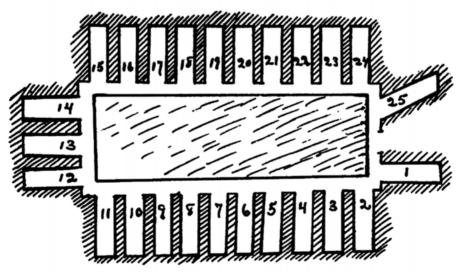


fig. 3618.A Ground plan of Tomb E VII, Moulton, Beit Jibrin 64 fig. 1

## 3618. Greek funerary inscription of Sabo daughter of Apollodorus, 116/5 BC

Findspot: On the northern wall, above Loculi 3-4, see introduction to nos. 3618-3629 fig. A.

ĻΖΩΡΣΑΒΟΥΣΤΗΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ KZICABOYCTHC ATTOMODWPOY

fig. 3618.1 (Moulton)

("Έτους) ζορ', Σαβοῦς τῆς | Ἀπολλοδώρου

Year 197 (=116/5 BC). (Tomb) of Sabo daughter of Apollodorus.

Comm.: l.1: either L, or  $\xi\tau\sigma\nu\varsigma$  Moulton; ZQP Abel;  $\zeta\iota(?)\rho(?)$  Moulton. – Abel admits that the year sign in the beginning of l.1 is unclear, due to smudges from the mortar, but shows no hesitation in identifying the second letter to signify

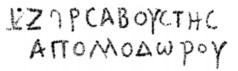


fig. 3618.2 (Abel)

the date as *koppa*. According to the tracing of both Moulton and Abel, the writing has cursive characteristics with lunate *sigmas* and an *omega* to match. Since an Apollodorus was buried in a different loculus of the same tomb (see no. 3628), it has been plausibly suggested by Moulton that he is to be identified as Sabo's father. The feminine name Sabo is probably Arab, *sb* or *ṣbḥ* (Harding, Index 309, 365), and it recurs again in Maresha (nos. 3527, 3553). Note the similar form  $\Sigma \alpha \beta \omega$ , also in the genitive, of a man attested in Bousân (Bosana) in the Hauran/Djebel Druze (SEG 7, 1090).

Bibl.: Moulton, Beit Jibrin 63ff. no. 1 (ed. pr.). – J. Offord, PEQ 47, 1915, 198-205 at 198f.; Abel, Marisa 272ff. no. 6; SEG 8, 252; M. Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism I 1974, 62.

Photo: Moulton, Beit Jibrin 65 (dr.); Abel, Marisa 270 fig. 2,6 (dr.).

DG

# 3619. Greek funerary inscription of Antiphilus son of Dionysius, 128/7 BC

Findspot: On the northern wall, above Loculus 5, see introduction to nos. 3618-3629 fig. A.

ΕΤΟΥΣΕΠΡ ΑΝΤΙΦΙΛΟΥΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ "Ετους επρ', | Άντιφίλου τοῦ | Διονυσίου

Year 185 (=128/7 BC). (Tomb) of Antiphilus son of Dionysius.

Comm.: l.1:  $\varepsilon\iota(?)\rho$  ed. pr.;  $\varepsilon\circ\rho$  Abel. l.3:  $\Delta\iota\circ(?)\nu(?)\upsilon\sigma'\circ\upsilon$  ed. pr.;  $\Delta\iota[\circ\upsilon]\upsilon\sigma'\circ\upsilon$  Abel. One can see a clear pi in the photograph. The first *omicron* in l.3 is equally discernible, but there is only a vertical stroke where a nu should have been placed. It is questionable whether there was enough space to insert the nu between the omicron and the upsilon, and the angle from which the photograph was taken does not



fig. 3619.1 (nos. 3619 and 3620)

clarify the problem. The name Antiphilus recurs in Maresha (nos. 3636, 3638) and appears in Josephus (AJ 17,70; cf. BJ 1,592). The context there suggests Palestinian origin, and probably – in view of the popularity of the name in Idumaea – also Idumean descent. Note also the presence of two people named Antiphilus, son of Dionysius, in a list of Idumean soldiers from Hermopolis Magna, SB 1, 599 II, 1.129 (2 c. BC).

ETOY( EMP ANTIGINOYTOY ANTIGINA

fig. 3619.2 (Moulton)

Bibl.: Moulton, Beit Jibrin 66 no. 2 (ed. pr.). – J. Offord, PEQ 47, 1915, 198-205 at 198f.; Abel, Marisa 274 no. 7; SEG 8, 253a.

Photo: Moulton, Beit Jibrin 66 fig. 2 (ph. and dr.); Abel, Marisa 270 fig. 2,7 (dr.).



fig. 3619.3 (Abel)

DG

# 3620. Greek funerary inscription of Dositheus

Findspot: On the northern wall, above Loculus 6, see introduction to nos. 3618-3629 fig. A, and see photograph no. 3619 fig. 1.

ΔΩΣΙΘΕΟΥ

Δωσιθέου

(Tomb) of Dositheus.

DWC DE OY

fig. 3620

Comm.: The name Dositheus, inscribed in Aramaic dwsts דוסתס, appears as a patronymic on an ossuary found in Beit 'Anun in Idumea (see no. 3763). Although the date of the tomb was thought to be 2-4 c. AD (cf. introduction to nos. 3762-3763), the context seems to be Idumean since a patronymic inscribed on another ossuary of the same tomb has an Idumean name Pheroriya/Pherora (no. 3762). This would suggest that the name Dositheus was in use among the Idumeans. See also the feminine personal name Dosithea (no. 3630) and a Ptolemaeus son of Dositheus, a member of a unit of Idumean soldiers stationed in Hermopolis Magna in Egypt (SB 1, 4206 II, 1.133).

Bibl.: Moulton, Beit Jibrin 67 no. 3 (ph.) (ed. pr.). - Abel, Marisa 274 no. 7; SEG 8, 253. Photo: Abel, Marisa 274 fig. 2,7 (dr.).

DG

## 3621. Greek funerary inscription of Antiochus, 2 c. BC

Findspot: On the northern wall, above Loculus 7, see introduction to nos. 3618-3629 fig. A.

ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ

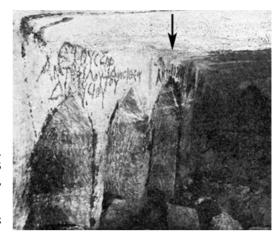
ANTIOXOY Άντιόχου fig. 3621.1

(Tomb) of Antiochus.



fig. 3621.2 (detail)

Comm.: The same name is partly preserved on a jar sherd from Maresha, [A]ντίοχ[ος] vel [A]ντιόχ[ου] (H. Korzakova, Maresha III 112 no. 106).



Bibl.: Moulton, Beit Jibrin 67 no. 4 (ed. pr.) – J. Offord, PEQ 47, 1915, 198-205 at 198f.; Abel, Marisa 274 no. 8; SEG 8, 256.

Photo: Abel, Marisa 270 fig. 2,8 (dr.); Moulton, Beit Jibrin 66 fig. 2.

fig. 3621.3

DG

## 3622. Greek funerary inscription of Diodotus, 141/40 BC

Findspot: On the northern wall, above Loculus 9, see introduction to nos. 3618-3629 fig. A.

ΒΟΡΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ

BOP DIODOTOY

<"Ετους> βορ'. Διοδότου

fig. 3622

Year 172 (=141/40 BC). (Tomb) of Diodotus.

Bibl.: Moulton, Beit Jibrin 67 no. 5 (ed. pr.). – J. Offord, PEQ 47, 1915, 198-205 at 198f.; Abel, Marisa 274 no. 9; SEG 8, 254.

Photo: Abel, Marisa 270 fig. 2,9 (dr.).

DG

# 3623. Greek funerary inscription, 2 c. BC

On the southern wall, above Loculus 13, see introduction to nos. 3618-3629 fig. A.

[--]ΙΛΟΥ

(Tomb of) ...ilus.

Bibl.: Moulton, Beit Jibrin 67 no. 6 (ed. pr.). - Abel, Marisa 275.

## 3624. Greek funerary inscription of Demetria(?), 2 c. BC

Findspot: On the southeastern corner above Loculus 15, see introduction to nos. 3618-3629 fig. A.

Δ[--]PIA

 $\Delta[\eta\mu\eta\tau]\rho(\alpha(?)$ 

(Tomb of) Demetria(?).



fig. 3624

Comm.: Moulton in ed. pr. saw only  $\Delta$ . The restoration is that of Abel, who concedes that there might not be enough space to restore the four letters in the name Demetria.

Bibl.: Moulton, Beit Jibrin 67 no. 7 (ed. pr.). - Abel, Marisa 275 no. 10; SEG 8, 259.

Photo: Abel, Marisa 270 fig. 2,10 (dr.).

DG

#### 3625. Traces of four letters

Traces of four letters over Loculus 19, see introduction to nos. 3618-3629 fig. A.

Bibl.: Moulton, Beit Jibrin 67 no. 8.

DG

# 3626. Greek funerary inscription of Heliodora, daughter of Aeneas, 112/1 BC

Findspot: On the southern wall, above Loculus 21, see introduction to nos. 3618-3629 fig. A.

ETΟΥ[.]  $\overline{\rm A\Sigma}$   $\rm H\Lambda IO\Delta\Omega PA[.]$  $\rm TH\Sigma AINE[..]$ 



fig. 3626.1 (detail)

"Ετου[ς] ας': | Ἡλιοδώρα[ς] | τῆς Αἰνέ[ου]

In the year 201 (=112/1 BC). (Tomb of) Heliodora daughter of Aeneas.

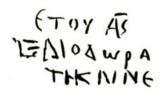


fig. 3626.2 (Moulton)

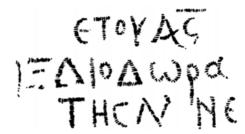


fig. 3626.3 (Abel)

Comm.: The reading and translation presented here follow Moulton's who was supported by Abel. It could not be verified on the basis of the only available photograph, see figs. 1 and 4.

Bibl.: Moulton, Beit Jibrin 67f., no. 9 (ed. pr.). – J. Offord, PEQ 47, 1915, 198-205 at 198f.; Abel, Marisa 274 no. 11; SEG 8, 254.



fig. 3626.4 (nos. 3626 and 3627)

Photo: Moulton, Beit Jibrin 68 fig. 3 (ph. and dr.); Abel, Marisa 270 fig. 2,11 (dr.).

**EDD** 

# 3627. Greek funerary inscription of a woman from Sidon, 2 c. BC

Findspot: On the southern wall, above Loculus 22, see introduction to nos. 3618-3629 fig. A; see also the photograph no. 3626.4.

ΕΙΚΟΝΙΟΎ ΣΙΔΟΝΙΑΣ

Εἰκονίου | Σιδωνίας

(Tomb of) Iconion the Sidonian woman.

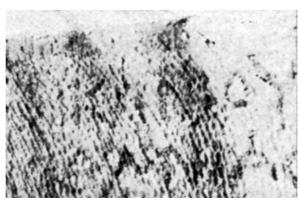


fig. 3627.1 (detail)



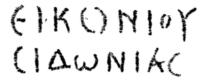


fig. 3627.2 (Moulton)

fig. 3627.3 (Abel)

Comm.: The reading and translation presented here follow Abel's, who stated: "Cette lecture devant laquelle M. Moulton a reculé est cependant fort claire." It could not be verified from the only available photograph, see fig. 1 and no. 3626 fig. 4. Ikonion is a rare personal name (so far only four times in LGPN); on Sidonians in Maresha, see comm. to no. 3573.

Bibl.: Moulton, Beit Jibrin 68 no. 10 (ed. pr.). – J. Offord, PEQ 47, 1915, 198f.; Abel, Marisa 275 no. 12; SEG 8, 258. – Cf. Schürer II,2, 4f., n.8; G. Finkielsztejn, in: M. Sartre ed., La Syrie Hellénistique, 2003, 471.

Photo: Moulton, Beit Jibrin 67 fig. 3 (ph. and dr.); Abel, Marisa 275 fig. 12 (dr.).

EDD

## 3628. Greek funerary inscription of Apollodorus, 2 c. BC

Findspot: On the western wall near the south-western corner, above Loculus 25, see introduction to nos. 3618-3629 fig. A.

ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ

ATIOMODWPOY

Άπολλοδώρου

fig. 3628.1 (Moulton)

(Tomb) of Apollodorus.

AnoModo Poy

fig. 3628.2 (Abel)

Comm.: For the suggestion that this man was the father of Sabo, see comm. to no. 3618. Apollodorus was entombed in the loculus to the right of the entrance to the burial hall. From this and three additional lines of a fragmentary and unread text (no. 3629), Moulton further argues that the deceased was the head of the family which built the burial hall. Apollodorus is a theophoric Greek name apparently favored by the people of Maresha (nos. 3530, 3557, 3581(?), 3587, 3618).

Bibl.: Moulton, Beit Jibrin 68f., no. 11 (ed. pr.). – J. Offord, PEQ 47, 1915, 198-205 at 198f.; Abel, Marisa 275 no. 13; SEG 8, 257.

Photo: Moulton, Beit Jibrin 68 (dr.); Abel, Marisa 270 fig. 2,13 (dr.).

## 3629. Greek funerary inscription, 2 c. BC

There are three additional lines below the name Apollodorus (see no. 3628). Moulton supplied traces of some letters (fig. 2), but was unable to decipher the text. Yet he is probably right to regard the additional text as part of the burial inscription for Apollodorus. Abel, however, has taken these lines to be a separate text.

ΑΙΓΥΙΙ+Κ+ΛΦΥΣ ΙΌΝΤΑΓΗΝΙΟΥΙΣ ΧΑΝ+

Comm.: l.1: +IΦ ed. pr. l.2: ΛΛΟΥΙΣ ed. pr. l.3: XAN ed. pr.

Abel found these lines very hard to decipher, yet raised the possibility that in l.1 the word Aiyu $\pi\tau$ iou can be read, and that l.2 referred to a date, the year 210 (no doubt of the Seleucid era), i.e. 102/1 BC. However, he too confessed that these hypotheses are all but certain in the light of the indecipherable script.

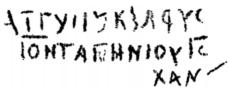


fig. 3629.1 (Abel)

ATUMOAWPOY
VY
NOYE
XAN

fig. 3629.2 (Moulton)

Bibl.: Moulton, Beit Jibrin 68f. no. 11 (ed. pr.). - Abel, Marisa 275 no. 14; SEG 8, 260.

Photo: Abel, Marisa 270 fig. 2,14 (dr.); Moulton, Beit Jibrin 68 (dr.).

DG

## 3630.-3639. Eastern necropolis, Tomb E VIII

The tomb is placed ca. 1 km east by southeast from Tel Maresha (for plans see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 figs. B-C). The tomb's plan is rigidly symmetrical and it was dug on a south-to-north axis, with the entrance to the tomb gained through downward steps. Whereas habitually these tombs have one long burial hall, this extremely long one (ca. 13x3 m) was sub-divided into three rooms, Chambers A-C, by projecting doorways. Spaces between adjacent loculi were filled with pilasters in low relief, each pilaster surmounted by an abacus in relief. Thus, the space above each of the openings to the loculi is marked by the flanking pilasters. As a consequence a defined space above each and every opening was created in which inscriptions were often painted. Most of the loculi have a gabled top, but some of those placed in the inner Chamber C have a flat one (no. 3638). The entrance to Chamber

A is flanked by two loculi (nos. 18-19) of a north-south axis. Four loculi extend from the eastern wall (nos. 14-17), and four others (nos. 20-23) from the western one. Similarly, there are six loculi openings on the eastern (nos. 7-9, 11-13 [for some reason no loculus was given the no. 10]) and western walls (nos. 24-29) of Chamber B. The floor of Chamber C is raised and access to it from Chamber B is gained by two wide steps. Four of its loculi extend from the side walls: a pair on the eastern side (nos. 5-6) and another pair on the western side (nos. 30-31). Finally, four loculi with a south-north axis open from the enclosing northern wall of the tomb (nos. 1-4). Ten inscriptions from Tomb E VIII were published. The order follows Chambers A-C, see fig. A.

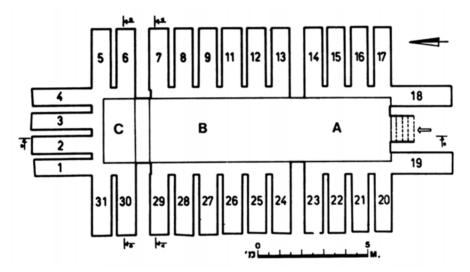


fig. 3630. A Ground plan, Oren - Rappaport 134 fig. 11

#### 3630. Greek funerary inscription of Dosithea, 57/6 BC

Findspot: On the western wall of Chamber A, above Loculus 22, see introduction to nos. 3630-3639 fig. A.

LΑΔΩΣΙΘΕΑ ΕΥΤΑΚΤΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ



fig. 3630

("Ετους) α' Δωσιθέα | εὔτακτε, | χαῖρε

Year 1. You are (now) well organized, Dosithea. Farewell.

Comm.: On the era used for dating, see no. 3528 and Gera.

The ed. pr. noted with due caution that the adjective εὔταχτος "is typical of female slaves," a view that has often been repeated (R. Lattimore, Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs, 1942, 281; H. Raffeiner, Sklaven und Freigelassene, 1977, 33f. no. 12); it is based on IK 23, 527 (Smyrna, 2-1 c. BC [Petzl]): Νύσης εὐτάχτου τε καὶ ἐργάτιδος τόδε σῆμα. The adjective itself is especially prominent in late classical and Hellenistic times; it denotes the qualities of ephebes and of soldiers, and is frequently used of embassies in honorary decrees, because they had acted abroad εὐτάχτως. Εὐταξία and Εὐταχτός were proudly used names, e.g. in military families, but not only there (see for instance L. Robert, in: N. Firatli, Les stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romaine, 1964, 160ff.; see also IK 5, 13 IV ll.85ff.; V ll.103f. [SEG 33, 1038 ll.6ff., 24f.]; MAMA 8, 407 ll.13f.).

If we look for other women qualified as εὔτακτος, we find a number of examples from late Hellenistic times that disprove the notion that this adjective was used for women of servile status: IK 60, 51 (Kibyra, late Hellenistic): ὁ δ[ῆ]μος καὶ οἱ πρ[α]γματευόμενο[ι ἐν]ταῦθα Ῥω[ι]μαῖοι ἐτείμησαν Πανκράτην Καλλικλέους χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ κα[ὶ] εἰκόνι χρυσῷ ζ[ή]σαντα εὐτάκτως. IK 5, 13, l. 85ff. (Kyme, ca. 130 BC): ὑπάρχουσαν εὔτακτον καὶ σώφρονα καὶ ἀξίαν τῆς τε ἰδίας καὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων καλοκἀγαθίας; Sardis VII 1, 111 (middle of the 2 c. BC): ὁ δῆμος Μηνοφίλαν Ἑρμαγένου ... εὐτάκτου δ' ἀρετᾶς τάλαρος μάνυμα; the adjective is used for a dead woman in La Carie II no. 71 (Herakleia Salbake): ὁ δῆμος ἔθαψε ἀμμίαν Διογένου τοῦ Σωσθένου ἐζηκυεῖαν εὐτάκτως καὶ σωφρόνως καὶ ἀξίως τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς. Thus, the claim that Dosithea was of servile status is unsubstantiated.

Especially the last example shows – together with the text from Smyrna – that εὔτακτος could be used to praise the qualities of a dead woman as well. One could argue that the imperative and the greeting, χαῖρε, show a concern for the present status of Dosithea – as does, for instance, the qualification of a dead as ἄλυπος. Therefore one may assume that Dosithea's present condition is described, as well as a reference to her unhappy life. On the other hand, most funerary inscriptions intend to draw a – positive – picture of the dead (even χρηστέ, χαῖρε does this), and one might believe the same here, especially in view of the use of the word in honorary inscriptions.

 $Bibl.: Oren - Rappaport\ 143\ no.\ 7\ (ed.\ pr.). - SEG\ 34,\ 1483; D.\ Gera,\ PEQ\ 149,\ 2017,\ 216ff.$ 

Photo: Oren - Rappaport pl. 17 B.

DG/WA

## 3631. Greek funerary inscription of Pheroras, 56/5 BC

The first line exceeded the defined area above the gable, and part of it is written over a decorative pilaster. The short second line is inscribed above and to the right of the gable's highest point. Two characters, a *rho* and an *alpha*, were presumably forgotten when the first line was inscribed, and were then written above the line, on

top of the *omega* and the *alpha*. The *omega* is cursive, but it seems that originally an *omicron* was written, only to be later corrected.

Findspot: On the eastern wall of Chamber A, above Loculus 14, see introduction to nos. 3630-3639 fig. A.

LΒΦΕΡΩΡΑΑΛΥΠΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ



fig. 3631

("Ετους) β' Φερώρα ἄλυπε, | χαῖρε

Year 2. You are (now) misery-free, Pheroras. Farewell.

Comm.: The hand of this inscription seems to be identical with the one responsible for no. 3630, and the wording of the two inscriptions is similar as well. Both inscriptions employ a newly adopted era (see no. 3528 and Gera) and appeal to the deceased directly. Note that the two loculi, 14 and 22, are both placed in Chamber A and almost face one another.

The name Pheroras is widely known because of Pheroras (Φερώρας) the son of Antipater, and brother of Herod the Great (e.g. Jos. BJ 1,181, 580; AJ 14,121; 17,59). The presence of this name in Maresha, and in Herod's family as well, suggests that the name is Idumean. It is also attested in a bilingual Aramaic and Greek inscription carved on a sarcophagus found in Beit 'Anun (no. 3762). The location of the find is in the mountains to the east of Hebron, that is in the region of Idumea. This too would point to the Idumean character of the name. The Aramaic form of the name,  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2$ 

For the formula ἄλυπε, χαῖρε, cf. comm. to no. 3574.

Bibl.: Oren - Rappaport 146 no. 16 (ed. pr.). – SEG 34, 1492; D. Gera, PEQ 149, 2017, 216ff. Photo: Oren - Rappaport pl. 18 B.

## 3632. Greek funerary inscription of Babata, 2-1 c. BC

Findspot: On the western wall of Chamber B, above Loculus 27, see introduction to nos. 3630-3639 fig. A.

ΒΑΒΑΤΑΣ



Βαβάτας fig. 3632

Babata (is buried here) or (Tomb) of Babata.

Comm.: The deceased was most likely a woman. The sex of the deceased is suggested by a Jewish woman of Maoza, on the southern coast of the Dead Sea who fled to 'Ein Gedi during the Bar Kochba revolt. The woman's name appears in the papyri in three variants, all of them in the nominative case:  $B\alpha\beta\theta\alpha$  (P.Yadin 16 ll.13 and 33-34), Βαβαθα (e.g. P.Yadin 15 ll.3, 11; 35 l.6) and Βαβαθας (e.g. P.Yadin 21 l.6; 24 l.3; cf. J.-P. Rey-Coquais, Syria 75, 1998, 198, Stèle no. 1 for another Bαβαθας, also in the nominative). The third nominative form would have been identical to that of the inscription here, but for the substitution of the tau with a *theta*. It is therefore possible that the name of the deceased woman of Maresha was written in the nominative. However, this form of the name seems to be undeclined, as was the name B $\alpha\beta\alpha\theta\alpha\varsigma$  in the papyri found in the Cave of the Letters. If so, the same form may also suggest a genitive case (N. Lewis ed., The Documents from the Bar Kochba Period in the Cave of Letters, 1989, 19). Furthermore, the genitive of the second form Bαβαθα, is Bαβαθας (P.Yadin 13 l.2). Thus, it seems impossible to determine if the name of the deceased in the Maresha inscription was given in the nominative or in the genitive (cf. no. 3528 for a person with the same name).

Bibl.: Oren - Rappaport 144 no. 8 (ed. pr.). - SEG 34, 1484.

Photo: Oren - Rappaport pl. 17 C.

## 3633. Greek funerary inscription of Menas, 2-1 c. BC

Findspot: On the western wall of Chamber B, above Loculus 28, see introduction to nos. 3630-3639 fig. A.

 $MHNA\Sigma$ 



Mηνᾶς fig. 3633

Menas (is buried here) or (Tomb) of Mena.

Comm.: This inscription seems to have been inscribed by the same hand as that of no. 3632. Whether the name of the deceased is given in the genitive (of  $M\eta\nu\tilde{\alpha}$ ) or in the nominative ( $M\eta\nu\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$ ; the genitive being  $M\eta\nu\tilde{\alpha}$ . cf. Preisigke, NB 215f.; Foraboschi 196) is not clear (see no. 3632).

Bibl.: Oren - Rappaport 145 no. 9 (ed. pr.). - SEG 34, 1485.

Photo: Oren - Rappaport pl. 17 D.

DG

#### 3634. Greek funerary inscription of Cosnatanus, 2-1 c. BC

The last three characters of l.1 were painted on the top of the pilaster to the right of the loculus, thus the *sigma*, was written above the line.

Findspot: On the western wall of Chamber B, above Loculus 29, see introduction to nos. 3630-3639 fig. A.

KOΣNATANOΣ NE[--]



Κοσνατᾶνος | ΝΕ[--]

fig. 3634

Cosnatanus (son of) NE...(?) (is buried here).

1092

Comm.: Cosnatanus, meaning "Kos (the god) has given" is a common Idumean name. It is attested in other subterranean inscriptions from Maresha (nos. 3528, 3529, 3553, 3570), and it also appears as Κουσνατᾶνος in a list of names in one of the Zenon papyri, apparently signifying a native of Idumea in Zenon's party in Palestine (259 BC; CPJ I no. 3 l.11). The name is also inscribed in Aramaic on an ostracon from Maresha (E. Eshel, Maresha III 65 no. 63 l.5), as well as in some of the non-provenanced Idumean ostraca (Eph'al - Naveh, Ostraca, nos. 176 l.1, 177 l.1). Note the recording of the name as patronymic in a list of Ptolemaic soldiers of Idumean descent stationed in Memphis (SB 1 681 I, ll.9, 38).

Bibl.: Oren - Rappaport 145 no. 10 (ed. pr.). – A. Schalit, ASTI 1, 1962, 109-60 at 114, 146f.; E. Oren, Archaeology 18, 1965, 218-24; Hengel, Judentum und Hellenismus 115f.; Keel - Küchler 870ff.; SEG 34, 1486; Figueras, Pagan Image 104.

Photo: Oren - Rappaport pl. 17 E.

DG

#### 3635. Greek funerary inscription of Audocus, 2-1 c. BC

The text is divided between the two sides of the gabled loculus.

Findspot: On the eastern wall of Chamber B, above Loculus 7, see introduction to nos. 3630-3639 fig. A.

#### ΑΥΔΟΚΩΣΟΥ

Αὐδοκώσου

(Tomb) of Audocus.

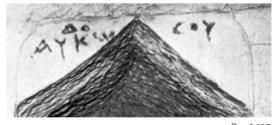


fig. 3635

Comm.: The name seems to be a transliteration of the name Abdocus which has the meaning "servant of Kos." Another transliterated form of the name may be found in the Hermopolis Magna lists of the Idumeans stationed there. The nominative form there is Åβδοκῶς (genitive: Åβδοκώσου); see SB 1, 4206 I, 1.50; 5, 8066 I, ll.25, 36, 76h; cf. F. Zucker, APAW 1937, 34; id., Aegyptus 18, 1937, 279-84 at 280f. Two ostraca of this name, 'bdqws vergous', were found in Maresha (E. Eshel, Maresha III nos. 52, 53). The name also appears among the non-provenanced Idumean ostraca from Israel (Eph'al - Naveh, Ostraca 50f. no. 84).

Bibl.: Oren - Rappaport 146 no. 14 (ed. pr.). - SEG 34, 1490.

Photo: Oren - Rappaport pl. 17 H.

DG

## 3636. Greek funerary inscription of Antiphilus, 2-1 c. BC

Findspot: On the eastern wall of Chamber B, above Loculus 11, see introduction to nos. 3630-3639 fig. A.

ΑΑΝΤΙΦΙΛΟΥ ΤΟΥΔΗΒΑ



{Α} Αντιφίλου | τοῦ Δηβα

fig. 3636

(Tomb) of Antiphilus son of Deba(?).

Comm.: The first *alpha* was written outside the limited area on top of the gable and a second within the pre-designated boundaries above the opening. Rappaport read  $\Delta \tilde{\eta} \kappa \alpha$  in l.2., but his reading of the patronymic is not supported by any parallel. However, see  $\Delta \dot{\eta} \beta \iota \epsilon$  as in Aὐξίτω Δήβιε ("prosper, Debye"; vocative), SEG 7, 1168 l.1 (Dibîn), which seems to be a slightly different form of the name. For another form of the name, see the Arabic  $d\dot{b}$  (Harding, Index 232; Negev, Personal Names 20 no. 260). For persons named Antiphilus in Maresha see also nos. 3619, 3638.

Bibl.: Oren - Rappaport 146 no. 15 (ed. pr.). - SEG 34, 1491.

Photo: Oren - Rappaport pl. 18 A.

DG

# 3637. Greek funerary inscription of Ptolemaeus, 2-1 c. BC

Findspot: On the northern wall of Chamber C, above the entrance to Loculus 2, see introduction to nos. 3630-3639 fig. A; no photograph of the inscription is available.

ПТОЛЕМАІ[..]

Πτολεμαῖ[ος] οτ Πτολεμαί[ου]

Ptolemaeus (is buried here) or (Tomb) of Ptolemaeus.

Comm.: For other private persons of that name buried in Maresha see nos. 3565, 3592. Ptolemaeus was also a very popular name among the Idumean soldiers serving in the Ptolemaic army and stationed in Hermopolis Magna and in Memphis. In the lists of the soldiers from these localities the name recurs more than forty times, attesting either soldiers' names or their patronymic (F. Zucker, APAW 1937 assembles the material from SB 5, 8066 [Stele R], to which add F. Zucker, Aegyptus 18, 1938, 281 l.76 l; SB 1, 4206 [Stele J]; and SB 1, 681 [Stele M]). See also the numerous attestations of the name in SB 1, 599; see there e.g. I, ll.2, 13, 28; II, ll.79, 90, 106. The emigration to Ptolemaic Egypt and service in the Ptolemaic army would have strenghtened the tendency of individual soldiers to name their sons using the kings' dynastic name.

Bibl.: Oren - Rappaport 145 no. 11 (ed. pr.). - SEG 34, 1587.

DG

## 3638. Greek funerary inscription of Antiphilus, 2-1-c. BC

Findspot: On the northern wall of Chamber C, above Loculus 3, see introduction to nos. 3630-3639 fig. A. Unlike most openings of loculi, this one is not gabled, but horizontal.

ΑΝΤΙΦΙΛΟΥ



Άντιφίλου

(Tomb) of Antiphilus.

fig. 3638

Comm.: For the name in Maresha see also nos. 3619, 3636.

Bibl.: Oren - Rappaport 145 no. 12 (ed. pr.). - SEG 34, 1488.

Photo: Oren - Rappaport pl. 17 F.

DG

## 3639. Greek funerary inscription of Cosiabus, 2-1 c. BC

The text is divided between two sides of the gable.

Findspot: On the northern wall of Chamber C, above Loculus 4, see introduction to nos. 3630-3639 fig. A.

#### ΚΟΣΙΑΒΟΥ

Κοσιάβου

(Tomb) of Cosiabus.



fig. 3639

Comm.: This Idumean name *qwsyhb* קוסיהב has a similar meaning to that of Cosnatan(us), see no. 3634, "Kos has given." An even closer parallel is the form *qwswhb* קוסוהב; e.g. Lemaire, Musée d'Israël 36 l.2. The name *qwsyhb* appears in a marriage contract from Maresha (176 BC, see Yardeni, Textbook A 342f., B 117), and also in the Idumean non-provenanced ostraca (see Eph'al - Naveh, Ostraca 66f. no. 132; Lemaire 2002 nos. 60, 249, 250).

Bibl.: Oren - Rappaport 145 no. 13 (ed. pr.). - SEG 34, 1489.

Photo: Oren - Rappaport pl. 17 G.

DG

## 3640. Greek burial inscription from Tomb 559, 183 BC

The rock-cut underground burial chamber is accessed from the north through an arched dromos and vestibule. The elongated rectangular burial chamber is divided by two columns with square capitals and round bases accompanied by two pilasters on the side walls. The chamber is equipped with 15 burial shafts (kokhim): five in each lateral wall, three in the rear wall and two in the front wall, to the left and right-hand side of the entrance (cf. the plan, sections and photographs in Zissu - Kloner 2015, 109ff., figs. 12a,b and 13a,b). The inscription was incised above the

second shaft in the western side wall, in a recessed field, and smoothed with a claw chisel. The grooves of the letters are colored with black paint.

Meas.: The letters in l.2 are somewhat larger than the ones in l.1.

Findspot: Eastern necropolis, Tomb 559 (see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. A). Pres. loc.: In situ.

# $\Theta$ ΚΡΥΠΕΡΒΕΡΕΤΑΙΟΥΕΜΒΟ ΓΑΔΑΗΣΣΙΜΙΔΟΣ



fig. 3640

<"Ετους> θκρ', Ύπερβερεταίου ἐμβο(λίμου), | Γάδδης Σιμίδος

*In the year 129* (i.e. 183 BC), *in the intercalated Hyperberetaios, Gaddes, son of Simis* (was buried here).

Comm.: l.1: The line consists of a date; an abbreviation for ἔτους (e.g.: L) and the number of the day are missing (for a missing ἔτους cf. no. 3622). A year like θκρ' suggests the Seleucid era, hence the equation with 183 BC made by Zissu - Kloner, who observe that the line "ends with four letters, EMBO, which are perhaps an abbreviation of the Greek word emboule, which means 'with the consent of the city council'," and discuss the implications of this for the civic institutions of Marisa. Stern 155: "The Macedonian calendar in the Seleucid Empire was very soon assimilated to the standard Babylonian calendar (see Chapter 5), and thus conformed to its fairly stable 19-year cycle and its strictly lunar month (see Chapter 2)." Ululu was identified with Hyperberetaios, and the 19-year cycle of lunar months meant that once in a while (every 16th year) an additional Hyperberetaios had to be added; for this - otherwise unattested, but necessary - adaption of the Babylonian intercalation scheme, see Stern 243 (for the later attestation of a Δύστρος ἐμβόλιμ(ος), see SEG 2, 770f. with Samuel 142 on its consequences). – 1.2: "The lower line mentions the names 'Gaddes' (the Greek equivalent of the Semitic name of Gad) and 'Simidos' (perhaps the Greek equivalent of the Semitic name Shemida ...)" (Zissu - Kloner, with references to Num 26,32; 1 Chron 7,19). On Gaddes cf. Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 38, and perhaps also SEG 7, 1211 (El-Ghâriyé, 4 c. AD): Βάνιος Γάδδου. The following name is most likely a father's name, hence a genitive; cf., e.g., Σῖμις in LGPN 1 with three Hellenistic examples from Delos (Σιμις in SEG 53, 1423 [Amastris] is most probably an indigenous name).

Bibl.: Zissu - Kloner 2015, 109ff., fig. 13c (ph.) (ed. pr.). – Cf. A. Samuel, Greek and Roman Chronology, 1972, 140ff.; S. Stern, Calendars in Antiquity, 2012, 234ff.

Photo: B. Zissu.

## 3641. Greek burial graffito, Tomb 561

The rock-cut underground burial chamber discovered in 1985 has the shape of a rectangular hall with a low bench running along its walls. The walls are equipped with several burial shafts (kokhim) with gabled façades that were blocked with masonry when discovered and contained primary burials, apart from one shaft which contained collected bones of eleven individuals. Finds in the tomb consisted of ten pieces of pottery, some dated to the 3 c. BC, fragments of glass vessels and a few metal objects. No photograph exists.

Findspot: Eastern necropolis, Tomb 561 (see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. A).

 $ME\Gamma I\Sigma[--]$ 

Μεγισ[--]

Megis... (is buried here) or (tomb) of Megis...

Comm.: "Only one Greek graffito was found, with an unclear name that might be read as MEΓΙΣ[ΤΑΣ]" (ed. pr.). LGPN knows hitherto 37 names starting with Μεγισ-, the most common ones are Μεγίστη (cf. CIIP I 297; SEG 46, 1946.3 [Kefar Harub]), Μεγιστίων, Μεγιστόδωρος, Μεγιστώ (each of them with more than 10 occurrences). CIIP III 2489: Μεγιστηρία; no. 3644: Μέγιστος.

Bibl.: Kloner, Maresha I 26f. (ed. pr.). - Zissu - Kloner 2015, 109f.

WA

# 3642. Greek burial inscription in a rock-cut tomb

"Un grand tombeau très mal conservé" (Vincent). The inscription was written on a plain area on the rear wall of the burial cave, occupying the space between the zone with the loculi and the ceiling of the cave.

Meas.: "trois lignes longues d'à peu près 2 mètres" (Vincent); letters >10 cm.

Findspot: Eastern necropolis. "A 400 mètres environ au sud-sud-est de l'église de Sandahannah, non loin d'une caverne assez considérable" (Vincent).

 $L.\Theta EO\Delta + [--]MO\Upsilon$   $A\Lambda\Upsilon [--]O\Upsilon$ T+[--]

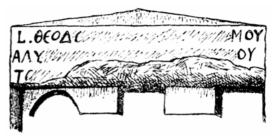


fig. 3642

L.  $\Theta \epsilon \circ \delta + [--]MOY|A\Lambda Y[--]OY|T+[--]$ 

(Tomb of) ... Theodo...

Comm.: l.1: Perhaps Vincent's drawing implies (ἔτους) [.] before Θεοδώ[--] (or Θεοδό[--]); one may take the dot to be a lacuna of a single letter. Admittedly, such a designation of the date is mostly used earlier than this text. The following lacuna measures ca. 15 letters. – l.2: ἀλύ[που], ἀλύ[που]? Cf. nos. 3574 and 3631, also from Marisa for an early use. – l.3: Second letter *epsilon* or *omicron*.

Bibl.: L. Vincent, RB 9, 1900, 115f. (ed. pr.).

Photo: L. Vincent, RB 9, 1900, 115 (dr.).

WA

# 3643.-3648. Northern necropolis, Tomb N I

During the years 1961-63 E. Oren conducted an archaeological survey in the area of Beit Guvrin, in course of which some of the numerous men-made caves of the area were explored (Oren 1965). An archaeological report focused on some of these subterranean spaces was published later, in which the excavator, E. Oren, dealt with the material findings and U. Rappaport with the publication of the inscriptions. The publication dealt with nine tombs from the north cemetery (N I-IX), and one from the east cemetery (E VIII, nos. 3630-3639). Tomb N I is located north by northwest from highpoint 357 on top of Tel Maresha; the distance between these two localities is ca. 570 m (for the plans see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. B and below figs. A, B). A passage cut into the slope leads down a number of steps into an antechamber about 6 m wide and 2.8 m deep. The southwestern wall of this room opens into two loculi, 1 and 2, which run parallel to the entrance (fig. B). The antechamber's northwestern wall opens into three loculi (nos. 3-5), while the opposite wall opens into Loculus 28, and to a shorter wider opening, Loculus 27. The center of the antechamber leads into the main hall, which measures ca. 8.25x1.6 m. The northwest-

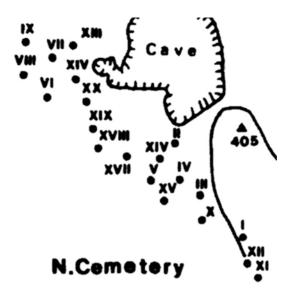


fig. 3643.A The northern necropolis, Oren - Rappaport 116 fig. 1A

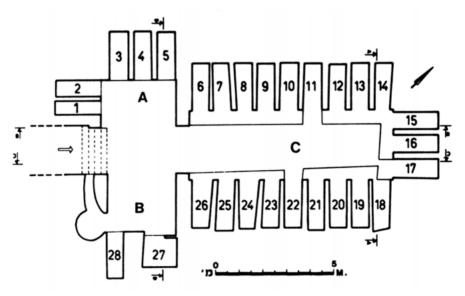


fig. 3643.B Ground plan, Oren - Rappaport 118 fig. 2

ern wall opens into nine loculi (nos. 6-14), and a similar number may be found along the opposite wall (nos. 18-26). Three other loculi are placed on the far lateral wall of the main burial hall (nos. 15-17). The average loculus, or kokh, measures 2x0.7 m and is 1.3 m high. A bench running along the walls of the burial hall is interrupted in several places. Eleven inscriptions were identi-

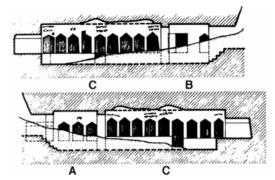


fig. 3643.C Sections, Oren - Rappaport 118 fig. 2

fied above the openings to eleven loculi. Some of these inscriptions were painted with charcoal, and others with a reddish brown paint and some with brown cement. Not all inscriptions could be read and therefore only six are published here, all located in Chamber C.

Bibl.: E. Oren, Archaeology 18, 1965, 218-24; Oren - Rappaport.

# 3643. Greek funerary inscription of Nicander, 2-1 c. BC

Findspot: On the northwestern wall of Chamber C, above Loculus 9, see introduction to nos. 3643-3648 fig. B.

ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥΜ++ΡΥΙΤΟΣ

Νικάνδρου | τοῦ Μ++ΡΥΙΤΟΣ(?)



fig. 3643

(Tomb) of Nicander son of M++RYITUS(?).

Comm.: Rappaport in ed. pr. read in l.2 Μέγιστος. However, the reading of the patronymic is difficult. The initial letter could be a mu (Rappaport), but nu is also possible. The next two letters cannot be deciphered. A rho, followed by an upsilon may have been followed by a character with a vertical stroke, perhaps an iota followed by the letters  $TO\Sigma$ . There seems no place for a middle sigma, required by

Rappaport's reading. The name of the deceased, Nicander, appears on an ossuary from Jerusalem, CIIP I 222, but is otherwise unattested in Syria and Palaestina.

Bibl.: Oren - Rappaport 142 no. 1 (ed. pr.). - SEG 34, 1477.

Photo: Oren - Rappaport, pl. 16 fig. F.

DG

# 3644. Greek funerary inscription of Megistus, 2-1 c. BC

Findspot: On the northwestern wall of Chamber C, above Loculus 10, see introduction to nos. 3643-3648 fig. B. No photograph is furnished.

#### ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΣ

## Μέγιστος

Megistus (is buried here).

Comm.: The name of the deceased is given in the nominative case. This is a common phenomenon in the Maresha tombs. For the feminine form of the name, Meyí $\sigma\tau\eta$ , see CIIP I 297; cf. no. 3643, where earlier editors read the name Megistus too.

Bibl.: Oren - Rappaport 142 no. 2 (ed. pr.). - SEG 34, 1478.

DG

# 3645. Greek funerary inscription of Zabbaeus, 2-1 c. BC

Findspot: Chamber C, above Loculus 16, see introduction to nos. 3643-3648 fig. B. No photograph is furnished.

#### ZABBAIOY

#### Ζαββαίου

(Tomb) of Zabbaeus.

Comm.: This name seems to be a hypocoristicon of names like zbd (זבד), zbd', zbdw (זבדא), zbdw (זבדי), zbdw (זבדי), zbdw (זבדי), zbdw (זבדי) and other names coming from the root

zbd (זבד). The parallel Aramaic form seems to be זבי zby, already mentioned in the Bible (Ez 10,28; Neh 3,20) and appearing on an ostracon from Idumea (Lemaire 2002, 283 l.3). The Greek form of the name is already attested in Tomb E I, no. 3557. See also SEG 7, 742 (Dura Europos) and Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 47f.:  $Z\alpha\beta\alpha$ 105,  $Z\alpha\beta\beta\alpha$ 105,  $Z\alpha\beta\beta\alpha$ 105,  $Z\alpha\beta\beta\alpha$ 105,  $Z\alpha\beta\beta\alpha$ 105.

Bibl.: Oren - Rappaport 142 no. 3 (ed. pr.). - SEG 34, 1479.

DG

# 3646. Greek funerary inscription of Onesigenes, 2-1 c. BC

Findspot: On the southeastern wall of Chamber C, above Loculus 18, see introduction to nos. 3643-3648 fig. B.

ΟΝΗΣΙΓΈΝΟΥ ΤΟΥΝΑΤΡΑ



'Ονησιγένου | τοῦ Νατρα

(Tomb) of Onesigenes, son of Natra.

fig. 3646

Comm.: The reading of the *epsilon* is difficult, since it does seem more like an *omicron*. However, the name Onesigenes is attested, (cf. IG 11,4, 1296 A.1 l.15, B.1 l.14), even if here the genitive form is given incorrectly (Rappaport). This seems preferable to reading a non-attested name. The father's name, Natra, is obviously Semitic, signifying that its bearer is divinely protected (see no. 3647). A close parallel is the name *nţr* attested in an Idumean ostracon (Lemaire, Musée d'Israël 50 I 2) and in early Arabic inscriptions (Harding, Index 591). See also Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 82: Nαταρηλος, Ναταρος, Νατουρος.

Bibl.: Oren - Rappaport 142f. no. 4 (ed. pr.). - SEG 34, 1480.

Photo: Oren - Rappaport, pl. 16 fig. G.

## 3647. Greek funerary inscription of Natra(?), 2-1 c. BC

Findspot: On the southeastern wall of Chamber C, above Loculus 20, see introduction to nos. 3643-3648 fig. B. No photograph is furnished.

NA[--]

Να[τρα?]

Natra(?) (is buried here) or (tomb of) Natra(?).

Comm.: Rappaport's restoration is based on no. 3646.

Bibl.: Oren - Rappaport 143 no. 5. (ed. pr.). - SEG 34, 1481.

DG

## 3648. Greek funerary inscription of Samaus, 2-1 c. BC

Findspot: On the southeastern wall of Chamber C, above Loculus 22, see introduction to nos. 3643-3648 fig. B.

ΣΑΜΑΥ ΤΟΥΑΒΔ

Σαμαῦ | τοῦ Ἀβδ

(Tomb) of Samaus, son of Abd.



fig. 3648

Comm.: Σαμαῦ seems to be a genitive form of Σαμαῦς, although there were also alternative genitive forms  $\Sigma$ αμαῦτος/ $\Sigma$ αμαῦστος; see Preisigke, NB 359. The nominative form appears in a list of names from Medamûd, Egypt (105 BC), in which a Ἡρώιδης Ἀπολλωνίου δς καὶ Σαμαῦς is mentioned (SEG 8, 707 l.17). Judging by the name, patronymic and nickname, the man from Medamûd may be identified as Idumean. The root of the name seems to be Semitic. For similar sounding names from Maresha, ἔmy ἀπος ἀπος ἀπος απός απός απός απός απός απός δεθείαι - Naveh, Ostraca; Lemaire 2002; Ε. Eshel, Maresha III 61-8. For Greek inscribed names other than  $\Sigma$ αμαῦς which seem to represent similar sounding names, see  $\Sigma$ αμεατου,  $\Sigma$ αμεει,  $\Sigma$ αμεου and  $\Sigma$ αμιατος (Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 104). Note also the non-Jewish

חמשה Σουμαῖος (P.Yadin 12 l.16: Σομα[ί]ου). The name of Samaus' father, Abd, is a hypocoristicon of a name meaning "servant (of a divinity)." For similar abbreviated names, see 'bd' עבדיגן; 'bdw יעבדין; 'bdw עבדין; 'bdyhw עבדיהן; 'bdyhw עבידו (byd עבידו bydwu); 'byd עבידו עבידו עבידו עבידו (bydwu). Similar names appear in Greek characters: Aβδας, Aβδεος, Aβδης, Aβδος and Aβδων; Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 7f.

Bibl.: Oren - Rappaport 143 no. 6 (ed. pr.). – E. Oren, Archaeology 18, 1965, 218-24 at 219 (ph.); SEG 34, 1482.

Photo: Oren - Rappaport, pl. 17 fig. A.

DG

# 3649.-3650. Northern necropolis, Tomb N IV

The tomb is placed north by northwest from the top of Tel Maresha; the distance between the cave and the tel is ca. 650 m (for plans see introductions to nos. 3516-3574 fig. B, nos. 3643-3648 fig. A). The entrance to the tomb is through a downward-stepped passageway that opens to a burial hall, the axis of which is west by southwest to east by northeast. The hall is about 8.25 m long and about 4 m wide at the entrance; however, the opposite lateral wall is less wide. Two loculi (1 and 25) flank the passageway leading to the burial hall. Each of the two long walls opens into nine loculi (2-10 and 16-24) and there are five loculi (11-15) opening from the far wall. Niches and pits of varying sizes were cut into the walls and the bench surrounding the burial hall. Most of these were secondary burials, often found to be sealed with stones. They represent a later 2 c. AD stage, while the burial hall was hewn in the 2 c. BC. Presumably, the red-colored traces of inscriptions seen above the openings to the loculi represent the earlier stage, but these proved impossible

to decipher (Oren - Rappaport 126f.). Two inscriptions were read, one Greek (no. 3649), the other Nabatean (no. 3650). Both of them were found above the secondary later niches.

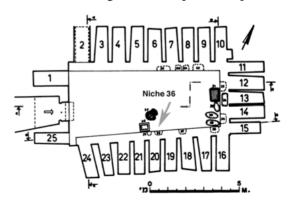


fig. 3649.A Ground plan, Oren - Rappaport 126 fig. 5

# 3649. Greek funerary inscription of Abselamus, ca. 2 c. AD

Findspot: Above a niche placed between Loculi 5 and 6, see introduction to nos. 3649-3650 fig. A (no photograph exists).

ΑΨΈΛΑ ΜΟΣ

Άψελᾶ μος

Abselamus (is buried here).

Comm.: A similarly spelled name, Άψαλάμου, appears in a list of Ptolemaic soldiers of Idumean descent stationed in Memphis (SB 1, 681 I, 1.21). Thus, the name Άψελᾶμος/Άψαλᾶμος may be viewed as Idumean, the Aramaic equivalent of which being 'bšlm אבשלם, attested in some Idumean ostraca (H. Lozachmeur - A. Lemaire, Semitica 46, 1996, 128f. no. 3 l.2; Lemaire, Musée d'Israël 78 I 1; Lemaire 2002, 149 I.1, 242). However, the name also appears on an ostracon with Phoenician names found in Tell el-Kheleifeh/Eilat (J. Naveh, BASOR 183, 1966, 27f., no. 2070, obverse l.3) as well as in Nabatean and in pre-Islamic Arabic inscriptions (Negev, Personal Names 10 no. 29; Harding, Index 12). The Hebrew name Absalom אבשלום, spelled in a slightly different way, seems to be a variation of this other Semitic name. Since the name 'bšlm/'bšlwm can be attributed to various Semitic peoples, Άψελᾶμος could be either a Jew or an Idumean. This would also apply to similarly named persons, such as Åβεσελαμος from Beth She'an/Scythopolis (SEG 28, 1446). However, the fact that the inscription was placed above a secondary burial, would favor a later date for the inscription, when the Idumeans were already absorbed within the Jewish ethnos. The secondary burial also suggests that the deceased was buried in accordance with Jewish custom (Rappaport). In short, it would appear that the dead person lived and died as Jew, although his ethnic origin may have been Idumean.

Bibl.: Oren - Rappaport 147 no. 18 (ed. pr.). - SEG 34, 1493.

DG

#### 3650. Nabatean/Aramaic inscription, 2 c. CE

Aramaic inscription written in Nabatean letters.

Findspot: "Above a niche (no. 36) for secondary burial, dating from the latest stage of use of the tomb" (ed. pr.); see introduction to nos. 3649-3650 fig. A.

Translit.: šlm+++[--?]

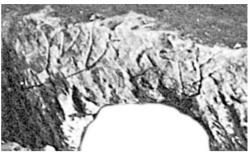


fig. 3650

Comm.: The letters *šlm* which appear at the beginning of the inscription, may be a blessing ("Peace") or the beginning of a personal name like *slmw* or *šlm'lhy*, which were popular Nabatean names. According to the ed. pr., the inscription "could not be read in its entirety." Oren - Rappaport date the inscription to the 2 c. CE.

Bibl.: Oren - Rappaport 146 no. 17 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Oren - Rappaport, pl. 18 C.

AY

# 3651.-3653. Northern necropolis, Tomb N VIII

The tomb is placed some 820 m north by northwest from the top of Tel Maresha (for plans see introductions to nos. 3516-3574 fig. B, nos. 3643-3648 fig. A). The entrance to the burial hall and the chamber hall itself are hewn along a roughly westeast axis and entered through a downward passage with steps. The hall measures ca.

7x2.25 m. The entrance to the tomb is flanked by two loculi, and there are seven loculi opening to the north and south walls of the burial hall. Three wider loculi open from the lateral eastern wall. Many of the loculi were identified by inscriptions written with mud brown paint of which three are still readable. A a fourth inscription above Loculus

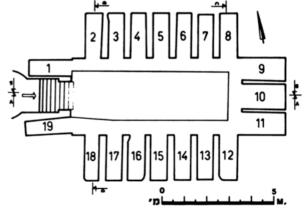


fig. 3651.A Ground plan, Oren - Rappaport 131 fig. 9

13 is mentioned in Oren - Rappaport's catalogue and assigned to Tomb N IX, see no. 3658 and dr. there. The finds indicate a 2-1 c. BC date (Oren - Rappaport 130ff.). The deciphered inscriptions were found above the loculi on the far end, northern side, of the burial hall (see fig. 3651.2 below).

## 3651. Greek funerary inscription of Lysimachus, 2-1 c. BC

Findspot: On the northern wall, above Loculus 6, see introduction to nos. 3651-3653 fig. A.

ΛΥΣΙΜΑ ΧΟΥ

Λυσιμά|χου

(Tomb) of Lysimachus.



fig. 3651.1



fig. 3651.2

Comm.: The name Lysimachus appears several times in the Memphis and Hermopolis Magna lists of Ptolemaic soldiers of Idumean origin (SB 1, 681 I, 1.34 and 42, II, 11.74 and 83; III, 1.108; 4206 II, 1.129, III, 1.212; 5, 8066 I, 1.30), and in later times a Lysimachus was one of Herod's friends (Jos. AJ 15, 252. 260).

Bibl.: Oren - Rappaport 147 no. 19 (ed. pr.). - SEG 34, 1494.

Photo: Oren - Rappaport 131 fig. 9 (dr.), pl. 18 D.

# 3652. Greek funerary inscription of Athanaeus, 2-1 c. BC

Most of the inscription is written to the right of the gable's apex.

Findspot: On the northern wall, above Loculus 7, see introduction to nos. 3651-

3653 fig. A and fig. no. 3651.2.

#### ΑΘΑΝΑΙΟΣ

Άθάναιος

Athanaeus (is buried here).



fig. 3652

Bibl.: Oren - Rappaport 147 no. 20 (ed. pr.). - SEG 34, 1495.

Photo: Oren - Rappaport, pl. 18 E.

EDD

# 3653. Greek funerary inscription of Aristocleia, 2-1 c. BC

Findspot: On the northern wall, above Loculus 8, see introduction to nos. 3651-

3653 fig. A and fig. no. 3651.2.

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛ ΕΙΑΣ

Άριστοκλ|είας

(Tomb) of Aristocleia.



fig. 3653

Comm.: Rappaport in ed. pr. read Άριστοκλ|έας; Bingen apud SEG 34, 1496 Άριστοκλ|ῆς.

The male form of the name, ἀριστοκλῆς, appears twice in a list of names of Idumean soldiers stationed in Hermopolis Magna, Egypt. See SB 1, 4206 I, ll.59, 61.

Bibl.: Oren - Rappaport 147 no. 21 (ed. pr.). - SEG 34, 1496.

Photo: Oren - Rappaport, pl. 18 F.

## 3654.-3659. Northern necropolis, Tomb N IX

The tomb is located some 860 m north by northwest from the top of Tel Maresha (for plans see introductions to nos. 3516-3574 fig. B, nos. 3643-3648 fig. A). The passageway and the burial hall are approached from a west by southwest direction. The plan is similar to Tomb N VIII (see introduction to nos. 3651-3653 with fig. A and see fig. A below). Each one of the long walls opens to eight loculi, and the lateral far wall has four

loculi. The hall measures ca. 7x3 m. The findings suggest a 2-1 c. BC date. Of thirteen painted inscriptions only six were legible. These were painted with mud, charcoal and brown and red paints (Oren - Rappaport 132f.). One of the six inscriptions plotted above Loculus 13 of Tomb VIII is mentioned in their catalogue entry as belonging to Tomb N IX, see no. 3658 and dr. there.

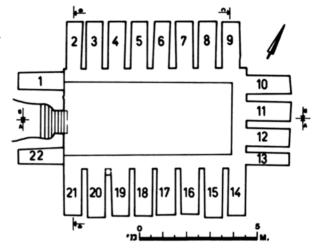


fig. 3654.A Ground plan, Oren - Rappaport 132 fig. 10

#### 3654. Greek funerary inscription of Athenaeus, 2-1 c. BC

Findspot: Above Loculus 7, to the left of no. 3655, see introduction to nos. 3654-3659 fig. A.

ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΟΣ

Άθήναι ος

Athenaeus (is buried here).

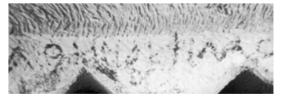


fig. 3654.1 (left side)

Comm.: Rappaport in ed. pr. read Ἀθήγαι|ος. The name Athenaeus recurs several times in the lists of Ptolemaic soldiers of Idumean origin doing military service in Hermopolis Magna in Egypt; see SB 1, 599 III, l.195; 4206 III, l.209; 5, 8066 III, l.205.

Bibl.: Oren - Rappaport 147 no. 22 (ed. pr.). - SEG 34, 1497.

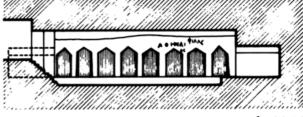


Photo: Oren - Rappaport 132 fig. 10 (dr.), pl. 18 G.

fig. 3654.2

DG

# 3655. Greek funerary inscription of Phila, 2-1 c. BC

Findspot: To the left of the apex of Loculus 8, inscribed to the right of no. 3654, see introduction to nos. 3654-3659 fig. A; and see dr. in no. 3654.

ΦΙΛΑΣ

Φίλας

(Tomb) of Phila.

fig. 3655 (right side)

Comm.: For the name  $\Phi i \lambda \alpha$ , see LGPN 1, 458.

Bibl.: Oren - Rappaport 148 no. 23 (ed. pr.). - SEG 34, 1498.

Photo: Oren - Rappaport, pl. 18 G.

DG

# 3656. Greek funerary inscription of Damas, 2-1 c. BC

Findspot: To the right of the apex of Loculus 10, see introduction to nos. 3654-3659 fig. A; to the right see no. 3657.

 $\Delta AMA$ 

Δαμᾶ

(Tomb) of Damas.



fig. 3656.1 (left side)

Comm.: The first letter of the name, a *delta*, was left out of the picture frame and is not verifiable. The name  $\Delta \alpha \mu \tilde{\alpha} \varsigma$  is written here in the genitive. For the name, see IGLS 5, 2509 l.3; SEG 35, 1483 l.31. Note that one of the Ptolemaic soldiers of Idumean



fig. 3656.2

descent serving at Hermopolis Magna has the patronymic  $\Delta\alpha\mu\alpha\sigma$ 600 (SB 5, 8066 I, 1.50) which would seem to be a different form of the same name.

Bibl.: Oren - Rappaport 148 no. 24 (ed. pr.). - SEG 34, 1499.

Photo: Oren - Rappaport 132 fig. 10 (dr.), pl. 18 H.

DG

# 3657. Greek funerary inscription of Damas the elder, 2-1 c. BC

The hand responsible for the inscription is different from the one employed for no. 3656 (Bingen apud SEG 34, 1500, is wrong in assigning nos. 3656 and 3657 to the same loculus. The photograph clearly places no. 3657 above an adjacent loculus). The *epsilon* and the *sigma* are lunate. The *alphas* have an unbroken diagonal cross-bar. The right-hand vertical stroke of the *pi* is shorter than the left-hand one. The *mu* is sprawling.

Findspot: Above the apex of Loculus 11, see introduction to nos. 3654-3659 fig. A; to the left see no. 3656 and dr. there.

ΔΑΜΑ ΠΡΕΣ

Δαμᾶ | πρεσ(βυτέρου)

(Tomb) of Damas the elder.



fig. 3657 (right side)

Comm.: Rappaport in ed. pr. gave the reading  $\Delta \alpha \mu \alpha$ [--] | Πρεσ[--]; Bingen apud SEG 34, 1500 suggested  $\Delta \alpha \mu \tilde{\alpha}$  | πρεσβ(υτέρου).

Rappaport is of two minds about the four letters of l.2. He suggests that they might be the beginning of a name like  $\Pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta \tilde{\omega} \nu \sigma \varsigma$  or  $\Pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta \omega \varsigma$ , but adopts the suggestion of A. Schalit that it is the beginning of the adjective  $\pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta \omega \tau \epsilon \rho \sigma \varsigma$ . Bingen claims that there are no additional characters in the two lines. However, the photograph

does show some additional letters written by a different hand and quite unrelated. Hence, the letters  $\Pi PE\Sigma$  are an abbreviation of  $\pi \rho \epsilon \sigma(\beta \upsilon \tau \acute{\epsilon} \rho \circ \upsilon)$ , as suggested by Schalit and Bingen. One would assume that the earlier death was that of Damas (no. 3656). Later, another Damas died, presumably an older member of the same family, who was buried in the next loculus; the abbreviation  $\pi \rho \epsilon \sigma(\beta \upsilon \tau \acute{\epsilon} \rho \circ \upsilon)$  was added next to it, thus making a distinction between the tombs of the two homonymous persons.

Bibl.: Oren - Rappaport 148 no. 25 (ed. pr.). - SEG 34, 1500.

Photo: Oren - Rappaport, pl. 18 H.

DG

# 3658. Greek funerary inscription of Nico..., 2-1 c. BC

Findspot: In their catalogue of inscriptions, Oren - Rappaport locate the text in Tomb N IX, above Loculus 14, see introduction to nos. 3654-3659 fig. A. However, among their plans and sections of the tombs (Oren - Rappaport 131 fig. 9B) it is plotted above Loculus 13 of Tomb N VIII, see the dr. here.

NIKO[--]

Νικο[--]

Nico... (is buried here) or (tomb of) Nico...

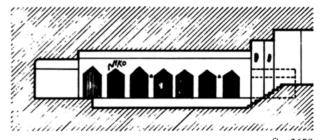


fig. 3658

Bibl.: Oren - Rappaport 148 no. 26 (ed. pr.). - SEG 34, 1501.

Photo: Oren - Rappaport 131 fig. 9B (dr.).

DG

#### 3659. Greek funerary inscription of Erotion, 2-1 c. BC

Findspot: Above Loculus 16, see introduction to nos. 3654-3659 fig. A.

EPΩΤΙΟΥ  $\Sigma$ ++

Έρωτίου | Σ++

(Tomb) of Erotion ...



fig. 3659.1

Comm.: Rappaport in ed. pr. read Ἐρωτίους; whereas Bingen apud SEG saw Ἐρωτίου.

There is a cursive *sig-ma* and perhaps an *omega* below the *omicron*, but the hand is different, and the character "has nothing to

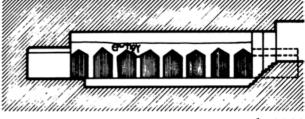


fig. 3659.2

do with the name of the deceased" (Bingen, apud SEG). The name Erotion is rather uncommon (LGPN 1, 168). One of the other people in the same burial hall was named Phila (no. 3655) which has a similar meaning. The two are possibly members of the same family.

Bibl.: Oren - Rappaport 148 no. 27 (ed. pr.). - SEG 34, 1502.

Photo: Oren - Rappaport 132 fig. 10 (dr.), pl. 18.

DG

## 3660. Greek epitaphs in Tomb 500, one with the name Antipater

The rock-cut burial cave consists of three consecutive chambers aligned eastwest. It was entered through a passage with a staircase of eleven steps descending 2.2 m. The side walls of the chambers are equipped with loculi/kokhim, in the third chamber also the rear wall. The side walls of the first chamber are decorated with columns with Doric capitals in low relief. In the second chamber only the wall facing north and the doorway to the third chamber have columns and both side walls are equipped with a cornice. In the third chamber such a cornice is the only decoration. "In all the chambers, traces of plaster used to seal the kokhim with stones were visible around the openings. These stones, some of which bore fragmentary inscriptions, were found scattered in the tomb. About a dozen Greek inscriptions, mainly names and dates, had been incised or painted on the cornices above the kokhim; these inscriptions attest the use of the tomb in the III and II centuries BC. A large assemblage of pottery and few coins discovered in the tomb were dated to the same time span. Thirteen inscriptions were discovered in Greek, bearing names common among the Idumeans. Some inscriptions were dated to the last third of the II century BC; the latest inscription was from 112 BC, a short time before the conquest of the city by John Hyrcanus" (Zissu - Kloner 111). No photographs exist.

Findspot: Southwestern necropolis, Tomb 500 (for plan see introduction to nos. 3516-3574 fig. A).

Comm.: None of the inscriptions from this tomb has been published so far. "An 'Αντίπατρος was buried in Tomb 500. He died in the first year of a Ptolemy (... according to U. Rappaport ... the views of whom are accepted by the present writer, perhaps Ptolemy V, that is 204/3 BCE ...)," Finkielsztejn 1999 and Maresha III. "Ptolemy V Epiphanes ruled Egypt between 204-180 BCE, but his control over Palestine ended with the fifth Syrian war in ca. 200 BCE. Years one to five would cover his rule in Palestine, and no later dates are to be expected. Consequently, year Z (=7) discovered in an inscription in Tomb 500 should be attributed to an earlier Ptolemaic king" (Kloner 2008).

For the epitaph of Antipater Finkielsztejn refers to an unpublished M.A. thesis by D. Regev, The Greek Onomastics of Marisa in the Hellenistic Period, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1994, 58ff. (Hebr.). In suggesting Ptolemaeus V as the ruler for the dating by regnal years in the epitaph of Antipater, Finkielsztejn as well as Kloner follow U. Rappaport (Oren - Rappaport 148f.). However, D. Gera recently has argued that the single-digit numerals should be understood as a date according to a local era of Marisa inaugurated under Aulus Gabinius as governor of the province of Syria in 57/6 BC.

Bibl.: G. Finkielsztejn, Atiqot 38, 1999, 58; Kloner, Maresha 2008, 176f.; G. Finkielsztejn, Maresha III 199; Zissu - Kloner 2015, 110f.; D. Gera, PEQ 149, 2017, 216ff.

DK

#### F. Instrumentum domesticum

#### 3661.-3670. Astragali

Knucklebones from calves, goats and sheep were used as pieces in games. However, the latter were sometimes made of clay, stone, ivory, glass and metals. Astragali too often served as dice, with each side of the astragalus having a numerical value. However, the astragali found in Maresha seem to have been used to predict the future.

Bibl.: S. Laser, Sport und Spiel, 1987, 117-23; R. Hurschmann, s.v. Astragalos, Brill's New Pauly 2, 2003, 192f; id., s.v. Games, Brill's New Pauly 4, 2004, 683-7.

## 3661. Greek inscribed astragalus for Aphrodite

Meas.: h 1.5, w 3.2, th 2 cm.

Findspot: Subterranean Complex 1, Rooms 20-22.

Pres. loc.: Exc. reg. no. 1-100-733-S6.

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ

Άφροδίτη

# Aphrodite.

Comm.:  $A\Phi PO\Delta IT$ , ' $A\phi po\delta i\tau(\eta)$  Korzakova. – Technically, the first editor is correct in reading  $A\Phi PO\Delta IT$ , with the terminal letter missing. However, the inscription's last two characters, an *iota* and a *tau*, are touching each other, thus resembling an *eta*. Aphrodite's powers were numerous and varied, above all she was associated with sexuality and procreation. In this and the following inscription it remains unclear, how the names of the gods on the astragali related to a game, let alone to an oracle.



fig. 3661

Bibl.: Korzakova, Maresha III 156 no. 5 (ed. pr.). – Kloner, ibid. 14f.; SEG 60, 1741; BE 2011, 622. Photo: IAA.

DG

# 3662. Greek inscribed astragalus for Eros

Meas.: h 1.5, w 3, th 1.5 cm.

Findspot: Subterranean Complex 99, in the fill of Rooms 12 and 13.

Pres. loc.: Exc. reg. no. 99-01-004-S3.

ΕΡΩΣ

"Ερως

Eros.



fig. 3662

Comm.: As the god of love, Eros personifies that feeling among humans. Thus, someone winning a knucklebone inscribed with the god's name may take to be predicting success in love.

Bibl.: Korzakova, Maresha III 156 no. 7 (ed. pr.). – Kloner, ibid. 26f.; SEG 60, 1741; BE 2011, 622. Photo: IAA.

# 3663. Greek inscribed astragalus for Hera

Meas.: h 2, w 3, th 1.5 cm.

Findspot: Subterranean Complex 147. Pres. loc.: Exc. reg. no. 147-08-1367-S1.

**HPA** 

"Ηρα

Hera.



fig. 3663.1

Comm.: An identically inscribed knucklebone was found at Gordion (Phrygia); see J. Dandoy, Expedition 38/1, 1996, 54, with 55 fig. 8B. As wife of Zeus, Hera's cults were often linked with marriage.

Bibl.: Korzakova, Maresha III 156 no. 6 (ed. pr.). – Kloner, ibid. 29f.; SEG 60, 1741; BE 2011, 622.

Photo: IAA.



fig. 3663.2

DG

# 3664. Greek inscribed astragalus for Nike

Meas.: h 2, w 3.2, th 2 cm.

Findspot: Subterranean Complex 1, Room 21.

Pres. loc.: Exc. reg. no. 1-1094-523-S1.

**NIKH** 

Νίκη

Nike.



fig. 3664

Comm.: The word Ní $\nu\eta$  seems to offer victory for the player in possession of the piece. For an identical inscription on a knucklebone from Gordion in Phrygia, see L. Roller, Anatolian Studies 37, 1987, 113 no. 10. For further astragali bearing the word Ní $\nu\eta$ , see nos. 3665-3667.

Bibl.: Korzakova, Maresha III 155 no. 1 (ed. pr.). – Kloner, ibid. 14f.; SEG 60, 1741; BE 2011, 622. Photo: IAA.

DG

## 3665. Greek inscribed astragalus for Nike

Meas.: h 1.5, w 3, th 1.8 cm.

Findspot: Subterranean Complex 147, Room 18.

Pres. loc.: Exc. reg. no. 128-40-1051-S3.

**NIKH** 

Νίκη

Nike.

Comm.: Cf. comm. to no. 3664.



fig. 3665

Bibl.: Korzakova, Maresha III 155 no. 2 (ed. pr.). – Kloner, ibid. 27ff.; SEG 60, 1741; BE 2011, 622. Photo: IAA.

DG

# 3666. Greek inscribed astragalus for Nike

Meas.: h 2, w 3, th 1.5 cm.

Findspot: Subterranean Complex 147. Pres. loc.: Exc. reg. no. 147-09-1768-S3.

NIKH

Νίκη

Nike. fig. 3666



# 1118 CXXI. Marisa (Maresha, mod. Tell Sandahannah)

Comm.: Cf. comm. to no. 3664.

Bibl.: Korzakova, Maresha III 155 no. 3 (ed. pr.). - Kloner, ibid. 29f.; SEG 60, 1741; BE 2011, 622.

Photo: IAA.

DG

# 3667. Greek inscribed astragalus for Nike

Meas.: h 1.8, w 3.2, th 1.5 cm.

Findspot: Subterranean Complex 147. Pres. loc.: Exc. reg. no. 147-5-295-S1.

NIK

Νίκ(η)

Nike.

Comm.: Cf. comm. to no. 3664.

Bibl.: Korzakova, Maresha III 155 no. 4 (ed. pr.). – Kloner, ibid. 29f.; SEG 60, 1741; BE 2011, 622.

Photo: IAA.



fig. 3667.1



fig. 3667.2

DG

## 3668. Greek inscribed astragalus

Meas.: h 2, w 2.8, th 1.9 cm.

Findspot: Subterranean Complex 1, Room

21.

Pres. loc.: Exc. reg. no. 1-1096-613-S2.

АРПА[--]

Άρπά[--]

Harpa...



fig. 3668

Comm.: Korzakova suggests restoring  $\Tilde{\alpha} \rho \pi \alpha \Tilde{\alpha} \Tilde{\alpha}$  which she translates "I've got (?)." However, since the astragalus is a gaming piece, the four letters might be the beginning of some form of the verb  $\Tilde{\alpha} \rho \pi \Tilde{\alpha} \Tilde{\omega} \Tilde{\omega}$ , to snatch away, to overpower. It is also possible that the four initial letters form the beginning of a personal name of a mythical figure, perhaps Harpalycus the son of Hermes.

Bibl.: Korzakova, Maresha III 156 no. 8 (ed. pr.). – Kloner, ibid. 14f.; SEG 60, 1741; BE 2011, 622. Photo: IAA.

DG

## 3669. Greek inscribed astragalus

Meas.: h 1.7, w 3.5, th 1.8 cm.

Findspot: Subterranean Complex 1, Rooms 20-22.

Pres. loc.: Exc. reg. no. 1-1097-608-S7.

#### ΠΥΓΩΝ

Πυγών

(A measure of the) arm.



fig. 3669

Comm.: Πυγών=distance from the elbow to the first joint of the fingers=20 δάκτυλοι (LSJ). The link between the astragalus and the inscription remains unclear.

Bibl.: Korzakova, Maresha III 156 no. 9 (ed. pr.). – Kloner, ibid. 14f.; SEG 60, 1741; BE 2011, 622.

Photo: IAA.

DG

#### 3670. Greek inscribed astragalus

Partly destroyed.

Meas.: h 1.4, w 2.3, th 1.3 cm.

Findspot: Subterranean Complex 128, Room 19.

Pres. loc.: Exc. reg. no. 128-45-1132-S1.

ME

Bibl.: Korzakova, Maresha III 156 no. 10 (ed. pr.). – Kloner, ibid. 27ff.; SEG 60, 1741.

Photo: IAA.



fig. 3670 DG

# 3671. Lead weight of agoranomos Apollonius, 173/2 or 163/2 BC

Roughly square lead weight with raised double border. Five-line inscription in the center of the obverse. *Omega* in ll.2 and 4 written upside-down; *upsilon* at the end of l.4 already on the bevel of the border. Traces of a network pattern on the reverse. Meas.: h 4.8, w 5.2, th 0.4 cm; wt 69 g.

Findspot: Subterranean Complex 1, Room 21 (A. Kloner, Maresha III 14f. with table 1,10 and plan 1,6; cf. ibid. 2 plan 1,1 for the location of the SC).

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 2014-691; exc. reg. no. 1-1283-221-M1. Autopsy: September 2000 (AKS).

LŅ/ΜΡΑΓΟΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥΤΟΥΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥΗ

("Ετους) νρ' οτ μρ' άγο(ρανομοῦντος) | 'Απολλω|νίου τοῦ | Διοδώρου | η'

Year 150 or 140 (=173/2 or 163/2 BC), Apollonius son of Diodorus being agoranomos, one eighth.

Comm.: The reading for the first digit of the year is uncertain. It might be either "50" ( $\nu$ ') or "40" ( $\mu$ ') , making it the year 150 or 140 of the Seleucid era. The weight thus dates to either 173/2 or 163/2 BC. An Apollonius, either as agoranomos or father of an agoranomos, is also attested on the weight no. 3672. Considering the proximity in date this might be the



fig. 3671.1



fig. 3671.2

same person. l.4: "the author sees only a 'triangular' letter for the initial A,  $\Delta$  or  $\Lambda$  and the ending [--] $\rho o v$ " Finkielsztejn (Maresha III 177).

Bibl.: Korzakova, Maresha III 164 no. 9 (ed. pr.). – Tal, Archaeology 311 (Hebr.); Finkielsztejn, Maresha III 177f., 187ff., table 8,1 no. 9; SEG 60, 1728; BE 2011, 622; G. Finkielsztejn, in: Capdetrey - Hasenohr, Agoranomes et édiles 133-6 no. 1.

Photo: IAA.

AKS/PW

# 3672. Lead weight of agoranomos Heracleides or of the agoranomoi Heracleides and Apollonius, 170/69 BC

Square lead weight with raised borders. A shield decorated with a flower inside an inner square-double frame and with an inscription running along all four sides of the weight, between the outer rim and the square frame, facing outward (beginning on the photograph in the lower left corner and running counterclockwise). Network pattern on the reverse.

Meas.: h 4.7, w 4.7, th 0.3 cm; wt 70.83 g.

Findspot: Area 61, an insula in the lower city, House A (A. Kloner, Maresha III 5ff. with table 1,2 and plan 1,3; cf. ibid. 2 plan 1,1 for the location of the area).

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 2014-716; exc. reg. no. 61-723-1157-M1. Autopsy: September 2000 (AKS).

LΓΜΡ ΑΓ[.]PAN ΗΡΑΚΛ[.]ΙΔ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ

("Έτους) γμρ', | ἀγ[ο]ραν(ομοῦντος) or ἀγ[ο]ραν(ομούντων) | Ἡρακλ[ε]ίδ(ου) | Ἀπολλωνί(ου)

Year 143 (=170/69 BC), Heracleides, son of Apollonius, being agoranomos or Heracleides (and) Apollonius, being agoranomoi.



fig. 3672.1

Comm.: It is impossible to decide with any certainty whether the inscription mentions one agoranomos and his patronym or a pair of agoranomoi. The exact date (given according to the Seleucid era) depends on whether or not the first digit is a *gamma* or a *digamma*. *Gamma*, and thus 170/69 BC, is more likely. An agoranomos named Apollonius is attested also on the weight no. 3671; he might be the same person, taking into account proximity of the dates to each

other. – l.1 ἀγ[ορ]αν(ομοῦντος?) Korzakova; 'Αγορανό(μου) Finkielsztejn, Agoranomes.

Bibl.: Korzakova, Maresha III 161 no. 4 (ed. pr.). – Finkielsztejn, ibid. 176f., 187ff., table 8,1 no. 5; SEG 60, 1729; BE 2011, 622.; G. Finkielsztejn, in: Capdetrey - Hasenohr, Agoranomes et édiles 133-6 no. 14.

Photo: IAA.



fig. 3672.2 AKS/PW

## 3673. Lead weight of agoranomoi Menecrates and Athenodorus, 144/3 BC

Square lead weight. Raised border, zigzag decoration. A five-line inscription, with a deep cut above and below the third line. The fourth and fifth lines are separated by a thin line. Dense network pattern on the reverse.

Meas.: h 5, w 4.8, th 0.3-0.5 cm; wt 64.8 g.

Findspot: Subterranean Complex 53, Room 205C (A. Kloner, Maresha III 3ff. with table 1,1; cf. ibid. 2 plan 1,1 for the location of the SC and id., Qadmoniot 24, 1991, 84 for its floor plan).

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 2014-704, exc. reg. no. 53-205C-758-M1. Autopsy: September 2000 (AKS).

ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟ ΜΟΥΝΤΩΝ ΤΟΘΞΡΙΗ ΜΕΝ+ΚΡΑΤΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΥ

Άγορανο|μούντων | τὸ θξρ' (ἔτος) η | Μενεκράτου | Άθηνοδώρου

Menecrates and Athenodorus being agoranomoi; year 169 (=144/3 BC); one eight (?).



fig. 3673.1

Comm.: l.3: "The letters that seem to be legible are  $\tau o \varepsilon$ " (375) or  $\tau o \theta$ " (379) ... If the letter that looks like a *tau* is actually a badly engraved (or preserved) *rho*, the year may be read as  $\rho o \theta$ " ... one may suggest the reading  $\gamma o \rho$ " as the best possibil-

ity ... In my opinion, the matter of the date of this weight remains unsolved," Finkielsztejn (Maresha III 177f.). The meaning of the *eta* remains unclear, since the value of a weight is not usually designated in this way. – 1.4 MENEKPATOY Korzakova.

Bibl.: Korzakova, Maresha III 165 no. 11 (ed. pr.). – Finkielsztejn, ibid. 177f., 187ff., table 8,1 no. 11; SEG 60, 1730; BE 2011, 622; G. Finkielsztejn, in: Capdetrey - Hasenohr, Agoranomes et édiles 133-6 no. 4.

Photo: I A A



fig. 3673.2 AKS/PW

# 3674. Inscribed lead weight of the agoranomoi Antipater and Aristodamus, 143/2 BC

A rectangular lead weight with raised borders. The central part of the obverse consists of a bulging decoration of a flower with eight petals framed by a circle. This seems to represent an ornate shield (P.-L. Gatier, BE). The inscription runs along the four borders of the obverse. The reverse is decorated with a net pattern. The *eta* in the line on the right-hand side (l.2) consists of two vertical hastae with no connecting cross-bar. The mistaken *omega* in the same line is standing on its side. Its form is lapidary, with the two feet joined to make a single line. The *alphas* have a broken cross-bar and the *omicrons* are small – suspended from the top of the line. Meas.: h 8, w 7.4, th 0.6 cm; 296.8 g.

Pres. loc.: Former collection of A. Spaer, Jerusalem; now in the collection of A. Jeselsohn, Zürich.

LΟΡΑΓΟΑΝΤΙΠΑ ΤΡΟΥΤΟΥΗΛΙΩΔ ΟΡΟΥΚΑΙΑΡΙΣΤΟΔ ΑΝΟΥΤΟΥΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ

("Ετους) ορ' ἀγο(ρανομούντων) Ἀντιπά|τρου τοῦ Ἡλιωδ|όρου καὶ Ἀριστοδ|ά'μ'ου τοῦ Ἀρίστον(ος?)

Year 170 (=143/2 BC), the agoranomoi being Antipater son of Heliodorus and Aristodamus son of Ariston(?).



fig. 3674.1

1124

Comm.: A. Kushnir-Stein in ed. pr. read: l.1:  $A\Gamma OP$ ; l.2:  $H\Lambda IO\Delta$ ; l.3:  $\Omega PO\Upsilon$ ;  $API\Sigma TO\Delta$ ; l.4:  $AMO\Upsilon$ . – For the pair Antipater son of Heliodorus and Aristodamus son of Ariston, see also no. 3515.

Bibl.: A. Kushnir-Stein, IEJ 52, 2002, 226 no. 2 (ed. pr.). – A. Kloner - G. Finkielsztejn - Y. Arbel, ESI 17, 1998, 154-7 (=HA 105, 143-6 [Hebr.]); G. Finkielsztejn, Atiqot 38, 1999, 51-64; SEG 52, 1670; BE 2003, 594; G. Finkielsztejn, in: M. Sartre ed., Productions et échanges en Syrie hellénistique et romaine, 2007, 35-60 at 38f., 48; id., Maresha III 175ff., 179, 187f.; SEG 60, 1739; A. Kushnir-Stein, INR 6, 2011, 35-59 at 39 no. A9; SEG 61, 1416.6; G. Finkielsztejn, in: Capdetrey - Hasenohr, Agoranomes et édiles 133-6 no. 3.

Photo: A. Kushnir-Stein, IEJ 52, 2002, 226 fig. 2.



fig. 3674.2

DG

## 3675. Lead weight of agoranomos Sosibius, 112/1 BC

Square lead weight with narrow raised border. In the middle, depiction of two crossed cornucopiae on a raised disk. The inscription which surrounds it begins at the lower left-hand corner running counterclockwise and facing outwards. *Sigma* angular in the date, lunate in the name; *nu* written retrograde. Network pattern on the reverse. Meas.: h 5, w 5, th 0.65 cm, w 136.7 g.

Findspot: Subterranean Complex 169 (A. Kloner, Maresha III 30f. with table 1,22; cf. ibid. 2 plan 1,1 for the location the SC; for a floor plan of the SC, cf. I. Stern - B. Alpert, HA-ESI 126, 2014 fig. 2 [www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\_detail\_eng.aspx?id=12643&mag\_id=121, viewed 13.10.2016]).

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 2014-700; exc. reg. no. 169-02-16-M1. Autopsy: July 2000 (AKS).

LΑΣΑΓΟΡ ΑΝΟΜ ΟΝΤΟΣ ΣΩΣΙΒ[.]ΟΥ

("Ετους) ασ', ἀγορ|ανομ|ο(ῦ)ντος | Σωσιβ[ί]ου

Year 201 (=112/1 BC), Sosibius being agoranomos.



fig. 3675.1

Comm.: On weights from various sites in the Hellenistic and Roman Near East showing cornucopias, cf. P.-L. Gatier - Sh. Shaath, Syria 70, 1993, 171-8; see also no. 2785.

Bibl.: Korzakova, Maresha III 163 no. 7 (ed. pr.). – Finkielsztejn, ibid. 179, 187ff., table 8,1 no. 7; SEG 60, 1731; BE 2011, 622; G. Finkielsztejn, in: Capdetrey - Hasenohr, Agoranomes et édiles 133-6 no. 6.

Photo: IAA.



fig. 3675.2 AKS/PW

# 3676.-3681. Lead weights of agoranomos Agathocles

# 3676. Lead weight of agoranomos Agathocles, 108/7 BC

Square lead weight with raised, triangular border; remains of a lug at the upper edge. In the center, depiction of a Macedonian shield with one dot in the middle (the boss) and six more in a circle around it, each surrounded by two concentric, semicircular lines. Inscription around the shield, along the frame, starting in the lower left corner and facing inward. Lunar *epsilon* and *sigma*; *alpha* with broken or oblique cross-bar.

Meas.: h 8.1, w 7.4, th 1.3 cm; wt 210 g (Finkielsztejn 1998).

Findspot: Area of Maresha, in an underground columbarium.

LΣΕΑΓΟΡΑΝ ΟΜΟΥΝΤΟ ΣΑΓΑΘΟΚ[.] Ε[.]ΥΣ

("Ετους) σε', ἀγοραν|ομοῦντο|ς Άγαθοκ[λ]|έ[ο]υς

Year 205 (=108/7 BC), Agathocles being agoranomos.

Comm.: Six weights issued by this agoranomos in the same year, and made from three different molds and with three different values are



fig. 3676

known today: a) no. 3676, 210 g; b) nos. 3677-3678, 122.1 g and 138.3 g and in addition fragment no. 3679, 83.7 g; c) the lowest values appear in nos. 3680-3681, 74.97 g and 68.8 g resp. In each case, where the date is preserved, the digit E (5) was engraved larger and thicker into the mold than the  $\Sigma$  (200). Hence the original dating of each one of the three seems to have been changed later on. Parallels for this exist e.g. in weights from Nicomedia (R. Haensch - P. Weiß, Chiron 44, 2014, 533). In the present case, the reasons for the change are still unknown. The Macedonian shield was apparently the town's crest (parasemon). – ll.3f. 'Ayáθω|νος Lifshitz; 'Ayαθοκ[λ]|έους SEG 28, 1439; 'Ayαθο[κλ]|έους Finkielsztejn 1998.

Bibl.: Lifshitz, Bleigewichte 180f. no. 32 (ed. pr.). – E. Oren, Archaeology 18, 1965, 218-24 at 222 (ph.); BE 1967, 646; SEG 28, 1439; A. Kushnir-Stein, ZDPV 113, 1997, 88-91 at 89f. no. 3; G. Finkielsztejn, BAIAS 16, 1998, 35f.; SEG 48, 1891.2; BE 2001, 498; Finkielsztejn, Maresha III 175f., 185-9 pl. 8,1 no. 34; A. Kushnir-Stein, INR 6, 2011, 35-59 at 38f. no. A8; SEG 61, 1416.5; G. Finkielsztejn, in: Capdetrey - Hasenohr, Agoranomes et édiles 133-6 no. 8.

Photo: E. Oren, Archaeology 18, 1965, 222.

AKS/PW

#### 3677. Lead weight of agoranomos Agathocles, 108/7 BC

Lead weight of the same form and with the same decoration as no. 3676, but smaller and lighter. Damaged at the lower left corner; the lug is broken off. Network pattern on the reverse.

Meas.: h 6.4, w 6.2, th 0.55 cm; wt 122.1 g (145 g according to pre-cleaning publications).

Findspot: Upper city (Macalister 1903).

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. M-792. Autopsy: September 2000 (AKS).

L++ΑΓΟΡΑ ΝΟΜΟΥΝ ΤΟΣΑΓΑ ΘΟΚΛΕΟΥ[.]



fig. 3677.1







fig. 3677.3

("Έτους) σε', ἀγορα|νομοῦν|τος Άγα|θοκλέου[ς]

Year 205 (=108/7 BC), Agathocles being agoranomos.

Comm.: See comm. to no. 3676; parallels from the same mold: nos. 3678, 3679 (fragment). – l.1 date omitted in ed. pr., L σε' Finkielsztejn 1998; ll.3f. ἀγα|θοκλέους Finkielsztejn 1998.

Bibl.: F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 319-38 at 335f.; Bliss - Macalister 61 fig. 28 (dr.) (edd. prr.). – R. Macalister, PEQ 35, 1903, 299-322 at 303; P. Thomsen, ZDPV MN 15, 1909, 33-44 at 37; O. Viedebantt, ZDPV 45, 1922, 2-7 at 6 no. 24; Lifshitz, Bleigewichte 180f.; G. Horowitz, PEQ 112, 1980, 93-111 at 105; A. Kushnir-Stein, ZDPV 113, 1997, 88-91 at 89f. no. 3; G. Finkielsztejn, BAIAS 16, 1998, 33ff.; SEG 48, 1891.1; BE 2001, 498; Finkielsztejn, Maresha III 175f., 185f., 187ff., table 8,1 no. 33; A. Kushnir-Stein, INR 6, 2011, 35-59 at 38 no. A7; SEG 61, 1416.4; G. Finkielsztejn, in: Capdetrey - Hasenohr, Agoranomes et édiles 133-6 no. 6.

Photo: IAA; Bliss - Macalister 61 fig. 28 (dr.).

AKS/PW

# 3678. Lead weight of agoranomos Agathocles, 108/7 BC

Lead weight of the same shape and style as no. 3676. Network pattern on the reverse

Meas.: h 6.5, w 6.5, th 0.2-0.4 cm; wt 138.3 g.

Findspot: Area 61, an insula in the lower city, House B (A. Kloner, Maresha III 5ff. with table 1,3 and plan 1,3; cf. ibid. 2 plan 1,1 for the location of the area).

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 2014-34; exc. reg. no. 61-197-517-M1. Autopsy: September 2000 (AKS).





fig. 3678.1

fig. 3678.2

LΣΕΑΓΟΡΑ ΝΟΜΟΥΝ ΤΟΣΑΓΑ ΘΟΚΛΕΟΥ[.]

("Έτους) σε', ἀγορα|νομοῦν|τος Άγα|θοκλέου[ς]

Year 205 (=108/7 BC), Agathocles being agoranomos.

Comm.: See comm. to no. 3676. The weight comes from the same mold as nos. 3677 and 3679 (fragment).

Bibl.: Korzakova, Maresha III 160f. no. 2 (ed. pr.). – Finkielsztejn, ibid. 175f., 185f., 187f., table 8,1 no. 2; SEG 60, 1733; BE 2011, 622; G. Finkielsztejn, in: Capdetrey - Hasenohr, Agoranomes et édiles 133-6 no. 10.

Photo: IAA.

AKS/PW

# 3679. Fragmentary lead weight of agoranomos Agathocles, 108/7 BC

Fragment (ca. half) of a weight of the same type as no. 3676. Network pattern on the reverse.

Meas.: (present fragment) h 5.1, w 5.3, th 0.5 cm; wt 83.7 g.

Findspot: Subterranean Complex 97, courtyard east of Room 3 (A. Kloner, Maresha III 26 with table 1,18 and plan 1,14; cf. ibid. 2 plan 1,1 for the location the SC). Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 2014-688; exc. reg. no. 97-01-101-M1.

ĻΣΕΑΓΟΡΑ ΝΟΜΟΥ[.] [--]





fig. 3679.1

fig. 3679.2

("Έτους) σε', ἀγορα|νομοῦ[ν|τος Άγα|θοκλέους]

*Year 205* (=108/7 BC), *Agathocles being agoranomos*.

Comm.: See comm. to no. 3676. The weight was cast in the same mold as nos. 3677 and 3678.

Bibl.: Korzakova, Maresha III 161 no. 3 (ed. pr.). – Finkielsztejn, ibid. 175f., 185-9, table 8,1 no. 3; SEG 60, 1734; G. Finkielsztejn, in: Capdetrey - Hasenohr, Agoranomes et édiles 133-6 no. 9. Photo: IAA.

AKS/PW

# 3680. Lead weight of agoranomos Agathocles, 108/7 BC

Square lead weight of the same shape and style as no. 3676, but smaller and lighter. The last three letters of the name are written in small script on the rim. Network pattern on the reverse.

Meas.: h 5, w 5, th 0.3-0.5 cm; wt 74.97 g.

Findspot: Area 61, House B, cf. no. 3678. Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 2014-699, exc. reg. no. 61-157-413-M1. Autopsy: September 2000 (AKS).

LΣΕΑΓΟΡΑ ΝΟΜΟΥΝ ΤΟΣΑΓΑ ΘΟΚΛΕ ΟΥΣ



fig. 3680.1

("Ετους) σε', άγορα |νομοῦν|τος 'Αγα|θοκλέ|ους

Year 205 (=108/7 BC), Agathocles being agoranomos.

Comm.: See comm. to no. 3676; parallel from the same mold: no. 3681. – ll.3f. Άγα |θοκλ(έους) Korzakova, Άγα |θοκλέ(ους) Finkielsztejn.

Bibl.: Korzakova, Maresha III 159 no. 1 (ed. pr.). – Finkielsztejn, ibid. 175f., 185-9, table 8,1 no. 1; SEG 60, 1732; G. Finkielsztejn, in: Capdetrey - Hasenohr, Agoranomes et édiles 133-6 no. 12.



fig. 3680.2

AKS/PW

# 3681. Lead weight of agoranomos Agathocles, 108/7 BC

Square lead weight of the same shape and style as no. 3676, but smaller and lighter. Network pattern on the reverse.

Meas.: h 6, w 5.1, th 0.46 cm; wt 68.8 g.

Findspot: Bought by D. Hendin in 2006 from R. Bachar, Beit Shean.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 2008-34.

[--]ΑΓΟΡΑ ΝΟΜΟΥΝ ΤΟΣΑΓΑ ΘΟ[--]

Photo: IAA.







fig. 3681.2

[("Ετους) σε'], ἀγορα|νομοῦν|τος Άγα|θο[κλέους]

Year 205 (=108/7 BC), Agathocles being agoranomos.

Comm.: See comm. to no. 3676. This weight was cast in the same mold as no. 3680. -1.1 [--]  $\Gamma$ OPA ed. pr.

Bibl.: D. Hendin, Ancient Scale Weights and Pre Coinage Currency of the Near East, 2007, 199 no. 293 (ed. pr.). – Finkielsztejn, Maresha III 175f., 185-9 table 8,1 no. 37; id., in: Capdetrey - Hasenohr, Agoranomes et édiles 133-6 no. 11.

Photo: Courtesy of Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

PW

# 3682. Lead weight of agoranomos Agathocles, 2 c. BC (?)

Square lead weight with broad, raised border. At the center, depiction of a kerykei-on/caduceus. Inscription on the border, facing inwards and running clockwise, the letters on the top and bottom sections completely worn away. Traces of a network pattern on the reverse.

Meas.: h 5.3, w 5.4, th 0.25 cm; wt 69 g.

Findspot: Subterranean Complex 169, cf. no. 3675. Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 2014-702; exc. reg. no. 169-02-16-M2.

+[...] ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜ [--] ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥ[.]

("Ετους) [...] | ἀγορανομ|[οῦντος] | 'Άγαθοκλέου[ς]

Year ..., Agathocles being agoranomos.



fig. 3682.1

Comm.: The agoranomos bears the same name as the one in nos. 3676-3681. However, the difference in design suggests that the present stathmon was not issued by the same person.

Bibl.: Korzakova, Maresha III 162 no. 6 (ed. pr.). – Finkielsztejn, ibid. 177f., 187ff., table 8,1 no. 6; SEG 60, 1735; G. Finkielsztejn, in: Capdetrey - Hasenohr, Agoranomes et édiles 133-6 no. 13.

Photo: IAA.



fig. 3682.2 AKS/PW

#### 3683. Lead weight of agoranomos Antipater, 2 c. BC

Square lead weight with broad raised border; two cornucopias wind around themselves in the center. Inscription above and below the cornucopias, with the date in between, left and right of the cornucopias, partly illegible. Network pattern on the reverse. Meas.: h 5, w 5, th 0.4 cm; wt 62.58 g.

Findspot: Subterranean Complex 1, Room 21, cf. no. 3671.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 2014-701, exc. reg. 1-1283-222-M1. Autopsy: September 2000 (AKS).

A $\Gamma$ OPANOMOY L $\Gamma$  ++ [.]NTI $\Pi$ ATP[..]

'Αγορανομοῦ(ντος) | (ἔτους) ς++' | ['A]ντιπάτρ[ου]

Year .. 6, Antipater being agoranomos.

Comm.: l.2: "an unclear date in the Seleucid Era. It may be a lunate sigma, L  $\sigma$ ', meaning 'Year 200' (113/2 BCE). Another possibility is a partly readable date, with a stigma ( $\varsigma$ ') ...," Finkielsztejn (Maresha III 177); l.3: [--]IΠΤΡ[--]=[Άντ][π(α)-τρ[ου(?)] Korzakova;  $\Sigma$ [--]άτου/άτρου Finkielsztejn. – An agoranomos named Antipater, son of Heliodorus is known from another weight (no. 3674) as well as from a standard measure (no. 3515) from Maresha, both dated to 143/2 BC.

Bibl.: Korzakova, Maresha III 164f. no. 10 (ed. pr.). – Tal, Archaeology 311 (Hebr.); Finkielsztejn, Maresha III 177, 187ff., table 8,1 no. 9; SEG 60, 1728; BE 2011, 622; G. Finkielsztejn, in: Capdetrey - Hasenohr, Agoranomes et édiles 133-6 no. 1.

Photo: IAA.



fig. 3683.1



fig. 3683.2

AKS/PW

#### 3684. Lead weight, 2 c. BC (?)

Round lead weight forming a Macedonian shield. On the reverse, a molded monogram consisting of three letters and a thinly incised network pattern. Meas.: ø 9.1, th 1 cm; wt 576.1 g.

Findspot: Area 100, part of an insula of the lower city, on the floor of Room 4 (Finkielsztejn, Maresha III 185; A. Kloner, ibid. 8ff. with table 1.6 and plan 1.4; cf. ibid. 2 plan 1.1 for the location of the area).

Pres. loc.: IAA, exc. reg. no. 100-263-1104-M1. Autopsy: September 2000 (AKS).

### ΑПО

 $\Lambda \pi \circ (--)$ 

(Weight) of Apo... (?)

Comm.: This weight takes up the parasemon of the series of weights of agoranomos Agathocles from 108/7 BC (nos. 3676-3681), and is itself styled and formed as a Macedonian shield. "Figural" weights such as this one were later in use in the Black Sea, Propontis and Aegean areas, in the form of ivy leaves, of stelai or, in Smyrna, of the pelta of the eponymous Amazon. The monogram on the reverse most probably stands for the owner's name. Several names are possible, like Άπο(λλιναρίου), Άπο(λλοδώρου), Άπο(λλοφάνου), Άπο(λλωνίου) etc., the latter being attested for agoranomoi on two weights from Maresha, cf. nos. 3671 and 3672. The meaning of the geometric pattern remains unclear.

Bibl.: Korzakova, Maresha III 167 no. 14 (ed. pr.). – Finkielsztejn, ibid. 176f., 185, 187ff., table 8,1 no. 14.

Photo: IAA.



fig. 3684.1



fig. 3684.2

AKS/PW

## 3685. Lead weight of the 2 c. BC

Round lead weight with raised border and a small, stylized flower depicted at the middle of the obverse. Inscription around the flower, facing outward. On the reverse, four lozenges superimposed over each other, forming an eight-pointed star.

Meas.: ø 4, th 0.2 cm; wt 34.66 g.

Findspot: Area 61, House B, cf. no. 3678.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 2014-713, exc. reg. no. 61-195-537-M2.

### ΗΜΙΟΓΔΟΟΝ

ήμιόγδοον





fig. 3685.1

fig. 3685.2

Half an eighth (of a mina).

Bibl.: Korzakova, Maresha III 168 no. 17 (ed. pr.). - Finkielsztejn, ibid. 177, 187ff., table 8,1 no. 17; SEG 60, 1738, BE 2011, 622.

Photo: IAA.

AKS/PW

## 3686. Lead weight of the 2 c. BC

Very worn, square lead weight with raised borders. In the middle, an uncertain structure surrounded by a large circle or wreath. Isolated letters of an inscription once running along this circle and facing outward are recognizable on three sides. Traces of a network pattern visible on the reverse.

Meas.: h 4.7, w 4.7, th 0.2-0.4 cm; wt 65.85 g.

Findspot: Area 61, an insula in the lower city, House D (A. Kloner, Maresha III 5ff. with table 1,4 and plan 1,3; cf. ibid. 2 plan 1,1 for the location of the area).

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 2014-708; exc. reg. no. 61-366-211-M1. Autopsy: September 2000 (AKS).

 $\Lambda[--]N\Upsilon\Sigma$   $[--]O\Lambda\Upsilon$   $[--]O\Upsilon$ 



Comm.: No reasonable reading or reconstruction are possible. – l.1: [--]+ΕΟΥΣ Korzakova; [--]έους Finkielsztejn.

Bibl.: Korzakova, Maresha III 162 no. 5 (ed. pr.). – Finkielsztejn, ibid. 176f., 187ff., table 8,1 no. 4; SEG 60, 1737; G. Finkielsztejn, in: Capdetrey - Hasenohr, Agoranomes et édiles 133-6 no. 2.

Photo: IAA.



fig. 3686.2 AKS/PW

## 3687. Greek inscribed lead sling bullet

Meas.: h 1.8, w 4.5, th 1.3 cm; wt 47.16 g.

Findspot: Subterranean Complex 128, Room 18.

Pres. loc.: Exc. reg. no. 128-09-254-M1.

- (a) ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΥΣ
- (b) NIK[.]
- (a) Ἡρακλέους
- (b) νίκ[η]



fig. 3687

For the victory of Heracles.

Comm.: (a) ḤPAKΛΕΟΣ, Korzakova. – Korzakova rightly points to the similarity between this inscribed sling bullet and another bullet from Sicily inscribed Νίκη Ἡρακλέος (IG 14, 2407,5). The acclamation νίκη, victory, is often linked to the name of a god, or a person, given in the genitive case (G. Manganaro, Chiron 12, 1982, 240ff.). The acclamation expresses a wish for the fulfillment of a future victory, rather than a commemoration of an actual success in defeating the enemy (D. Gera, IEJ 35, 1985, 153ff.=CIIP II 2137).

Bibl.: Korzakova, Maresha III 152 no. 6 (ed. pr.). – Kloner, ibid. 27ff.; SEG 60, 1740; BE 2011, 622. Photo: IAA.

## 3688. Stamp(?) of limestone with Greek inscription

Piece of limestone, approximately cuboid. All surfaces seem to be intact. The front has stepped moldings on the top and bottom, leaving a protruding horizontal strip that bears a one-line inscription. The right and left sides are straight; the back shows stepped moldings at the top and bottom. Taking into account the size and shape, this seems to be a stamp bearing a personal name.

Meas.: h 4, w 5.4 cm; letters 0.3-0.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: IAA, Har Hotzvim, reg. no. 1-109-857-S1.

### NHΔZANO+





fig. 3688.1

fig. 3688.2

Comm.: Perhaps there was a letter before the *nu*, but it is much more probable that there are only scratches. Last letter *upsilon* or *sigma*.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WA

### G. Varia

## 3689.-3729. The "Wünsch tablets"

A number of small pieces of soft limestone with inscriptions incised on them was found at the southwest corner of the city wall during the excavations of R. Macalister and F. Bliss on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund in Marisa in 1900: "On the morning of June 14th, while searching for the city wall near its south-west angle, in the débris covering a rude mud flooring within the line of wall to a depth of from 2 to 3 feet, one of the men came across a minute fragment of limestone incised with Greek letters. Later in the day, in the presence of the foreman, he discovered, at the same place, a portion of a tablet  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, made of the same material and

also inscribed in Greek. Associated with the rubbish were fragments of limestone, showing the markings of draught-boards. As the man who made the discovery was one of the most careful of the workmen, he was retained at the place, and, later, another careful digger was associated with him. ... The excavation was an extremely delicate and slow affair, as the tablets were so friable that a blow of the pick might easily destroy them, and the incisions were so slight that often the earth and dust had obliterated all signs of lettering. Sieves could not be used, lest the jolting of the small fragments together should result in their fracture. All stones, of any shape or size, were carefully dusted, and in doubtful cases were laid aside to dry before they were finally decided upon. ... This excavation was continued for seven days, and extended for some distance beyond the circumference within which the tablets were scattered. The search was not abandoned till the nature of the soil was found to have completely altered. The inscribed stones, including those which show only faint traces of a few letters, number 50. Of these, four are in Hebrew, while all the rest appear to be Greek, though the slight remains upon some render these doubtful. Owing to the extraordinarily soft nature of the material, the question of cleaning and casting was difficult. In cleaning we relied, first, on the sun to harden the stones, and then on a fine camel's-hair brush. In casting, the fear was lest the process of pressing into the mould should injure the tablets. Accordingly we proceeded with caution, and I chose 27 of the hardest stones, with the result that 20 perfect casts were obtained, while practically no damage was done to any of the stones. These 27 casts, which include all but two of the best-preserved fragments, have been sent to London, and duplicate casts of the seven which did not satisfy me, will be forwarded later. I shall probably be able to make casts of 21 out of the 23 remaining stones. Of the other two, which are too fragile for such an attempt, one is small, and, as the lettering is clear, can be easily copied, while the other, the largest of the whole series, has been photographed in two different lights" (F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 331f.).

The use of the word "tablet" by Bliss does not justice to these items, since "some fragments are clearly parts of rectangular tablets, flat on both sides, and having distinct edges. ... Others [however] are unsymmetrical flakes of limestone, the smooth inscribed surface being either flat or slightly curved, and the uninscribed back rough. ... The smaller fragments probably represent merely minute portions of the tablets to which they respectively belong, and contain but few letters" (Bliss -Macalister 156). Due to the condition of the tablets it is in many cases impossible to reconstruct meaningful texts or even words from the legible letters. In those cases where reading of words or passages of text was possible the content frequently hints at a magical character of the text (cf. Bliss - Macalister 156). The edition of the tablets was entrusted to Richard Wünsch, who received the plaster casts and photographs from the Palestine Exploration Fund. He did not feel competent to edit all the tablets: "The number of the casts sent to me was fifty-one. I have not been able to deal with all these items. In the first place, I was obliged to lay aside those tablets which were inscribed with a non-Greek text through want of knowledge of the languages in which they were written. On four of the tablets there are Hebrew letters. Dr. Brockelmann ... to whom I showed these fragments, believed he could even distinguish some Hebrew words, but no continuous text could be made out. Two tablets are inscribed with a language unknown to me, which is probably Coptic; they are texts which would doubtless be easily deciphered by a person familiar with that language. Furthermore, I decided against the publication of two tablets the casts of which showed no trace of any letters whatever, and on which Mr. Bliss had already failed to detect any writing. As regards the remaining forty-three casts, two are the back and front sides of the same stone (no. 32 [i.e. no. 3692]), and two belong to the same inscription (no. 27 [i.e. no. 3725]). There remain forty-one. I have so arranged these as to begin with the smaller fragments, and to go on to the better preserved inscriptions. At the end I have placed six with regard to which a special use is also distinctly recognisable. I have given a drawing, nearly the natural size of each item, wishing to represent accurately what I believe I am able to detect in the casts" (R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 158f.).

The CIIP team was able to locate a few of the original pieces in the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem. Furthermore, the majority of plaster casts are still preserved in the collection of the Palestine Exploration Fund, which kindly provided new photographs of these. The texts are given here in the reverse order to that given by Wünsch, from his no. 35 to no. 1, putting the more coherent texts at the beginning. These are followed by Wünsch's nos. 36 and 37 (nos. 3724 and 3725), separated from the rest under the heading "inscriptions of special meaning." Then follow the tablets not published by Wünsch - with writing in non-Greek scripts. These include one of the four specimens with Hebrew letters mentioned by both Bliss and Wünsch (no. 3726). A photograph of a second tablet with Hebrew letters was published on pl. 88 of Bliss - Macalister (right fragment in the lower row), on which they noted: "the inscription consists of three lines of early square Hebrew writing" (p. 157). This tablet could be located at the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem (inv. no. S-208), and the assessment by Bliss and Macalister could be confirmed: the piece was identified as an abecedary from the Persian period, late 5 c. BC. The two other tablets said to bear Hebrew letters could not be identified. In the case of the three remaining items presented here the nature of the script on the tablets could not be determined. While the characters on no. 3727 seem to belong to a "real" script, the other two tablets seem to show a pseudo-script with very similar signs (nos. 3728 and 3729). Therefore, these tablets might be those two whose language Wünsch could not identify and which he supposed to be written in Coptic - although the signs on nos. 3728 and 3729 are certainly not Coptic.

Wünsch 179 stated that the task of dating these texts "is rendered less easy by the consideration that in a 'find' of this sort we cannot be sure that all the inscribed stones are of the same period." Or to put it differently: this is not necessarily a closed find. H. Thiersch, AA 1909, 402 tried to date the items archaeologically: "Diese Tiefenangabe ... sowie die Tatsache, daß von der obersten Schicht, die ja nur 30 cm tief liegt, alles zerstört war, führt notwendigerweise zu dem Schluß, daß die Inschriften nicht aus der letzten, sondern aus der vorletzen Besiedlung

des Ortes herstammen." According to this, the texts were produced during the 1st half of the 2 c. BC. Again, we cannot be sure. We may start with some more or less datable finds: there is an abecedary from the late 5 c. BC; then there are Rhodian amphora stamps (Wünsch 178f. nos. 38-41), which are datable thanks to the resources of www.amphoralex.org: no. 38 belongs to period II (ca. 234-199 BC; some very similar matrices of the producer Aristophanes, even though our example has a patronymicon and no indication of a month); no. 39 with the eponymous magistrate Pausanias (II or III) belongs either to period II c or IV b (209-199 BC or 152-146 BC); no. 40, producer Euphranor, belongs to period V (145-108 BC), and finally, no. 41, producer Hagemon, belongs to period III (198-161 BC). The amphora stamps, then, span roughly a century, from the late Ptolemaic to the Seleucid period. No. 3689 may endorse Boffo's argument that it was written before the time of Hyrcanus, even though the Latin name read by Wünsch in no. 3692 (a, comm., 1.1), makes this problematic, if the reading is retained. The texts of nos. 3724 and 3725 presuppose Jewish domination of Marisa which started 112 BC. The Latin names in some tablets (Pacius in no. 3698 etc.) might be seen as indicating a later time, perhaps even after Hadrian.

Wünsch 181 states that most of his inscriptions "constitute a uniform group" - a statement somewhat undermined by his notion that the tablets might have spanned a whole century, i.e. the 2 c. AD. At first, Wünsch dated the texts on paleographical grounds to the period from the 3 c. BC to the 2 c. AD; the confusion of omega and omicron and of eta and epsilon on the one hand, and the lack of iotacism on the other led him to believe that the tablets were written in the 2 c. AD. He uses no. 3690 to establish the fact that the tablets contain imprecations and implies strongly that most of this uniform group is magical. It is clear that magic was not a foreign notion to the inhabitants of Marisa: among the finds of the excavators there were found shackled dolls made from lead. Wünsch uses parallels from other magical texts to supplement and explain these inscriptions, even though he acknowledges at least once (p. 186) that perhaps not all of the tablets are magical. Regarding his two prime examples, nos. 3689 and 3690 doubt has been voiced by G. Bohak, Ancient Jewish Magic, 2008, 125 n.163: "As far as I can see, these limestone tablets are enteuxeis (petitions), not defixiones, and have nothing to do with magic." To conclude: it seems that these texts do not form a coherent group - though some of them are certainly magical.

## 3689. Greek petition of a prisoner

Limestone tablet of irregular shape; the back is raw and irregular. The front, the upper part of which is slightly concave, bears a Greek inscription of at least 30 lines. Up to ll.21f. the lines are more or less fully preserved, from l.23 onwards the text becomes increasingly patchy. There are traces of a l.30, but one cannot tell whether or not this was the last line.



fig. 3689.1

Meas.: h 24, w 19, d (max.) ca. 8 cm ("over 3 inches" when found, but parts of the back flaked away after the discovery, Bliss - Macalister 156); letters ca. 2.4-3.2 mm. Pres. loc.: Plaster cast in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 010.1.

[--]+ΟΚΑΙΖΕΒΑΤΟΣΑΠΕΣΤΑΛΚΑΝΕΚΤΩΝΤΙΜΩ[--] ΕΡΩΣΘΑΙΚΑΙΖΗΝΑΝΕΤΕΙΩΣΟΙΜΑΙΜΕΛΛΟΘΑ+[--] ΕΙΔΕΝΑΙΟΤΙΤΡΙΕΤΗΣΕΙΜΙΑΠΗΓΜΕΝΟΣΟ[..] ΚΑΙΘΕΩΝΤΑΕΜΑΕΧΩΝΓΙΝΕΤΑΙ[.]ΩΝΔΕΝ[--] 5 ΟΤΙΗΕΣΣΕΧΡΕΙΑΟΥΔΑΜΩΣΣΟΙΠΡΟΣΑΠΕΣ[.]Α[.]

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ΤΑΙΑΛΕΝΤΡΕΠΟΜΕΝΟΣΕΠΙΤΑΜΑΔΕΣ+[.]Ν
ΑΠΟΒΙΑΣΕΧΩΤΟΥΤΟΝΕΓΩΗΝΙΚΑΓΑΡΚΑΘΗ[...]
ΦΑΝΕΡΩΣΜΕΤΑΚΥΝΩΝΒΑΣΑΝΙΣΑΙΜΕ[.]
ΜΟΥΤΟΙΣΤΟΙΧΩΡΥΧΗΣΑΣΙΤΗΝΤΥΜΒΙΑΝ
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- 10 Θ[.]ΣΙΝΤΩΝΕΜΩΝΑΤΕΑΠΟΛΟΜΕΝ[..] ΚΑΙ[.]ΣΕΠΙΑΓΑΘΩΠΟΙΟΥΣΙΔΙΑΤΟΝΔΕΣΜΟΝ ΚΑΙΕ[...]ΥΜΗΘΗΝΕΙΜΗΠΟΥΕΚΑΣΤΟΤΕΤΙ[.] ΠΟΙΝΑΣΕΚΛΥΣΑΣΜΕΧΡΙΤΟΥΑΠΟΣΤΕΡΗ ΘΗΝΑΙΤΟΝΠΟΔΑΓΡΙΚΟΝΒΙΑΙΟΣΑΠΩΛΟΙΜΗ[..]Ν
- 15 ΩΣΤΕΑΝΤΕΣΩΘΩΑΝΤΕΑΦΕΘΩΩΡΑΜΕΝ[.]Λ [.]ΕΙ+ΣΗΜΕΡΟΝΔΙΑΣΕΤΗΝΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΝ ΕΠΕΙΑΝΕ[..]ΩΣΜΑΣΤΙΣΘΕΙΣΚΙΝΔΥΝΕΥΩ[..]Ι ΜΗΚΕΤΙΔΥΝΑΜΕΝΟΣΔΕΣΜΟΝΕΝΕΝΚ[--] ΑΞΙΩΣΕΤΟΝΠΡΟΣΚΛΗΡΩΣΑΙΤΗΝΚΑ[--]
- 20 [..]ΥΔΥΝΑΜΕΝΟΝΔΙΑΣΕΤΟΥΦΩΤΙΣΤ[--]
   [..]Λ[..]ΑΝΘΡΩ[..]Ν ΡΙΠΤΑΣΑΙΠΕΡΙΔΕΩΣΟΤΙ
   Ν[..]Μ[..]Κ[-ca. 4 letters-]Π[--]ΟΤΥΠΙΑΝΚΑΙΕΣΤΟΨΥΧ[--]
   [--]Ν[--]Ω[--]ΙΤΟΝ[--]ΙΛΛ[.]ΣΤΕΛ[--]Ω[.]
   [--]ΛΘ[--]Α[--]ΠΑΝ ΕΓΩ[--]
- 25 [--]Ω[--]ΟΛΥ[--]ΣΙΑΝ[--]ΙΑΙ[.] [--]ΑΜΑΑΞΙΩ[--]ΑΝ+ΕΠΙ[--]Ε[--] [--]ΕΠ[..]Ν[--]ΟΜΕ[--]ΟΝ[--] [--]ΑΝ[--] [--]ΕΙ[--]ΙΛ[.]ΣΘ[--]+[--]ΑΙ[--]
- 30 [--]+++[--]ΙΛ[--]+[--]

..., who is also called Zebatus, sent (this) from the punishments. Health and life. I believe to know that I am innocently near death, since it is three years ago that I was



fig. 3689.2

arrested, and because Theon came to have my possessions, and therefore ... and that the request addressed to you was never sent to you, (but please) feel compunction with regard to this matter at once. This bond I am in is a violent one. When they stopped in due course torturing me openly with "dogs" in the way it is done with those who rob a burial by digging through its wall, and when my possessions were lost, they held me as if they do something for my good by the bond. And I started to think that I would perish violently – to the extent of being robbed (even) of my feet, unless perchance somebody could be convinced to pay the fines. Therefore, whether I will save myself or will be released, today is the fitting time for salvation to come through you. Because I am in danger of being whipped and am no longer able to bear the bond, I beg you of the most shining light (??) – who is able to decide my fate – no longer to throw a man about fearfully, so that ... envy and into the cold ... all ... I ... at the same time I ask ...

Comm.: The text is written in lunar letters. The transcript is an attempt to reproduce Wünsch's readings. Most differences between his text and the text of later editors have been caused by the lunar letters (e.g. *epsilon* taken for *sigma*). The fact that the text is written on stone excludes the possibility that this was a first draft,

to be corrected by someone more fluent in Greek. Wünsch read it as an address to a God, and therefore took it as blatant example for the magic use of all tablets. Ganszynieč 519 interpreted the text as a πρωτόχολλον, thus explaining the lack of an address. Nevertheless, he thought this to be a formal petition to the magistrate called ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν χρειῶν, a fore-runner or counterpart of the Roman a libellis (E. Bikerman, Institutions des Séleucides 1938, 205 with 1 Macc 13,37: γράφειν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν γρειῶν; cf. l.5). Gabba returned to Wünsch's general interpretation, basing his opinion on the alleged fact that the stone was found in a context of defixiones and other magical apparatus. Boffo invoked the category of "judicial prayer" (Versnel, e.g. 1991, 72ff.; 2009, 14ff.); the general tone of the tablet is certainly more appropriate to Boffo's classification, but there are reasons not to put this text (or the others from the same group) in this category; cf. e.g. Versnel 2009, 22: "Das auffälligste und zentrale Merkmal dieser 'Flüche' ist, dass sie im Wesentlichen eine Bitte an die Götter um Gerechtigkeit sind. Genauer gesagt sind sie Anklageschriften zur Eröffnung eines Prozesses. Anders als bei der defixio geht es um ein Vergehen am Verfasser, das in der Vergangenheit stattfand." Justice does not seem to be the main element here, and it is therefore perhaps better to regard this text as an - albeit confused - enteuxis "petition" (Versnel himself, e.g. 2009, 18f., following Zingerle and Björck, remarked on the close resemblance these prayers bear to enteuxeis); cf. G. Bohak, Ancient Jewish Magic, 2008.

The best argument for a god as the addressee of this text is perhaps l.20 τοῦ φωτιστ[--]; everything else, especially l.26, ἄμα ἀξιῶ, can be explained by the assumption that this is a letter to a magistrate (although, admittedly, the Greek of the letter is not always clear).

l.1: ['Aδα]μ Wünsch, but the photographs show only the lower part of a vertical line; Adam was not a popular name, and we could supply any number of names ending in mu, but even a Greek name ending in nu is not excluded. Ζέβατος is the Aramaic and Syrian name best known through the NT Zebedee; cf. Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 49. ἀπέσταλκαν=ἀπέσταλκα Wünsch, =ἀπέσταλκεν Ganszynieč. ἐκ τῶν τιμωρίων must mean: from the prison, even though this sense cannot be found in the lexica.

l.2: fin.: ΘΛΙ[--] Wünsch; he understood ζῆν ἀνετείως as "living for countless years," but Ganszynieč wrote ζῆν. ἀναιτίως, οἶμαι κτλ.; others understood [--] ζῆν ἀναιτίως. οἶμαι [--].

l.3: εἰ<δέ>ναι Wünsch's text, even though his transcript shows ΕΙΔΕΝΑΙ; εἶ $\{\Delta EN\}$ ναι? fin.: ὅ[μως] Wünsch.

l.4f.: τῶνδ' ἔν[εκα οἶμαι] Wünsch, δέομαι Ganszynieč; a clause with ὅτι cannot follow after οἶμαι (Clarysse apud Boffo).

l.5:  $\Pi PO\Sigma\Lambda\Pi E\Sigma$  Wünsch; he understood: "I have lain thus long in prison because I have never yet turned to thee (i.e. to the god addressed); but have constantly in my fetters thought of myself only."

l.6: ENTPEΠOMENOΣΕΠΙΤΑΜΑ $\Delta$ E $\Sigma$ +[.]N Wünsch, who remarked: "5, 6. I do not understand the meaning of these lines; they seem, however, to be correctly

copied." ἐντρεπόμενος (ἴσθ)ι τἀμά. δεσμ[ό]ν Ganszynieč, Gabba; ἐντρεπόμενος Ι (?) τἀμά. δέσμον Boffo. Perhaps ἐπί is taken adverbally, "feel compunction in regard to this matter." (ἴσθ)ι ἄμα Ganszynieč; ΔΕΣΙ[.]N Wünsch.

l.7: καθῆ[κε] Wünsch.

l.8: ΦΑΝΕΙΩΣ Wünsch; κῦνες are understood as an instrument of torture, cf. Plaut. Cas. II 6, 389; but Ganszynieč wonders whether or not μετά can be used to indicate an instrument. Procedures against grave robbers are often presupposed, but rarely so phrased; cf. A. Nock, JBL 60, 1941, 89.

l.10: ἀπολομέν[ων] Wünsch.

l.11: ΚΑΙ+ΣΣΠΙΑΓΑ Wünsch.

l.12: ἐ[θ]υμήθην Wünsch, ἐ[νθ]υμήθην Ganszynieč; μήπου ἑκαστοτέ τι[ς] Wünsch.

ll.12f.: εἰ μήπου ἐκ[πείσετό τις] Ganszynieč, trying to stay as close as possible to Wünsch's reading ἑκάστοτε.

l.13: Ganszynieč uses ποίναι as proof that Zebatus' debts were debts to the state, incurred either as the state's subject or through administrative wrongdoing. He compares Mt 18,23ff., quoting: καὶ ὀργισθεὶς ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν τοῖς βασανισταῖς, ἕως οὖ ἀποδῷ πᾶν τὸ ὀφειλόμενον.

l.14:τὸν ποδαγρικόν Wünsch; corr. Ganszynieč; according to him, ἀποστερηθῆναι τῶν ποδαγρῶν means "payer jusqu'au dernier sou" which would fit very well but seems to be without parallels. βιαί(ω)ς Wünsch.

l.15: ANETEA $\Phi\Sigma$ O $\Omega$  Wünsch.

1.16: init.: ΕΙ+ΙΣΗΠΕΡΟΝ Wünsch; fin.: ΣΩΤΗΡΙΛΝ Wünsch.

1.17: ΕΠΕΙΛΝΣ Wünsch; ἀνε[τ]ῶς Wünsch, <ἀν>ανε[τ]ῶς Ganszynieč.

l.19: "προσκαιρόω, an unauthenticated form: καιρόω means to plait, braid" Wünsch; προσκληρῶσαι Ganszynieč.

l.20: [--] δυνάμενον, διά σε τοῦ (or δι' ἄστρου?) Wünsch, [μου] δυνάμενον, (δέομ)ε τοῦ φωτ(ει)[νοτάτου] Ganszynieč; [μου] δυνάμενον, E (?) τοῦ φωτ[--] Boffo. – Thiersch takes φωτιστ[--] as an indication that these tablets belonged to a sanctuary of Apollo/Qos, the most important Idumean god.

l.22: "Hatred will become cool" Wünsch; the line was not printed by Ganszynieč, Gabba.

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 175ff. no. 35 (ed. pr.). – R. Ganszynieč, BCH 48, 1924, 518ff.; SEG 8, 246; Gabba, Iscrizioni 33ff. no. 10; SEG 20, 475; Boffo, Iscrizioni 133ff. no. 15. – Cf. Bliss - Macalister 156; H. Thiersch, AA 1908, 402; Macalister, Excavation 320f.; J. Zingerle, JÖAI 23, 1926, 5ff.; G. Björck, Der Fluch des Christen Sabinus, 1938; A. Kloner, EAEHL 3, 1977, 784f.; H. Versnel, in: C. Faraone - D. Obbink eds., Magika Hiera, 1991, 60-106; M. Sartre, D'Alexandre à Zénobie, 2001, 274f. (transl.); Thiel 2007, 140 n.384, 155; H. Versnel, Fluch und Gebet, 2009.

Photo: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 175 fig. 35 and pl. 86 (ph. and dr.).

fig. 3690.1

## 3690. Greek curse tablet against Philonidas, 2-1 c. BC

A broken limestone tablet, originally of rectangular shape. Wünsch assumes that two lines of the inscription are missing at the top. Accordingly, his text begins with l.3. The tablet's original borders were partly preserved on the upper left-hand side (now lost) and on the lower right-hand side. The inscription's ll.7-12 are spread across the tablet's width, and therefore give an idea of the original length of the incomplete lines.

Meas.: h 16, w 14 (Wünsch, from before it was broken), d ca. 5.7 cm ( $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches, Bliss - Macalister 156f.); letters ca. 4.8-6.4 mm ( $\frac{3}{16}$  to  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an inch, Bliss - Macalister 156f.).

Pres. loc.: Plaster cast in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 011.



ΣΕΝΟΔΙΚ[--] ΣΑΣΘΑΙΑΥΤΟ[--] ΡΙΑΝΓΕΙΝΕΣΘΑΙ[--] ΝΤΙΕΓΒΑΛΕΙΜΕΕΚ[...] ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥΔΙΑΤΟΚΕΦΑ ΛΑΛΓΕΙΝΜΕΚΑΙΠΗΜΟΝΑΣ ΕΧΕΙΝΑΛΛΑΣΤΑΕΠΙΔΕΣΜΑ ΑΕΙΕΙΠΑΝΠΕΡΙΕΜΟΥΑΓΡΙΩΣ[.] ΓΝΩΣΤΙΗΑΡΕΙΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΟΣ ΦΙΛΩΝΙΔΑΣΔΕΟΤΙΑΚ++++++ +++++++Σ

 $[--]A\Lambda\Lambda\dot{A}+IA\Phi\Omega\dot{N}++$ 

[...]EPANEI[..]N

[--]ΤΑΠ[--] [--]ΦΙΛΩΝΙΔΗ[--]

[--]

[--]ΤΑΠ[--|-- ἀξιῶ τὸν] Φιλωνίδη[ν -- τοῦ] | Ξενοδίκ[ου κατατιμωρή]|σασθαι αὐτὸ[ν καὶ μὴ σωτη]|ρίαν γεινέσθαι [τῶι ποιήσα]|ντι ἐγβαλεῖ<ν> με ἐκ [τοῦ] | Δημητρίου διὰ τὸ κεφα|λαλγεῖν με καὶ πημονὰς | ἔχειν ἄλλας. τὰ ἐπίδεσμα | ἀεὶ εἶπαν περὶ ἐμοῦ ἀγρίως, [ά]|γνωστίη ἄρειε ὁ Πάτραος(?). | Φιλωνίδας δὲ ὅτι ἄκακος γέ|νοιτο οὔτε ἀνθρωπόλεθρος | [--] ἀλλ' ἀεὶ ἄφωνος | [καὶ] ἐρανεί[ζω]ν. | [ἤ(δε), τ(αχύ)]

(I demand) that Philonidas ... son of Xenodicus be punished and that no salvation shall be the lot of a person causing me to be expelled from the establishment of Demetrius, because of my headaches and other troubles. As for the curses that he always pronounced savagely against me, let Patraus(?) promise that they are unknown (to him). Let Philonidas become harmless and incapacitated in destroying people, but always mute and in need of help. Haste. Quickly.

Comm.: l.1ff.: Φιλωνίδ[ην καταδῶ καὶ] | Ξενόδικο[ν, ἀξιῶν τ]|ίσασθαι αὐτούς Wünsch; [πρὸς] | Φιλωνίδ[αν τοῦ] | Ξενοδίκο[υ. ἀξιῶ τε]|ίσασθαι αὐτό[ν] Ganszynieč. – 1.4f. [τιμω]|ρίαν γείνεσθαι Wünsch; [τιμω]|ρίαν γείνεσ(θα)ι Ganszynieč. - l.6f. ἐγβαλεῖν με ἐ[κ] | Δημητρίου Wünsch; ἐγβαλεῖν με ἐ[κ τοῦ] | Δημητρίου Ganszynieč. - 1.7f. κεφαι|λαλγείνι Wünsch. - 1.8 πη-[μo]νά[ς] Wünsch. – 1.9 ἄλλα[ς] Wünsch. The sigma is actually written in the interlinear space below the line. – 1.9f. εἰ περίδεσ[μό]ν σοι εἶπαν Wünsch; τὸν περίδεσ-[μο]ν | (δν) εἶπαν Ganszynieč. –1.10 f. ώς [ά] γνωστίη ἄρειε Πα[γ]κλέ[α] Wünsch; ώς [ά]|γνωστίη

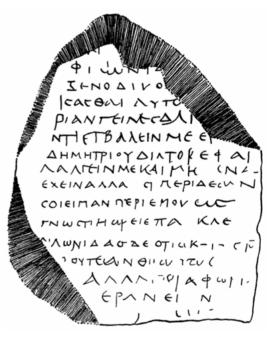


fig. 3690.2

ἄρειε πα[ντ]ε[λῶς] Ganszynieč. – l.13 οὔτε ὧν Wünsch. – l.14 ἄλαλοι ἄφων[οι] Wünsch. The unnamed author of this curse tablet sought retribution for the wrongs committed by a certain Philonidas whom the author accused of being the cause for his removal from the business of a certain Demetrius. Despite the fact that there may have been tangible reasons for the dismissal, namely the author's poor health (Gager), the writer insists that his removal was effected by binding spells (τὰ ἐπίδεσμα). These were apparently used, but were also recited by Philonidas incessantly, or at least such was the accusation leveled against him. One problem arising from the text is whether the cursing tablet was directed only at Philonidas or whether the author had other targets as well. When speaking of the binding spells

he declares that they were pronounced collectively,  $\epsilon \tilde{l}\pi\alpha\nu$ . However, the author's enmity seems to be directed at Philonidas alone (Il.2ff. and Il.12ff.). Furthermore, a participle describing Philonidas' underhand methods is written in the singular,  $[\pi o i \dot{\eta} \sigma a]|\nu \tau i \, \dot{\epsilon} \gamma \beta \alpha \lambda \epsilon \tilde{i} < \nu > \mu \epsilon$  (Il.5f.). Hence, Wünsch's theory that the curses were directed at both Philonidas and Xenodicus is to be rejected, and the latter person was probably mentioned as the father of Philonidas. The plural form is probably due to a mistake (Ganszynieč). Since the reading of the lower lines of the tablet is more difficult, we cannot be sure of the text's accuracy there. Nevertheless, the mention of the binding spells does ensure that the tablet is aimed at seeking some magical retribution from Philonidas, and that retribution is not sought in the legal field, although much of the document gives an impression of a legal complaint in front of a magistrate (this in fact is Bohak's suggestion). An example of that seems to be the author's statement that a third party, a certain Patraus(?), can corroborate the author's claims against Philonidas (Il.10f.).

The word ἐπίδεσμον is not attested in magical use (cf. PMG III), whereas the earlier reading περίδεσμα had at least some magical connotation (Gager 204 n.17).

Bibl.: R. Wünsch in: Bliss - Macalister 173f. no. 34 (ed. pr.). – L. Sayce, PEQ 32, 1900, 376; Bliss - Macalister 156f.; H. Thiersch, AA 1908, 400ff; R. Ganszynieč, BCH 48, 1924, 516ff.; Macalister, Excavation 320f.; SEG 8, 245; A. Kloner, EAEHL 3, 1977, 782-91 at 784f.; J. Gager, Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World, 1992, 203f. no. 107; Thiel 2007, 154f.; G. Bohak, Ancient Jewish Magic, 2008, 125 n.163.

Photo: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 173 fig. 34 and pl. 87 (ph. and dr.).

DG

# 3691. Fragment of a limestone tablet with relief depiction and three Greek inscriptions

Only the right side of the tablet has been preserved. Above the inscription there was a figural representation in high relief; only its lower right corner is preserved, showing a limb that was identified as a Harpy's claw by Wünsch, who concludes: "As these were often placed over graves ..., we must ... think of a gravestone." The Rockefeller archive card says "a monster or an animal (a harpy or a lion)." Below the relief the surface is recessed and bears an inscription of several lines (a) which Wünsch held to be "palimpsest, but the original mortuary inscription is almost effaced." A second inscription of three lines (b) covers the right side; in addition Wünsch recognized faint traces of an inscription (c) on the flat backside too, but he observed: "On A and C I can trace only some isolated letters but no complete word."

Meas.: h 10, w 7.2, d (max.) 3.7 cm.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. S-99. Autopsy: 17 October 2013 (WE/DK). Plaster casts in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. nos. Casts 017.1-017.3.

- (b) [--]ONYNAI[--]
  - [--]ΛBAΙΗΝΩ[--]
  - [--]NŸМФІОN[--]
- (b) [--]ΟΝΥΝΑΙ[--| --]ΛΒΑΙΗΝΩ[--|--] νύμφιον [--]
- (b) ... the bride-groom/bridal ...

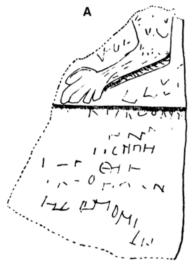


fig. 3691.2 (a)

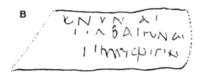


fig. 3691.4 (b)

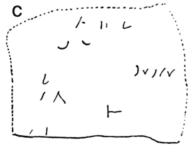


fig. 3691.6 (c)



fig. 3691.1 (a)



fig. 3691.3 (b)



fig. 3691.5 (c)

Comm.: On (a) and (c) see description. (b) l.1: νῦν Wünsch. – l.2: βαίην as a poetical word seems out of the question. – l.3: Noun or adjective. Wünsch 187 quotes Lucian, Philopseudes 11 on the magical power of a maiden's gravestone (νεκρᾶς παρθένου λίθον ἀπὸ τῆς στήλης ἐκκολάψας), trying to understand the presence of the harpy's claw and its implication (assuming that all these stones carry magical texts, which is not necessarily the case).

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 173 no. 33 (ed. pr.). – Bliss - Macalister 157 pl. 88 (ph.). Photo: IAA; DK; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 173 fig. 33 (dr.).

WA

### 3692. Broken limestone tablet with remains of a magical Greek inscription

Small limestone tablet, "the right edge and parts of the top and bottom edges are preserved" (Bliss - Macalister 157). Substantial parts of thirteen lines of text have survived on side (a). The first line of the text is preserved as implied by the blank space above it. The lower left corner is broken off: "We are inclined to think that the rest of the left portion of the tablet is intact; but as the lettering here is much defaced, the matter is open to doubt" (Bliss - Macalister 157). The last preserved line seems to be the original end of the text, since the right part of the line is blank. On side (b) only traces of a few lines are left.

Meas.: h 8, w 6 (Wünsch), d ca. 0.5-1.6 cm (3/16 to 5/8 of an inch, Bliss - Macalister 157).

Pres. loc.: Plaster casts in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 001.1, 001.2.

(a) [--]ΚΑΙΡΟΥΣΤΚΙΩ[--]
[--]ΕΙΣΙΛΕΙΩΘΕΟΥΘΥΜ[--]
[--]ΣΤΑ[.]+[--]ΟΝΟΤΡΟ+[--]
[--]ΩΕΠΕΙΤ[.]ΚΑΤΩ+[--]
[--]+++ΟΥΚΚΩΛΥΕΙΝ[--]
[--]ΩΙΔΕΠΑΡΕΣΟΜΕΝΟΣ[--]
[--]+ΠΑΣΑ+ΑΡΤΙΠΑΙΔΟΣ[--]
[--]ΣΤΙΝΔΙΟΕΞΟΡΚΙΖΩΣΕ[--]
[--]ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΝΚΑΙΠΑΡΑΘΕ[--]
[--]ΘΕΝΚΑΤΑΩΤΑΚ[.]ΙΕΝ[--]
[--]+ΟΣΤΑΤΗΣΤ[.]ΣΜΥΟΣ[--]
[--]ΑΡΩΓ+++ΘΕΝΙ[.]Ω[--]

[--]ΛAΘΕΙΝ



fig. 3692.1 (a, plaster cast)

```
(b) [--]++[--]+M++Δ+[--]

[--]+E[..]+K[--]

[--]KAPΠO+K[--]

[--]KAIN[--]

[--]+[--]

[--]+[--]

[--]+[--]

[--]O[.]+[--]
```

- (a) [--] καιροὺς ΤΚΙΩ[--|--] εἰς ΙΛΕΙΩ θεοῦ θυμ[ὸν --|--]ΣΤΑ[.]+[-- μ]ονότροπ[ος --|--]Ω ἐπεὶ τ[ὰ] κάτω +[--|--]+++ οὐκ κωλύειν [--|--] ὧ{ι}δε παρεσόμενος [--|--]+ πᾶσαν ἀρτίπαιδος [--|-- ἐ]στιν. διὸ ἐξορκίζω σε [--|--] σωτηρίαν καὶ παρὰ θε[ῶν? --|-- τὸ ῥη]θὲν κατὰ ὧτα κ[α]ὶ ἐν[--|-- π]ροστάτης Τ[.]ΣΜΥΟΣ[--|--] ΑΡΩΓ+++ΘΕΝΙ[.]Ω[--|--] λαθεῖν.
- (a) chances ... in regard to the propitious(?) god's will ... solitary ... since the things in the world below ... not hinder ... coming hither ... all, lately a boy ... is. Therefore I conjure you ... salvation and by the gods ... the saying in regard to the ears and in ... superintendent of ... hidden.
- (b) ... fruit ...

Comm.: (a) l.1:  $\kappa\alpha$ ì 'Pουστ<ι>κίω Wünsch. – l.2: ἵλε $\{\iota\}$ ω Wünsch. – l.4:  $\tau[\alpha]$  κάτω Wünsch, but the lacuna provides space for more than one letter. – l.5: the left and right strokes of the *omega* are quite far from each other. – l.6 refers to the god (Wünsch

184, referring to Adami 234f.). – l.9: παρὰ Wünsch, but the stone seems to show a tau. – ll.9f. σωτηρίαν καὶ τούς θε[ούς (sic)] ἐνκαταλίπιν (for ἐγκαταλείπειν) Sayce. – l.11: προστάτης τῆς Μυὸς [οἰκίας](?) Wünsch, but the name does not suit Palestine.

(b) l.1: [--] $\Theta$ I[--]IMH $\Delta$ I[--] Wünsch. – l.2: [--]TE[--]OK[--] Wünsch. – l.3: Wünsch understood his reading as  $K\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\sigma\nu$  (although the noun seems at least as probable as the personal name: the fruits of the land, often mentioned in curses). – l.4: KAIM Wünsch.

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 172 no. 32 (ed. pr.). – L. Sayce, PEQ 32, 1900, 376; Bliss - Macalister 157 pl. 88 (ph.). – Cf. F. Adami, De poetis scaenicis hymnorum sacrorum imitatoribus, 1900.

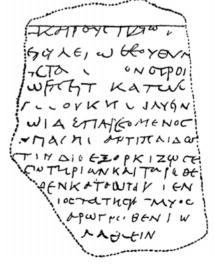


fig. 3692.2 (a)

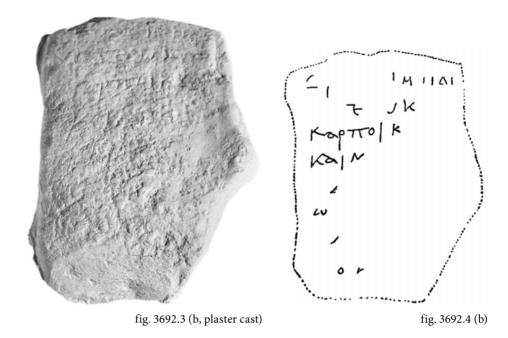


Photo: Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund, London; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 172 fig. 32 (dr.).

WA/DK

## 3693. Fragment of a limestone tablet with Greek inscriptions on three sides

Two adjoining fragments of a limestone tablet, found in different places. The tablet has letters on both sides (b, c) and on the original top (a). The three inscriptions "are all inscribed by the same hand" (Wünsch).

Meas.: h 7, w 6, d 1.5 cm.

Findspot: "It was found in two parts, each part at a different point within the area which contained the hoard" (Bliss - Macalister).

Pres. loc.: Plaster casts in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 023.1, 023.2.

(a) [--]ĶIZ $\Omega$ YMA $\Sigma$ E[--][--]+ $\Omega$ N[--]MEI++[--]

WIZW. MAG

fig. 3693.1 (a)

- (b) [--]+ΥΡΡΩΙΠ[--]
  [--]+ΤΟ++[--]
  [--]++Υ+Α+[--]
  [--]ΑΠΕΔΩΣ[--]
  [--]+[--]Τ[--]
  [--]ΕΡΠΙΟΡΚ[--]
  [--]ΥΠΕΡΠΑΙΔ[--]
  [--]ΠΕΙΠΟΝ[--]
  [--]Ν
- (c)  $[--]+\Sigma IKA+$  [--]++++[--] +XA++[--]  $[--]H\Gamma H+[--]$   $[--]+OP\Omega \Delta E+[--]$   $[--]EI\Sigma TAA[--]$



fig. 3693.2 (b, plaster cast)

- (a) [ἐξορ]κίζω ὑμᾶς E[--|--]+ΩN[--]MEI++[--]
- (a) I conjure you ...
- (b) ... you ... gave away ... perjury ... in regard to the child/children ... spoke out ...



fig. 3693.3 (b)



fig. 3693.4 (c, plaster cast)

Comm.: It is possible that Macalister, Excavation 321 refers to this tablet when he writes: "Another tablet in the group invokes injuries against one who has appropriated a trust deposited with him, and has committed perjury in connexion with it." This interpretation would be a bit hasty.

- (b) l.1: [Π]ύρρφ " $I\pi[\pi\omega\nu\circ\varsigma]$  Wünsch. l.3: [ἐξορκίζω] ὑμᾶς Wünsch (cf. a l.1). l.6 [ὑ $\pi$ ]ὲρ <ἐ>πιορκ[ίας] Wünsch. We read instead either ἐ{ρ}πιορκ[--] or ἐρπιορκ[--] (an additional medial consonant influenced by the following stop). l.7:  $\pi\alpha\iota\delta[\acute{o}\varsigma]$  Wünsch.
- (c) l.1: Wünsch's transcript started with the *sigma*, but a vertical bar is visible in front of the letter. l.3: init. IC Wünsch, but a *kappa* is at least as possible as Wünsch's reading. l.5: [νεο]κόρω δέ Wünsch. l.6: εἰς τὰ A[--] Wünsch.



fig. 3693.5 (c)

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 171 no. 31 (ed. pr.). – Bliss - Macalister 157 pl. 88 (ph.); Macalister, Excavation 321.

Photo: Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund, London; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 172 figs. 31 A, B and C (dr.).

WA/DK

## 3694. Fragment with Greek inscription of Elpagoras(?), mid-2 c. BC-40 BC

Fragment of a limestone slab, broken on the left and right sides, and on the bottom as well. The *pis* have feet of equal length. The *epsilons* are lunate with a long horizontal stroke that serves as the middle hasta. The *alphas*, like the *epsilons*, are cursive with the cross-bar descending from the left diagonal stroke to the right one. The shape of the *lambda* is unique, with two diagonal feet that meet at the lower part of the letter.

Above the meeting point the stroke goes vertically upwards before turning to the left with a circular movement.

Meas.: h 4.8, w 5.8, d 1 cm; letters 0.8-1.3 cm.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. S-210. Autopsy: 26 August 2013. Plaster cast in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 037.



ΕΛΠΑ[--] ΕΛΠΑ[--]

fig. 3694.1

'Ελπα[γόρας?] | Έλπα[γόρας?]

Elpagoras(?), Elpagoras(?).

Comm.: l.2 EAΠAΓ Wünsch. – Since it is impossible to calculate how much of the stone is lost on the right side, one may read the name Ελπα[γόρας] with Wünsch. However, there are other possibilities: Ελπά[ρετος] and Ελπᾶ[ς]. Cf. LGPN 2, 141. The same name seems to be repeated twice as a measure of good luck (?). Alternatively, the inscription could deal with a homonymous father and son.

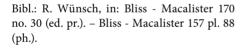


Photo: IAA; WE; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 170 fig. 30 (dr.).



fig. 3694.2

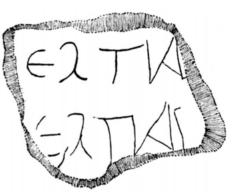


fig. 3694.3

DG

## 3695. Limestone fragment preserving parts of a longer Greek inscription

Limestone fragment, broken on all sides, bearing parts of 13 lines of Greek text; the last line in much smaller script than the rest. "It is a palimpsest, line 13 is a relic of the original inscription" (Wünsch).

Meas.: h 11, w 8 cm.

Pres. loc.: Plaster casts in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 036.1, 036.2.

```
(a) [--]+++[--]

[--]\Omega\Theta\Sigma+[--]

[--]BA\Sigma+[--]

[--]E\Theta+\SigmaP\GammaO[--]

[--]MON\Omega[--]

[--]+\Gamma\Upsilon\PiTON[--]

[--]+\ThetaEA\SigmaTO[--]

[--]++\ThetaEA\SigmaTO[--]

[--]++AI\Gamma\Upsilon\PiTO\Upsilon++[--]

[--]++O++EP\GammaO\SigmaOKA[--]

[--]KAIMEMN+[--]

(b) [--]\ThetaP\Lambda\Lambda\Omega[--]
```



fig. 3695.1 (plaster cast)

```
(a) [--]+++[--]-]\Omega\Theta\Sigma+[--]--]BA\Sigma+[--]--]\Sigma\Theta++\Sigma P\Gamma O[--]--] \muόν\omega [--]--- A]ίγυπτον [--]--]-\Delta\omegaροθέα\omega [--]--- \Delta\omegaροθέα\omega [--]--]+I\Sigma ΚΑΙΡΕΠΙ[--]--]++ Αἰγύπτου <math>[--]--]++O++ΕΡΓΟΣΟΚΑ[--]--] καὶ MEMN+[--] (b) [--]\ThetaP\Lambda\Lambda\Omega[--]
```

(a) ... alone ... Egypt ... Dorothea... of Dorothea ... of Egypt ...

Comm.: (a) 1.2: [Δωρ]ωθεα[--] with slightly different spelling, Wünsch. – 1.3: βασα[νίσαι] Wünsch, referring to his Appendix inscriptionum Atticarum: Defixionum tabellae in Attica regione repertae, 1897 no. 81, A 27. –1.4: Θούεργο[ς] Wünsch, cf. l.11 (supposedly Ionic for Theoergos). – 1.10: Αἰγύπτου οἰ[κέτου] Wünsch. – l.11: Θούεργος ὁ κα[ί] Wünsch. – l.12: Μέμνω[ν] Wünsch. Wünsch evidently proposes a series of names, starting in l.9 at the latest: [--]ις καὶ ΡΕΠΙ[--] and ll.11f. καὶ [--] Θούεργος ὁ κα[ί --]--] καὶ Μέμν[ων].

(b) Cf. description; the small letters may indeed indicate another writer.

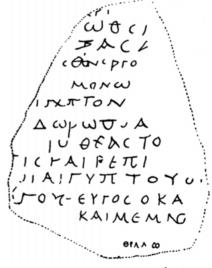


fig. 3695.2

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 170 no. 29 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund, London; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 170 fig. 29 (dr.).

WA

## 3696. Fragmentary limestone tablet with part of Greek inscription

Limestone tablet broken on all sides preserving parts of eight lines of a Greek text. The back of the tablet is uneven.

Meas.: h 7.5, w 8, d (max.) 2.5 cm; letters ca. 0.4 cm.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. S-97. Autopsy: 17 October 2013 (WE/DK). Plaster cast in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 035.

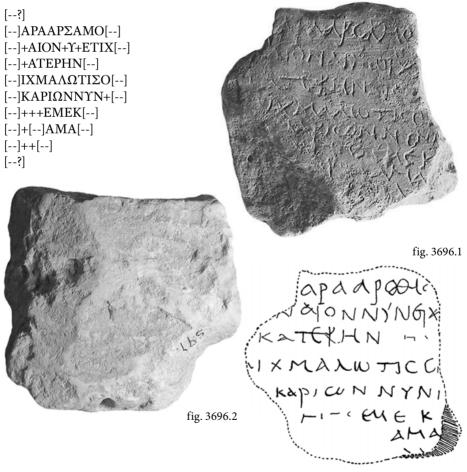


fig. 3696.3

... female captive ... of the Carians, now ...

Comm.: l.2: APA ἀρεσθῆ Wünsch; the alpha of ἀρεσθῆ could be a lambda; Wünsch omitted the omicron. – l.3: δν νῦν ἔτι Wünsch. – l.4: The rho was not read by Wünsch. – l.5: Wünsch read the final letter as sigma. – l.6: suppl. Wünsch, other possibilities exist, starting with ['I]καρίων. – l.7: ἐμέ Wünsch. – l.8: ἄμα Wünsch.

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 169 no. 28 (dr.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: IAA; WE; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 169 fig. 28 (dr.).

WA/DK

## 3697. Two fragments of a limestone tablet with Greek inscription

Two adjoining fragments of a limestone tablet broken on all sides; remains of a Greek inscription on the front.

Meas.: h 6, w 5 cm.

```
[--]ΤΙΑ[--]Ο[--]

[--]ΔΙΣ[--]+[--]

[--]ΜΕΑΝ+[.]ΟΙΛΕΓ[--]

[--]ΑΣΚΑΤΑ+ΑΛΩΝ[--]

[--]ΝΟΙΟΣΕΡΓΑΤΉΣ+[--]

[--]ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΑΙ[--]

[--]ΡΑΣΚΑΙΘΥΜ[--]

[--]+ΑΙ
```



fig. 3697

[--]TIA[--]O[--|--]ΔΙΣ[--]+[--|--]ΜΕΑΝ+[.]ΟΙΛΕΓ[--|--]ΑΣ καταβαλὼν [--|--]νοιος ἐργάτης +[--|--] ἐπιστάται [--|-- χεῖ]ρας καὶ θυμ[ὸν --|--]+ΑΙ

... having thrown down ...noius, worker, ... overseers ... hands and soul ...

Comm.: l.2: [Άφρο]δίσ[ιος] καὶ Wünsch. – l.3: [--]μεαν[ὸς] οἱ λέγον[τες] Wünsch, understanding λέγον[τες] as a reference to calumny (p. 185). – l.5: "A has been cor-

rected into  $\Gamma$ " (Wünsch); "or ...νοι δς ἔργα τῆς ..." (Wünsch). – l.7: suppl. Wünsch (p. 185), quoting his Appendix inscriptionum Atticarum: Defixionum tabellae in Attica regione repertae, 1897 no. 152.

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Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 169 no. 27 (ed. pr.).
```

Photo: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 169 fig. 27 (dr.).

WA

# 3698. Fragment of an opisthographic limestone tablet with remains of Greek inscriptions

Fragment of an opisthographic limestone tablet. Side (a) is broken on all edges; the right edge of (b) is preserved, indicating that we read the ends of the lines.

Meas.: h 6 (a), 5 (b), w 3.5 (a), 2.5 (b), d 4 cm.

(a) [--]ΠΑΚΙΟ+[--]

(a) ... Pacius ... Crispa ... child ...

Pres. loc.: Plaster casts in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 008.1, 008.2.

```
[--]ΟΙΑΚΡΙΣΠΑ[--]
[--]ΑΡΔΕΑΠΑΙΣΕ[--]
[--]ΠΕΜΠΤΑΟΝΔΕΙ[--]
[--]ΕΤΩΑΙ+ΟΜΩ[--]
[--]ΓΥΙΩΝ[--]
[--]ΓΥΙΩΝ[--]
(b) [--]++++
[--]+ΡΟΥΚΟΡ+
[--]ΕΩΣΦΡΟΝ
[--]ΤΟΝ+
[--]ΘΑΙ
[--]ΙΑΣ
(a) [--] Πάκιον [--|--]ΟΙΑ Κρίσπα[ν --|--]ΑΡΔΕΑ παῖς Ε[--|--]
ΠΕΜΠΤΑΟΝΔΕΙ[--|--]ΕΤΩΑΙ+ΟΜΩ[--|--]ΠΟ++++[--|--]ΓΥΙΩΝ[--]
```

Comm.: (a) ll.1ff.: "Πάκιος, Κρίσπα and Ἄρδεα (?) are Roman proper names," Wünsch. – l.3: Ἄρδεα (?) παῖς Wünsch. The names Ardeates and Ardeatinus are attested, but apparently not Ardea (no entry, e.g., in W. Schulze, Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen, 1904). In l.1 we have to read either Πάκιοι or Πάκιον in the accusative case as the better alternative. If this is correct, we have to supply the accusative case in the name Crispa as well, separating the letters OIA from the



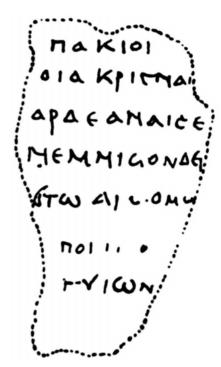


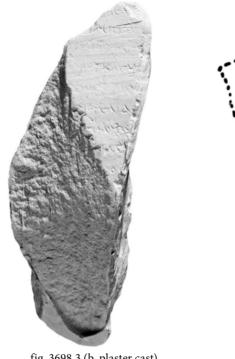
fig. 3698.1 (a, plaster cast)

fig. 3698.2 (a)

name. – l.4: [--] πεμπ[τ]αῖον δεῖ [τελευτῆσαι] (?) Wünsch (accepted by Macalister), referring to his Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom, 1898, 18 no. 16, l.64: μαραίνετε ... τὴν ψυχὴν ... Καρδήλου ... εἴσω ἡμερῶν πέντε. But his drawing shows no trace of an *iota* after the (perhaps questionable) alpha; the letters read as mu and pi respectively look quite similar to each other too.

(b) l.2: [Ταρτά]ρου κόρη Wünsch (accepted by Thiersch and Thiel), referring to PGM 4, 1403: κλειδοῦχε Περσέφασσα, Ταρτάρου κόρη. The traces before the first *rho* do not readily fit an *alpha*. Personal names are excluded if we accept syllable division. – l.3 ἔως φρον|[ῶσι] Wünsch, but other supplements are not excluded, e.g. φρον|[τ--]; *phi* and *rho* in ligature (cf. 3700a l.5). – l.4: After *nu* either an *alpha* or a *delta* (accusative of some word ending in -των?). The photograph shows perhaps a trace of an *omicron* below the last line recorded by Wünsch.

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 168 no. 26 (ed. pr.). – H. Thiersch, AA, 1908, 344-413 at 401; Macalister, Excavation 320f.; Thiel 2007, 154f.



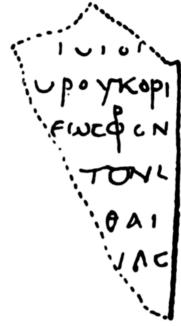


fig. 3698.3 (b, plaster cast)

fig. 3698.4 (b)

Photo: Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund, London; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 168 fig. 26 A and B (dr.).

WA/DK

## 3699. Fragment of a limestone tablet with remains of a Greek inscription

Fragment of a limestone tablet broken on all sides; on the front traces of an inscription.

Meas.: h 5, w 4 cm.

[--]PḤ[--] [--]+POT[--]N+[--] [--]++[.]HIT+[--]+[--]  $[--]A\Sigma+++[--]+[--][--]$ [--]+++[--]TON[--] [--]H+ONT[--] [--]ΘNḤ[--] [--]ANTI[--] [--]ETI[--]



fig. 3699

Comm.: l.5: τόν Wünsch. – l.6:  $\mathring{\eta}[\varkappa]$ οντ[ες] Wünsch. – l.7: θνη[τοί] Wünsch, and certainly something like this or  $(\mathring{\alpha}\pi o)\theta \nu \mathring{\eta}\sigma \varkappa$ ειν in any form is more probable than  $[\mathring{\epsilon}]\theta \nu \mathring{\eta}$  [--]. – l.8:  $\mathring{\alpha}\nu \tau$ ι[--] Wünsch. – l.9:  $\mathring{\epsilon}\tau$ ι Wünsch.

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 168 no. 25 (ed. pr.).

Photo: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 168 fig. 25 (dr.).

WA/DK

# 3700. Fragment of an opisthographic limestone tablet with remains of Greek inscriptions

Fragment of a limestone tablet broken on all sides, bearing Greek inscriptions on both sides.

Meas.: h 4, w 5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Plaster casts in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 034.

- (a) [--]ΠA+AME++++++[--] [--]+ΗΜΟΝΟΣΑΛΕΞΑ[--]
  - [--]TPIAAIPEIN[.]+[--]
  - $[--]+++++A\Delta[--]$
  - [--]АФРО+[--]
- (b) ΕΡΩΤΩΠΑΤΡΙ [--?]ΤΟΝΘΕΟΝ

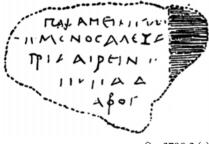


fig. 3700.2 (a)



fig. 3700.4 (b)



fig. 3700.1 (a, plaster cast)



fig. 3700.3 (b, plaster cast)

Comm.: (a) l.1:  $\pi$ αρ' Ἀμεινί[α] Wünsch;  $\pi$ αραμεῖνα[ι]? – l.2: ['H]γημόνος Ἀλεξά[ν-δρου] Wünsch, perhaps correct. – l.3: αἰρεῖν Wünsch. – l.5: ἄφρο[νες] Wünsch; *phi* and *rho* are in ligature (cf. no. 3698).

(b) "B is perhaps complete," Wünsch, who reads: ἐρῶ τῷ πατρὶ τῶν θεῶν, but the two *omegas* in l.2 are doubtful.

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 167 no. 24 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund, London; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 167 fig. 24 A and B (dr.).

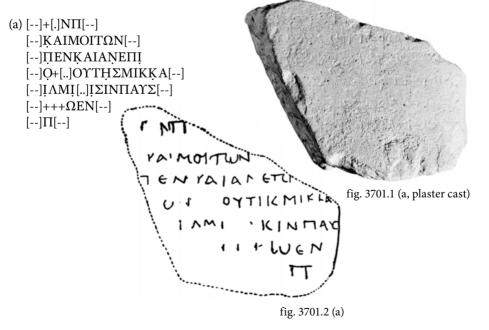
WA/DK

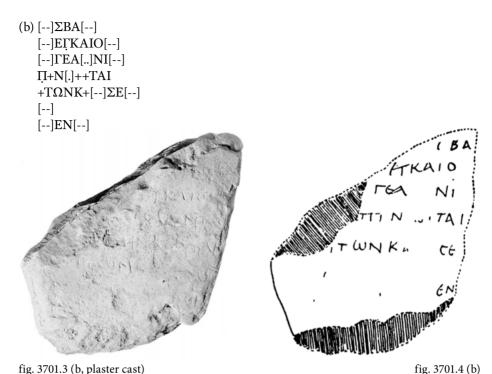
# 3701. Fragment of an opisthographic limestone tablet with remains of Greek inscriptions

Fragment of a limestone tablet with Greek inscriptions on both sides; side (a) shows parts of seven lines of text, (b) parts of six lines. Wünsch notes that the fragment is "uninjured on one side," but he does not tell us on which side. The drawing suggests that it is the right edge of side (a), which is the only side marked with a solid line in Wünsch's drawing – but Wünsch's text in (a) l.4 indicates that he did not believe that the line ended at this solid line.

Meas.: h 5, w 7 cm.

Pres. loc.: Plaster casts in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 033.





Comm.: (a) l.2: καί μοι τῶν Wünsch. – l.3: [εἶ]πεν καὶ ἀνεπι Wünsch. – l.4: ΟΥ τῆς Μικκά[λου] Wünsch.

(b) 1.2: [ἐν]έγκαι Wünsch; second letter tau? – 1.5: τῶν κα[ί]?

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 167 no. 23 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund, London; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 167 fig. 23 A and B (dr.).

WA/DK

## 3702. Fragmentary limestone tablet with parts of two Greek inscriptions

Limestone tablet broken on the left side and the top, original edges preserved on the bottom and the right side? Remains of five lines of Greek inscriptions on both sides.

Meas.: h 4.4, w 7.3, d 1 cm.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. S-100. Autopsy: 17 October 2013 (WE/DK). Plaster casts in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 002.

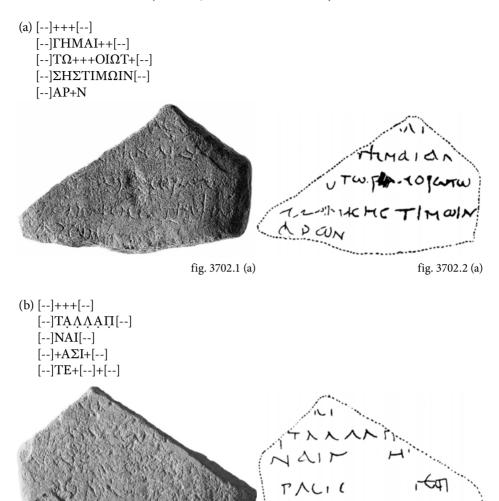


fig. 3702.4 (b)

fig. 3702.3 (b)

Comm.: (a) 1.2:  $\mathring{\alpha}\lambda[\lambda\eta\nu]$  Wünsch; but his *alpha* might be a *lambda*, and instead of his *lambda* there is the broken edge of the stone. – l.3: [--]  $\tau\tilde{\omega}$   $\Pi\alpha[.]\circ\iota\omega$   $\tau\tilde{\omega}$  [--] Wünsch; *pi* and *alpha* are not clear; the photographs do not unequivocally show his last *omega*. – l.4:  $\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$   $\Upsilon\iota\mu\omega\{\iota\}\nu$  [--] Wünsch. – l.5:  $[\tilde{\alpha}]\varphi\rho\omega\nu$ (?) Wünsch, but his *phi* looks more like an *alpha* and *omega* is not easy to identify.

(b) l.4: [--]PA $\Sigma$ I $\Sigma$ [--] Wünsch. – l.5: Wünsch's drawing shows an *alpha* and a vacant space before the *tau*.

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 166 no. 22 (ed. pr.).

Photo: IAA; WE; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 166 fig. 22 (dr.).

WA/DK

## 3703. Fragment of limestone with Greek inscriptions on two sides

Piece of limestone; the beginnings of five lines are preserved on the front (a) and the beginnings of three lines on the left-hand side (b). "The edges, all but that on the left hand side, are broken, but nevertheless the stone seems to have been originally inscribed when in this condition, because the top and bottom lines on the front side  $\dots$  stand at a considerable distance from the edges. The left hand side  $\dots$  also is inscribed, and here a corresponding piece of the top was broken later on" (Wünsch). Meas.: h 4, w 5, d 2 cm.

Pres. loc.: Plaster cast in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 032.

```
(a) AM\Omega[--]

\Delta E\Lambda +++[--]

\Theta E\Lambda N+[--]

E\Upsilon Z++[--]

+\Upsilon M+[--]
```



fig. 3703.1 (a, plaster cast)



fig. 3703.2 (a)

(b) ΣΘΕΝΩΝ+[--] ΕΣΠΑΤΡΙΟΙΔΑΙ+[--] Ν+[..]++T[--] [--?]



fig. 3703.3 (b)

- (b) Σθένωνα [--]|ΕΣ πάτριοι ΔΑΙ+[--]|N+[..]++T[--|--?]
- (b) Sthenon ... (persons) hereditary (or perhaps: uncles) ...

Comm.: Wünsch's text is not always consistent with his drawing. The diplomatic text presented here is more conservative than the one presented by Wünsch, who read in (a):  $AM\Omega[--] \mid \Delta E\Lambda OO[--] \mid \Theta E\Lambda N+[--] \mid E\Upsilon Z\Omega I[--] \mid I\Upsilon MI[--]$ . This was construed as: "Αμω[μος ὁ ἀ]|δελφὸ[ς] | Θεάνδ[ρου ὁ] Εὐζώη[ς] | νύμφ[ιος]. None of this is convincing or necessary. In (b) Wünsch printed:  $\Sigma \theta$ ένων[α δαίμον][ες πάτριοι, δαίμ[ο]|νε[ς μ]ήτ[ριοι | κατέχοιεν]. But is sigma really the first letter in (b) l.1? Το justify his supplements, Wünsch 185 quotes his Appendix inscriptionum Atticarum: Defixionum tabellae in Attica regione repertae, 1897 p. xviii: δαίμονες οἵ κατὰ γῆν καὶ δαίμονες οἵτινές ἐστε, καὶ πατέρες πατέρων καὶ μητέρες ἀντιένειροι.

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 165f. no. 21 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund, London; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 165 figs. 21 A and B (dr.).

WA

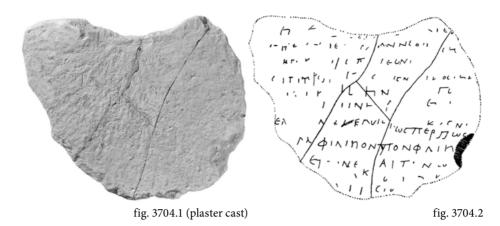
## 3704. Almost illegible Greek inscription

Fragment of a limestone tablet broken on all sides; the fragment is cracked and divided into four pieces. On the front are preserved considerable remains of 12 lines of a Greek inscription. "The text is very uncertain" (Wünsch).

Meas.: h 11, w 16 cm.

Pres. loc.: Plaster cast in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 031.

```
[--]+[--]+[--]+++++[--]++++[--]
[--]++++++++[--]+++ΩNIO+[--]++[--]
[--]+++[--]+++[--]++[..]+[--]++N[--]++ΩΣ+++[--]
[--]+++[--]++[.]HN[--]++[--]
[--]Ε+[--]+[.]+Ε++++[--]Κ++N+[--]
[--]ΩΣΠΕΡΠΩ+[--]
[--]++ΦΙΛΙ+ΟΝΥΙΟΝΦ[.]ΛΙ+[--]
[--]Ε+++NΕ[--]ΑΙΤ[.]N+[--]
[--]+Κ[.]+[.]+[.]++[--]
```



Comm.: l.2: [Ἀπολ]λώνιον Wünsch; the *omega* is unusually rectangular – if it is indeed an *omega*; only a vertical bar of the nu is left. – l.7: ἄσπερ Wünsch. – l.8: Φιλῖνον υίὸν [corr. to τὸν] Φ[ι]λίν[ου], Wünsch. The first nu and the nu of Φ[ι]λίν[ου] are not formed like the other nus in this text. Erlich - Sagiv - Gera point to a graffito on a pottery sherd from Marisa, published by H. Korzakova, Maresha III 111 no. 104, which may also bear part of the name Philinus: [--]ΦΙΛΙΝ[--]. For the name see also no. 3499.

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 165 no. 20 (ed. pr.). – A. Erlich - N. Sagiv - D. Gera, IEJ 66, 2016, 59.

Photo: Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund, London; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 165 fig. 20 (dr.).

WA/DK

# 3705. Fragment of an opistographic limestone tablet with remains of Greek inscriptions

Fragment of a limestone tablet broken on the right-hand side and at the bottom; the original top and the left edge are preserved. Both the front (a) and the back (b) show remains of Greek inscriptions: "On the back (B), which shows a peculiar border, an older inscription has been effaced. On the front (A) there has never been more than one line" (Wünsch).

Meas.: h 3, w 7 cm.

Pres. loc.: Plaster casts in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 009.

- (a)  $+APATP\Upsilon\Phi\Omega[--]$
- (b) [--]++++



fig. 3705.1 (a, plaster cast)

Comm.: (a) Χάρα Τρύφω[νος] Wünsch, but other names are possible (Ἰλάρα?), and it cannot be excluded that what remains of the first letter are the remains of a pi. (b) It is uncertain whether or not the traces belong to Greek letters.



fig. 3705.2 (a)

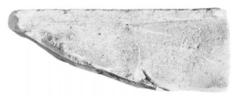
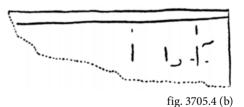


fig. 3705.3 (b, plaster cast)

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 164 no. 19 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund, London; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 164 figs. 19 A and B (dr.).



WA

## 3706. Fragment of a limestone tablet with Greek inscription

Fragment of a limestone tablet broken on all sides; remains of two lines of a Greek inscription are separated by a thin line; there is a corresponding line below the second line. Although the rounded edge is irregular, the fragment may show the original endings of both lines.

Meas.: h 4, w 4.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Plaster cast in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 020.







fig. 3706.2

fig. 3706.1 (plaster cast)

Comm.: Wünsch wrote twice [Θεό?]δωρος, but the last letter in l.1 could be a lop-sided *upsilon*.

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 164 no. 18 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund, London; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 164 fig. 18 (dr.).

WA/DK

## 3707. Fragment of a limestone tablet with Greek inscription

Fragment of a limestone tablet broken on all sides; the front preserves parts of two lines of an inscription.

Meas.: h 2, w 6 cm.

[--]ΣΑΜ+ΝΙΔΟΥ[--] [--]ΩΕΥΕΣΠΕΡ[--]

Comm.: l.1: [Τι] σαμενίδου Wünsch. – l.2: Εὐεσπερ[ίδου] Wünsch, but there is no name like this in LGPN and LSJ has no word starting with εὐεσπ-.

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 163 no. 17 (ed. pr.).

Photo: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 163 fig. 17 (dr.).



fig. 3707

#### 3708. Fragment of a limestone tablet with Greek inscription

Fragment of a limestone tablet broken on three sides; the original upper edge is preserved. Wünsch's l.1 may be a broad ornamented frame.

Meas.: h 4, w 4 cm.

Pres. loc.: Plaster cast in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 030.

[--]++++++[--] (?) [--]+ΑΠ+PI+[--] [--]ZHNON[--]





fig. 3708.1 (plaster cast)

fig. 3708.2

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 163 no. 16 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund, London; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 163 fig. 16 (dr.).

WA/DK

## 3709. Fragment of a limestone tablet with Greek inscription

Fragment of a limestone tablet broken on three sides; the original upper edge is preserved; the front shows parts of three lines of Greek text.

Meas.: h 8, w 4 cm.

Pres. loc.: Plaster cast in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 029.



fig. 3709.1 (plaster cast)

[-- άδ]ελφή E[--]--]ΠΕΝ[--]--]ΥΚΩ[--]

... sister ...

Comm.: l.2:  $\pi$ εν[θερά?] Wünsch. – l.3: [Γλ]ύκω[νος?] Wünsch.

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 163 no. 15 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund, London; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 163 fig. 15 (dr.).

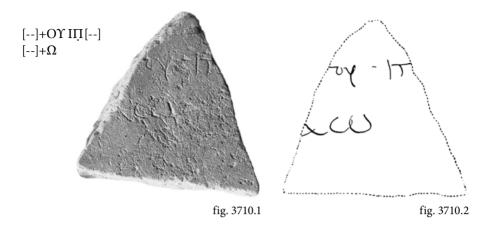
WA

## 3710. Broken limestone tablet with Greek inscription

Thin limestone tablet broken on all sides leaving an equilateral triangle. Two lines of text can be recognized on the front. Since the space after *omega* in the second line seems to be blank, this was probably the end of the inscription. The back is plain.

Meas.: h 7.5, w 6.6 cm; letters 0.6-1 cm.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. S-699. Autopsy: 17 October 2013; 5 June 2014 (WE/DK). Plaster cast in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 022.



Comm.: l.1: There is an artificial stroke between *upsilon* and *iota*. Last letter is *pi* or *tau*. "Perhaps the beginning of a proper Name I $\Pi\Pi$ O" Wünsch. – l.2: First letter *alpha* (Wünsch), *lambda* or perphaps even *nu*.

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 163 no. 14 (ed. pr.).

Photo: IAA; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 163 fig. 14 (dr.).

WA/DK

### 3711. Fragment of a limestone tablet with Greek letters

Fragment of a limestone tablet broken on all sides.

Meas.: h 6, w 5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Plaster cast in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts

024.

 $[--]\Omega\Sigma[--]$   $[--]I\Omega\Delta[--]$ 

fig. 3711.1 (plaster cast)



fig. 3711.2

Comm.: l.2: Wünsch interpreted the last letter as phi.

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 162 no. 13 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund, London; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 162 fig. 13 (dr.).

WA/DK

### 3712. Fragment of an opisthographic limestone tablet with Greek inscriptions

Fragment of a limestone tablet broken on all sides; remains of Greek inscriptions of several lines are preserved on the front (a) and the back (b). "The front side is illegible" (Wünsch).

Meas.: h 5, w 4 cm.

Pres. loc.: Plaster casts in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 007.

```
(a) [--]N+[--]

[--]++[--]

[--]Υ++Ω[--]

[--]+[--]+[--]

[--]+[--]+[--]

[--]H+ΥH++M+[--]
```



fig. 3712.1 (a, plaster cast)



fig. 3712.2 (a)

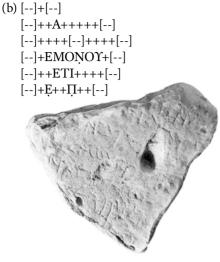




fig. 3712.3 (b, plaster cast)

fig. 3712.4 (b)

Comm.: (b) l.4: ἐμὸν οὐ Wünsch. l.5: ἔτι Wünsch.

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 162 no. 12 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund, London; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 162 figs. 12 A and B (dr.).

WA/DK

## 3713. Fragment of a limestone tablet with Greek inscription

Fragment of a limestone tablet broken on all sides; remains of a several-line-long inscription.

Meas.: h 10, w 7 cm.

Pres. loc.: Plaster cast in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 028.

```
[--]Ḥ+[--]
[--]++++++++[--]
[--]+++++++[--]++[--]
[--]++ΥΠΟΤΗΣ+[--]
[--]++[--]
[-ca. 3-4 lines-]
[--]+[--]
[--]+[.]++[--]
```

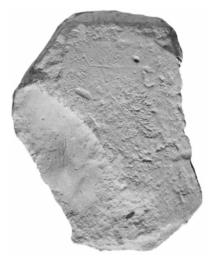


fig. 3713.1 (plaster cast)

Comm.: l.4: ὑπὸ τῆς Wünsch.

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 162 no. 11 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund, London; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 162 fig. 11 (dr.).



fig. 3713.2

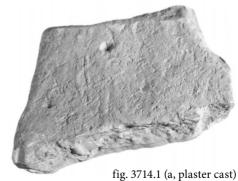
WA/DK

## 3714. Fragment of an opisthographic limestone tablet with Greek inscriptions

Fragment of a limestone tablet broken on all sides; remains of several inscribed lines are preserved at the front (a) and the back (b).

Meas.: h 4, w 8 cm.

Pres. loc.: Plaster casts in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 027.



Comm.: (a) l.1: ἀνόμω Wünsch, referring to SEG 44, 840 (Rome, 4 c. AD): τοῦ ἀνόμου Τύφωνος. – l.2: ΕΙΜΕΝ Wünsch. – l.3: πεικολ, θικολ? – l.6: ΙΠΟΝ Wünsch (presented by him as l.5).

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 161 no. 10 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund, London; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 161 figs. 10 A and B (dr.).

WA/DK

### 3715. Fragment of a limestone tablet with Greek inscription

Fragment of a limestone tablet broken on three sides; the original right-hand edge is preserved. On the front, endings of two lines of a Greek inscription above each of them appears a ridge. "It is a palimpsest" (Wünsch).

Meas.: h 5, w 5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Plaster cast in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 025.

 $[--]+KO\Omega++$  $[--]\Theta AK+[.?]$ 



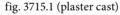




fig. 3715.2

Comm.: l.1: [ἐπη]κό $\omega$  Wünsch; the letter after *omega* is either a *pi* or *gamma* and *epsilon*. – l.2: [Μαλ]θά $\kappa$ [η] Wünsch.

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 161 no. 9 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund, London; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 161 fig. 9 (dr.).

## 3716. Fragment of a limestone tablet with Greek letters

Fragment of a limestone tablet broken on on all sides. Meas.: right edge 5, upper left egde 4, lower left edge 3 cm.

Comm.: l.1: Wünsch's drawing shows the remains of a letter, probably *kappa*. – l.2: "The third letter is doubtful, it may be a cursive K" (Wünsch).

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 161 no. 8 (ed. pr.).

Photo: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 161 fig. 8 (dr.).



fig. 3716

WA/DK

## 3717. Fragment of a limestone tablet with Greek inscription

Fragment of a limestone tablet broken on the left-hand side and at the bottom. The edges at the top and the right-hand side are also irregular, but the frame indicates

the space for the inscription; one can see the endings of the first three lines of a Greek text inside the frame.

Meas.: h 6, w 5 cm.

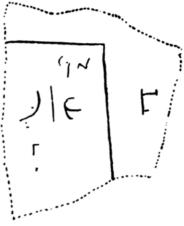
Pres. loc.: Plaster cast in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 026.

[--]+IN [--]+IE [--]+[--]



fig. 3717.1 (plaster cast)

Comm.: l.1: EIN Wünsch, but the first letter could be *sigma*. – l.2: OIE Wünsch, but the first letter could also be *theta* or *omega*.



Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 161 no. 7 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund, London; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 161 fig. 7 (dr.).

fig. 3717.2

WA/DK

## 3718. Fragment of a limestone tablet with remains of Greek letters

Fragment of a limestone tablet broken on all sides; on the front remains of Greek letters. "The stone has been twice written upon; the older writing has been erased. Of the later, one can only make out two  $\Phi$ 's" (Wünsch).

Meas.: h 4, w 4 cm.

[--]+
$$\Phi$$
(?)[--]

[--]+
$$\Phi$$
++[--]  
[--]+ $M$ +[--]

Comm.: If there are really two *phis*, as Wünsch says, it is at least surprising that they are quite differently executed.

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 160 no. 6 (ed. pr.).

Photo: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 160 fig. 6 (dr.).



fig. 3718

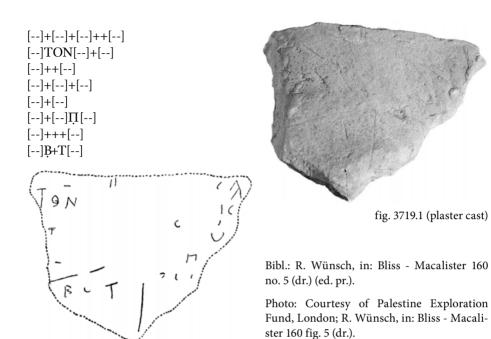
WA/DK

### 3719. Fragment of a limestone tablet with Greek letters

Broken on all sides; on the front "scattered Greek letters" (Wünsch).

Meas.: h 7, w 9 cm.

Pres. loc.: Plaster cast in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 005.



## 3720. Fragment of a limestone tablet with traces of Greek inscription

fig. 3719.2

Fragment of limestone tablet broken on three sides; the original left-hand edge is preserved.

Meas.: h 4.5, w 6.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Plaster cast in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 004.

```
PEI[--]
N[--]
[--]+[--]
+[--]
ΜΕΠ++[--]+[--]
```



fig. 3720.1 (plaster cast)

WA/DK

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 160 no. 4 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund, London; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 160 fig. 4 (dr.).



fig. 3720.2

WA/DK

## 3721. Limestone fragment with remains of Greek letters

Limestone slab of irregular shape with remains of Greek letters on sides (a) and (b). Meas.: h 6, w 4 cm.

Pres. loc.: Plaster casts in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 006.



fig. 3721.1 (a, plaster cast)



Comm.: Wünsch saw remains of letters (the photographs of the plaster cast do not enable us to check his readings): "on the front (A) and the back (B) appear remains of Greek letters, which give the impression of having been meant for a purposely



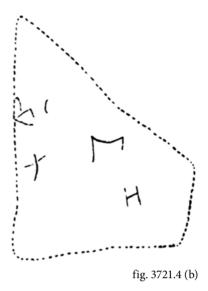


fig. 3721.3 (b, plaster cast)

illegible magical formula" (Wünsch). To present a diplomatic text is almost impossible; on (a) *eta* (?) at the top of the stone, some scratches, and in the last "line" perhaps OKIAY+; on (b) *theta* (?), *mu* and *eta*.

The scratches are clearly illegible, but there is no proof that the text is "purposely illegible," and an interpretation such as a "magical formula" is not warranted.

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 130 no. 3 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund, London; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 130 fig. 3 (dr.).

WA/DK

#### 3722. Fragment of limestone slab with remains of Greek inscription

"A piece of stone broken on all four sides, forming a square ... Perhaps the stone was already broken before it was written on" (Wünsch). The back is even and smooth apart from a few scratches. Wünsch's drawing shows remains of four lines of text. Meas.: ca. 4x4 cm.

Pres. loc.: Plaster casts in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 003.





fig. 3722.1 (plaster cast)



Comm.: The photographs of the casts show not the slightest trace of a letter.

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 159 no. 2 (ed. pr.).

fig. 3722.3 (back, plaster cast)

Photo: Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund, London; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 159 fig. 2 (dr.).

WA/DK

## 3723. Limestone fragment with remains of Greek(?) letters

"Fragment, broken on three sides, of the shape of an irregular quadrilateral ... One can make out the remains of two, probably Greek, letters" (Wünsch).

Meas.: The "sides measure about 0<sup>m</sup>'04" (Wünsch).

Comm.: The drawing by Wünsch does not show more than traces of letters at best.



Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 159 no. 1 (ed. pr.).

Photo: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 159 fig. 1

fig. 3723

WA/DK

## 3724. Fragment with Greek letters of a calendar of auspicious and inauspicious days (?), 2 c. BCE (?)

Beneath two scored lines, in a dressed patch of a limestone, two lines of Greek characters. The gamma is written backward; the delta is rotated 90 degrees clockwise. Meas.: h 12.3, w 9 cm, d 4 cm; letters 0.6-0.7 cm.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. S-101. Autopsy: 17 October 2013 (NK). Plaster cast in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 038.

 $\Gamma\Delta\Delta\Gamma[--]$  $[--]\Gamma\Delta\Gamma\Delta\Delta\Gamma\Delta\Gamma[--]$ 

 $\gamma\delta\delta\gamma[--]-\gamma\delta\gamma\delta\delta\gamma\delta\gamma\delta\gamma[--]$ 



fig. 3724.1

Lucky. Unlucky ("Fish") ... Lucky. Lucky. Unlucky ("Fish")...

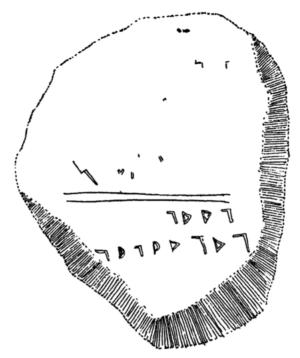


fig. 3724.2

Comm.: The repetition of  $\Gamma\Delta$  and  $\Delta\Gamma$  occurs in columnar form in the longer no. 3725, from the same deposit. The columnar lines of that inscription are echoed in the single line scored on this fragment. As Wünsch surmised, both texts appear to be calendars of chance. Lucky days are marked  $\Gamma\Delta$ , a transliteration of the Hebrew גד; inauspicious days marked  $\Delta\Gamma$ , as in the Hebrew word for fish, דג. As Naveh has shown, writing backwards and the use of palindromes are magical practices that abound on amulets inscribed in a variety of Semitic languages. Palindromes also appear in Greek magical papyri (F. Graf, in: C. Faraone - D. Obbink, Magika Hiera, 1991, 190). However, a calendar of auspicious and inauspicous days is not what most scholars now consider a magical text, but rather



fig. 3724.3 (back)

a chronological commonplace of the ancient world (Grafton - Swerdlow, esp. 19; Faraone - Obbink 1991). The reversed *gamma* may simply point to a Semitic speaker, with a sideways *delta* signaling a low level of literacy. Wünsch's report of scarcely leg-

ible Hebrew characters in a second register cannot be confirmed. Wünsch's late date in the 2 c. CE must be ruled out in light of the abandonment of the site at the end of the 2 c. BCE (?), see introduction to nos. 3689-3729.

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 177 no. 36 (ed. pr.). – A. Erlich - N. Sagiv - D. Gera, IEJ 66, 2016, 55-69 at 66. – Cf. T. Grafton - N. Swerdlow, JWI 51, 1988, 14-42; J. Naveh, IEJ 38, 1988, 36-43.

Photo: WE; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 177 fig. 36 (dr.).

NK

### 3725. Fragment of calendar of auspicious and inauspicious days (?), 2 c. BCE (?)

Fragment of double-sided limestone tablet. The lower edge is broken away. Each side contains seven columns split into an upper and a lower register by two scored lines. The upper register, which is preserved in full, contains 10 lines in each column; presumably, the lower register contained the same.

Meas.: h 8.5, w 10, d 1.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Plaster cast in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, inv. no. Casts 021.

Side (a)  $[\Delta]\Gamma \Delta [\Gamma \Gamma \Delta \Gamma \Delta - 6 letters-]$  $\Delta\Gamma \Delta\Gamma \left[\Gamma\Delta \Gamma\Delta - 6 letters-\right]$  $\Delta\Gamma \Delta\Gamma \Gamma \Delta\Gamma \Gamma \Delta\Gamma \Delta\Gamma$  [-6 letters-]  $\Gamma\Delta$   $\Gamma\Delta$   $[\Delta]\Gamma$   $[\Delta]\Gamma$   $[\Gamma\Delta$   $\Delta\Gamma$   $\Gamma\Delta]$  $\Gamma\Delta$   $\Gamma\Delta$   $\Delta\Gamma$   $\Delta\Gamma$   $[\Gamma\Delta]$   $\Delta\Gamma$   $\Gamma[\Delta]$  $\Gamma\Delta$   $\Gamma\Delta$   $\Delta\Gamma$   $\Delta\Gamma$   $\Gamma[\Delta]$   $\Delta\Gamma$   $\Gamma[\Delta]$  $\Gamma\Delta$   $\Gamma\Delta$   $\Delta\Gamma$   $[\Delta\Gamma]$   $\Gamma\Delta$   $[\Delta]\Gamma$   $\Gamma\Delta$  $\Gamma\Delta$   $\Gamma\Delta$   $\Delta\Gamma$   $[\Delta\Gamma]$   $\Gamma\Delta$   $[\Delta]\Gamma$   $\Gamma\Delta$ ΓΔ ΓΔ ΔΓ [ΔΓ] ΓΔ ΔΓ ΓΔ (dividing band) ΔΓ ΓΔ ΓΔ Δ[Γ ΔΓ] ΓΔ ΔΓ ΔΓ ΓΔ ΓΔ Δ[Γ] ΔΓ ΓΔ ΔΓ ΔΓ ΓΔ ΓΔ Δ [Γ ΔΓ ΓΔ ΔΓ]  $\Gamma\Delta$   $\Delta\Gamma$   $\Delta\Gamma$  [-8 letters-]

 $\Gamma\Delta$   $\dot{\Lambda}$   $\dot{\Gamma}$  [-10 letters-]  $\Gamma[\Delta$  -12 letters-]

[--]



fig. 3725.1 (a, plaster cast)

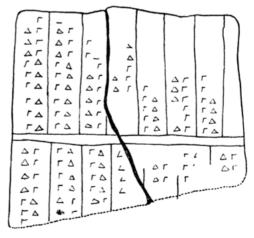


fig. 3725.2 (a)

side (b)  $\Gamma\Delta$   $[\Gamma\Delta]$   $\Delta\Gamma$   $\Delta[\Gamma$   $\Gamma]\Delta$   $\Delta\Gamma$   $[\Gamma\Delta]$  $\Gamma \Delta \ [\Gamma \Delta] \ \Delta \Gamma \ \Delta \ [\Gamma \Gamma] \Delta \ \Delta \Gamma \ \Gamma [\Delta]$  $\Gamma[\Delta] \Gamma[\Delta \Delta \Gamma \Delta \Gamma \Gamma] \Delta \Delta \Gamma \Gamma[\Delta]$  $\Delta\Gamma$  [ $\Delta\Gamma$ ]  $\Delta$ [ $\Gamma$ ]  $\Gamma$ [ $\Delta$ ]  $\Delta$  $\Gamma$  [ $\Gamma\Delta$ ]  $\Delta\Gamma$  $\Delta\Gamma$   $\Delta$   $[\Gamma$   $\Delta$   $]\Gamma$   $\Gamma$   $[\Delta]$   $\Delta$   $\Gamma$   $[\Gamma]$   $\Delta$   $\Delta$   $\Gamma$  $\Delta\Gamma$   $\Delta$   $[\Gamma$   $\Delta\Gamma$   $\Gamma\Delta$   $\Delta$   $]\Gamma$   $\Gamma$   $[\Delta]$   $\Delta\Gamma$  $\Delta\Gamma [\Delta\Gamma \Delta\Gamma \Gamma\Delta \Delta]\Gamma \Gamma\Delta \Delta[\Gamma]$ ΔΓ [Δ]Γ [ΔΓ Γ]Δ [Δ]Γ ΓΔ ΔΓ ΔΓ ΔΓ [ΔΓ Γ] Δ [ΔΓ] ΓΔ ΔΓ (dividing band)  $\Gamma[\Delta \Delta]\Gamma \Delta[\Gamma \Gamma]\Delta \Gamma\Delta \Delta\Gamma [\Gamma]\Delta$  $\Gamma[\Delta \Delta]\Gamma [\Delta\Gamma\Gamma]\Delta \Gamma\Delta \Delta\Gamma [\Gamma]\Delta$ [ΓΔ ΔΓ ΔΓ Γ]Δ ΓΔ ΔΓ ΓΔ  $[\Gamma\Delta \ \Delta\Gamma \ \Delta\Gamma \ \Gamma\Delta \ \Gamma\Delta \ \Delta]\Gamma \ \Gamma\Delta$ [--]



fig. 3725.3 (b, plaster cast)

Unlucky ("Fish"). Unlucky ("Fish"). Lucky. Lucky. Unlucky ("Fish"). Lucky. Unlucky ("Fish"). (And so on ...)

Comm.: Greek transliteration of Hebrew words? Every line seems to have had 14 digits. This is the much longer of two fragments of calendars of portentous days contained within the deposit. The seven rows seem to represent days of the week. Weeks are organized into units of ten. The first four weeks of each unit follow one pattern; the second six weeks are marked by another. For further commentary, see no. 3724, from the same deposit.

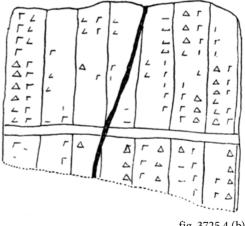


fig. 3725.4 (b)

Bibl.: R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 178 no. 37 (ed. pr.). - H. Thiersch, AA, 1908, 344-413 at 401; A. Kloner, EAEHL 3, 1977, 782-91 at 784f.; M. Avi-Yonah, NEAEHL 3, 1993, 948ff. at 950; Thiel 2007, 154f.; A. Erlich - N. Sagiv - D. Gera, IEJ 66, 2016, 55-69 at 66.

Photo: Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund, London; R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 178 fig. 37 (dr.).

#### 3726. Fragmentary limestone tablet with square Hebrew letters

Fragment of a limestone tablet with parts of two lines of text and few remains of a third one; the script appears to be square Hebrew letters. Original top edge preserved? The back is uneven.

Meas.: h 4.7, w 7.3, d (max.) 2 cm; letters 0.8 cm.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. S-209. Autopsy: 17 October 2013 (WE/DK).

Comm.: The present item is obviously one of the four pieces the letters on which F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 332 and R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 158 identified as Hebrew (cf. introduction to nos. 3689-3729). If the script is indeed Hebrew, there are still many unintelligible "letters," and the only word that can tentatively be salvaged is the name hws[p], a form of Yehosef=Joseph.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA; WE.



fig. 3726.1



fig. 3726.2

HM/JJP

### 3727. Limestone tablet with inscription in unidentified script

Limestone tablet of irregular shape with remains of several lines of script on both sides (a and b). The surface on both sides is slightly convex. In parts, the original edges seem to be preserved.

Meas.: h 8.8, w 6.3, d (max.) 2.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. S-98. Autopsy: 17 October 2013 (WE/DK).

Comm.: This is one of the tablets from the hoard found at the southwest corner of Marisa's city wall not included in the edition by R. Wünsch. The script of the signs on the tablet cannot be identified; the date may be pre-hellenistic. The tablet may be one of the four pieces that Bliss and Wünsch thought to bear Hebrew letters, since only two of these could be positively identified (F. Bliss, PEQ 32, 1900, 332 and R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 158; cf. introduction to nos. 3689-3729).



fig. 3727.1 (a)



Bibl.: Unpublished. Photo: IAA; WE.

fig. 3727.2 (b)

**EDD** 

#### 3728. Fragment of a limestone tablet with unidentified script

Limestone tablet broken on all sides, the back is raw. The front shows portions of 15 lines of neatly incised characters.

Meas.: h ca. 11.5, w ca. 12, d (max.) ca. 3.7 cm.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. S-211. Autopsy: 13 October 2013 (WE/DK).

Comm.: In the case of this tablet and the following one, no. 3729, the script cannot be identified. While there are differences in appearance – on the present item the vertical elements are interconnected by curlicues, whereas on the other tablet the strokes are more separate – the symbols on both tablets share an outlook. Another



fig. 3728

element shared by both "texts" are curved over-(or under-?)lines recurring in regular intervals. These features are likely to have made Bliss and Macalister say that the lines on the present tablet consist "of a series of repetitions of one set of characters." The notes on the archive card of the Rockefeller Museum for tablet no. 3729 speak of a "pseudo-inscription" and "pseudo-letters," which seems plausible since the symbols do not resemble any script used in the region, but are generally uniform. This is an important argument against the assumption that they produce a meaningful text. The notes on the archive card for the present tablet suggest that the symbols are "perhaps only incisions simulating counting." One may well consider these to be some kind of magical symbols. A repetition of letters and symbols is a common feature in magical texts. Taking into account the similarity of the symbols on both tablets they are probably to be identified as those mentioned by R. Wünsch, in: Bliss - Macalister 159 as inscribed in a language unknown to him and which he supposed to be Coptic, which is clearly not the case with the present tablets (cf. introduction to nos. 3689-3729).

Bibl.: Bliss - Macalister 157 pl. 88 (ph.).

Photo: IAA.

## 3729. Fragment of limestone tablet with unidentified inscriptions

Limestone tablet broken on three sides. The preserved fourth (top or bottom?) edge is rounded. "Decorated on both sides with several lines (8 and 4 resp.) of faintly incised pseudo-letters" (Rockefeller Museum, archive card).

Meas.: h 5.6, w 6.6, d (max.) 2 cm.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. S-102. Autopsy: 17 October 2013 (WE/DK).



fig. 3729.1 (a)



Comm.: See comm. to no. 3728.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: WE.

fig. 3729.2 (b)

DK

#### 3730. Greek dipinto on a bone, 2 c. BC

A bone bearing remains of two lines in black ink. Remains of a letter from the first line are visible above the preserved line at the point where the bone breaks. Meas.: w 6.8 (bone), w 3.8 cm (preserved line); letters 0.3-0.4 cm.

Findspot: Subterranean complex 89.

Pres. loc.: Har Hotzvim, IAA; exc. reg. no. 89-203-498-S1.

vacat +

ΠΑΡΑΚΥΝΟΣΟΣΤΟΥ[--]

[--] | παρὰ κυνὸς ὀστοῦ[v--]

... bone from a dog ...



fig. 3730.1



fig. 3730.2

Comm.: This obscure inscription is written on a rib of a goat or a sheep which bears marks of intentional dismemberment, also called "butcher marks" (L. Perry and G. Bar-Oz personal comm. 15/16 Oct. 2014). Occasionally animal bones, especially shoulder blades, mandibles, ribs, pelvises and femurs, were used for lists and accounts, very much like ostraca. However their state of preservation is generally not good (C. Gallazzi - P. Sijpesteijn, ZPE 94, 1992, 158). An inscribed tibia of a goat was discovered on Masada, no. 3903.

An *interpretatio magica* might be cautiously suggested for the text, however, the mention of a dog does not go with the osteological analysis. Generally dogs play a role in superstition and magic. In Greek and Roman religion they do so also due to their connection to Hecate (E. Burriss, CPh 30,1, 1935, 39; G. Lorenz, Tiere im Leben der alten Kulturen, 2013, esp. 209-12). A search through the PGM illustrates some of the ways dogs and animal bones were used for magic: Prop. 3, 6, 28; PGM 4, 1879ff. instructs how to write magical characters on the rib or side of a dog-shaped doll; other references include the blood of a black dog (PGM 11a 2), use of the excrement of a dog (PGM 13, 241), insertion of a magical substance  $(o\mathring{\upsilon}\sigma(a))$  into the mouth of a dead dog (PGM 36, 370). PGM 11a 2 also instructs one to write some characters on the skull of a donkey, attesting the habit of magicwriting on animal bones.

The inscription may be recording some unknown Greek proverb (suggested by A. Chaniotis, 10 October 2017), a search through the CPG did not yield any direct parallel. Perhaps we can discard magical use and only a bone snatched from a dog is meant, cf. Hor. ep. 5,23, where the witch Canidia uses in her potion "ossa ab ore rapta ieiunae canis"; there the ossa are "almost certainly human bones" (L. Watson, A Commentary on Horace's Epodes, 2003, 206).

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; AE.

ΑE

### 3731. Greek inscription on limestone tablet with an incised portrait

Limestone tablet broken on all sides. The front shows the incised image of a figure's head and shoulders, and below it a Greek inscription of two lines. The person represented wears a garment with a round narrow neckline. Crescent lines across the shoulders may be understood as cross-folds, radial lines and circles on the chest may have been intended to mark ornaments in the cloth or applications in it. On his head the person wears a stylized radiate crown(?). Another small object is shown on the right-hand side of the head, but its identity is not certain. It remains unclear whether the image and the inscription were added after the tablet was broken, or if they belonged to its original state. One might mention in favor of the latter possibility that the right part of the portrait is missing. However, the inscription seems to be centered below the image and adapted to the space available. Furthermore, the inscription as it stands makes sense as a caption to the image, and we need not assume additional text to its left or right. Whether the two parallel vertical lines cutting through the inscription after the second letter of l.1 and the first of l.2 were put there intentionally or accidently cannot be decided either. The back is smooth except for a band furnished with a zigzag pattern framed by narrow ledges running along its lower part. Above this there is a graffito that may be described as a pictogram consisting of a rectangle containing vertical and horizontal strokes forming a cross as well as diagonal lines forming an X. On the top there is a smaller rectangular extension. Higher up there is another graffito, the basic outline of which resembles a large  $\Pi$ . All these graffiti on the back do not seem to be letters, or to contain any, unless one thinks of the rectangular pictogram as forming some kind of monogram.

Meas.: h 7.2, w 4.7 cm; letters 0.4-0.6 cm.

Pres. loc.: IAA, Har Hotzvim, exc. reg. no. 169-116-1554-S4.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕ ΟΣ βασιλέ|ος

Of the king.





fig. 3731.2

fig. 3731.1

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

DK

## 3732. Greek graffito of Sime the beauty, 3 c. BC(?)

A subterranean complex known as es-Suk, "the market," is located ca. 525 m to the west of Tel Maresha's highpoint. The main features of this underground space consist of a tunnel about 29 m long, with two cross-tunnels each about 19 m long. The first man to survey this site was C. Conder (1875), who published his report within a few years (Conder - Kitchener). At the beginning of the 20 c. Macalister, accompanied

by a Dr. Masterman, surveyed this underground space once more, and the two men found an inscription "in the upper right-hand corner of the middle panel at the northern end." Macalister published a sketch of the inscription, but no photograph of it is known.

ΣΙΜΗΚΑΛΗ ΔΟΚΕΙΕΜΟΙ Λ·ΝΙΚΑΤΕΙΔ+Ι



fig. 3732

Σιμή καλή. | δοκεῖ ἐμοὶ | 'ά'νίκατ' εἴδει

Sime is pretty; it seems to me (she is) unrivaled in appearance.

Comm.: The *sigma*, portrayed in Macalister's sketch with splayed outer bars, is exceptional. Note also that the first alpha has a horizontal cross-bar while the second seems to have a broken cross-bar. These letter-forms may suggest a 3 c. BC date for the inscription. The previous editors proposed reading a name in 1.3. However, the names Nicatides and Anicatides, suggested by Macalister and Clermont-Ganneau are nowhere attested, while Crönert's restoration, Sonica, with a sigma replacing the initial letter of 1.3, a delta or lambda according to Macalister's reading, seems unlikely; those letters are triangular, the sigma is not. Furthermore, the opening word of this inscription was understood to be a feminine proper name (Clermont-Ganneau; even if wrongly accented). The personal feminine name  $\Sigma i \mu \eta$  is attested 17 times in LGPN. The fact that this three-line inscription is unsigned casts doubt on the suggestion that the person responsible for this graffito wrote "the name of his sweetheart ... to proclaim his passion" (Clermont-Ganneau). As for l.3, it seems preferable to replace the initial letter with a triangular *alpha*, and to do away with the following dot, since the ed. pr. was not sure if it was "accidental or intentional." This leads to the reading 'α'νίκατ; see Clermont-Ganneau. He suggests that this is the beginning of a personal name, but it is possible that the initial word in 1.3 is the vocative case ἀνίκατε of the adjective ἀνίκατος, ον (although one would have expected the more usual form ἀνίκητε). Since the second word in 1.3 begins with a vowel, the man responsible for this scribble then elided the final short vowel of ἀνίκατε. This would lead to the phrase ἀνίκατ' εἴδει, "unrivaled in looks," a combination of the adjective ἀνίκητος "unbeatable, unrivaled," with the dative εἴδει which defines the unbeatable quality (H. Smyth, Greek Grammar, 5th print. 1968, nos. 289d, 1516; see e.g. τῆ φωνῆ τραχύς [Xen. An. 2,6,9]; ὁ παντάπασιν ἀσθενὴς τῷ σώματι [Dem. Meid. 165]). The light tone of this three-line inscription leaves us wondering whether their author was in love with Sime or whether he was just making fun of her.

Bibl.: R. Macalister, PEQ 33, 1901, 11-9 at 14f. (dr.) (ed. pr.). – Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea 289f.; C. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 33, 1901, 116ff. no. 3; id., CRAI 1901, 108ff. (dr.); id., RAO 4, 1901, 237-40 no. 3 pl. 1 (dr.); R. Macalister, PEQ 33, 1901, 230f.; Bliss - Macalister 244f. (dr.); BE 1903 p. 102f.; Schürer I,2, 4-7 n.8; W. Crönert, Rheinisches Museum 64, 1909, 447f.; Macalister, Excavation 61f.; Schürer II,2, 4f. n.8; Keel - Küchler 878f. no. 581 (dr.).

Photo: C. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 33, 1901, 116 (dr.).

#### 3733. Greek wall inscription of Abselamus

Findspot: Subterranean Complex 57. Pres. loc.: See findspot. Autopsy: 18 August 2013.

ΑΨΕΛ

Αψελ[αμος]

Abselamus. fig. 3733



Comm.: The name Abselamus is attested in no. 3649, and see the discussion there. The name may be Idumean, Jewish or Arabic.

Bibl.: Unpublished. – B. Alpert - I. Stern, HA-ESI 119, 2007 (www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\_detail\_eng.aspx?id=499&mag\_id=112, viewed: 13.12.2016).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

DG

## 3734. Greek graffito on a wall mentioning a certain Hermes

Graffito on a wall of a subterranean complex. There is a crack in the wall below the inscription and beneath that some further lines; but those are not necessarily letters, even though *chi* and *mu* seem tempting.

Findspot: Subterranean complex 89. Pres. loc.: See findspot.

ΕΡΜΗΣ ΕΠΙΩΦΕΛΙ++ +++

Έρμῆς | ἐπὶ ἀφελί++ | +++

Hermes ...



fig. 3734

Comm.: The two lines are not necessarily connected. – l.2: ἀφελία? ἐπ(ε)ὶ ἀφέλισεν seems unlikely in view of what remains of the last two letters of the line; P.Oxy. 59, 3993 l.42 has the personal name Ὁφελίνη, but the last letter here seems to be *epsilon*. – l.3: *iota*, lunar *sigma*, *upsilon*?

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WA/DK

## 3735.-3736. Rock-hewn underground complex west of Tel Maresha

A rock-hewn underground complex ca. 800 m west of Tel Maresha and ca. 350 m south of Ḥ. Laʿada, documented in 2012, consists of several cavities "that were first used in the Hellenistic period as quarries and later as storerooms; one cavity may have been a water reservoir. At around the time of the Bar Kochba Revolt they were connected by long and narrow tunnels, forming an underground hiding complex" (Klein - Klein - Zissu). The two largest cavities are H and I; they are connected by a short corridor. Inscription no. 3735 was found above the opening of this corridor leading to Cavity H, no. 3736 on the northern wall of Cavity I.

#### 3735. Greek graffito of Patric(i)us

Graffito incised into the wall "in thin lines by a shaky hand" (Klein - Klein - Zissu). The image of a boat is incised to its left.

Meas.: letters (average) 4 cm.

Findspot: "The inscription and the engraving were discovered on the lintel of an ornamented opening connecting Cavity H with Cavity I" (Klein - Klein - Zissu). The entrance of the corridor leading to Cavity H has an architectural design: columns with Doric capitals on high pedestals were carved from the rock face on both sides of the opening, with a stepped cornice on top. The inscription is on the lowest step of the cornice.

Pres. loc.: In situ.

#### Φ+ΠΑΤΡΙΚΟΣ

Φλ(άουιος) Πατρίκος

Fl(avius) Patric(i)us.

fig. 3735.1

Comm.: l.1: The second letter was read as either *alpha* or *lambda* by the editors, perhaps Φλ. "Patrikos ... is apparently a Greek form of the common Latin name Patricius" (Klein - Klein - Zissu: for the loss of *iota* before



fig. 3735.2

another vowel, cf. the examples in Gignac I 302ff.); they also mention the Greek name Patricus, referring to LGPN 2 s.v.; cf. one instance in LGPN 3. They believe that the text mentions "the owner of the underground storeroom, probably in the Early Roman period." The name points to Late Antiquity.

Bibl.: E. Klein - A. Klein - B. Zissu, HA-ESI 127, 2015 (www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\_detail\_eng.aspx?id=14722&mag\_id=122, viewed: 6.4.2017); E. Klein - B. Zissu, in: M. Billig ed., Judea and Samaria Research Studies 24, 2015, 116f. (Hebr.) (edd. prr.).

Photo: B. Zissu (ph. and dr.).

WA

## 3736. Graffito with Aramaic(?) letters

One line of apparently Jewish script incised clearly on the wall of a cave; identity of the script not entirely clear. The area of the inscription had been smoothed with a chisel.

Meas.: letters (average) 1 cm.

Findspot: Northern wall of Cavity I.

Pres. loc.: In situ.

אנ/בכל/דהוזטי



Translit.: 'n/bkl/dhwzţy fig. 3736.1

Comm.: Archaeological finds date the creation and use of this complex to the Hellenistic period through the Bar Kochba revolt, when it was used as a hiding place. Based on paleography, dating even to a single century is not possible. The reading

and even identity of the language as Aramaic are tentative; an abecedary is possible (for other abecedaries from the region, see nos. 2788, 2803, 2828, 3329, 3400, 3843). The interpretation offered in the edd. prr., 'bdlhy zb(n), cannot be accepted.



fig. 3736.2

Bibl.: E. Klein - A. Klein - B. Zissu, HA-ESI 127, 2015 (www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\_detail\_eng.aspx?id=14722&mag\_id=122, viewed: 13.12.2016), figs. 7f.; E. Klein - B. Zissu, in: M. Billig ed., Judea and Samaria Research Studies 24, 2015, 111-20 at 115f., figs. 7f. (Hebr.) (edd. prr.).

Photo: B. Zissu (ph. and dr.).

HM/JJP

## 3737. Greek wall inscription from the Subterranean Complex 169

A one-word inscription was found on a wall of a subterranean complex. The inscription is located about 2.5 m above the present floor level of the room. The initial letter, a *zeta*, consists of two short parallel horizontal bars connected by a tall vertical hasta. This form is unusual for the region. Perhaps this indicates a relatively early date (3 c. BC) for the inscription.

Meas.: h 18, w (inscription) 134 cm.

Findspot: Subterranean Complex 169, Room 9. Pres. loc.: See findspot. Autopsy: 18 August 2013.

ΖΑΒΔΑΔΑ

Ζαβδαδα

Zabdada.



fig. 3737.1

Comm.: Stern and Alpert in ed. pr. give the name as IAB $\Delta$ A $\Delta$ A. Although the letters are Greek, the name is patently Semitic. A man with the same name is known as the father of a Heracleides in the large lists of Idumeans from Hermopolis Magna, 78 BC (SB 5, 8066 I, l.42). The first editor of the Hermopolis Magna inscription identified Zabdada as an Idumean name, counting it among many other names from that region which are mentioned in the inscription (Zucker 15f.). It is suggested that the genitive form of the name may also be read in no. 3547.

In addition two ostraca in Aramaic from Maresha record this name (Eshel, Maresha III 65-7 no. 63 ll.4 and 7; Eshel 2014, 79 no. 3) as do other Aramaic ostraca that apparently originate from Idumea, but were not discovered

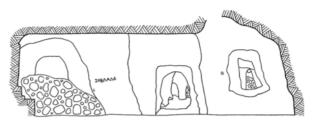


fig. 3737.2

in controlled excavations; see Eph 'al - Naveh, Ostraca 50 no. 87 l.1, 54 no. 97 l.2; Aḥituv - Yardeni 2004, 18f. no. 12 (=ISAP 709) l.1 (republished in Aḥituv - Yardeni 2009, 12 no. 12). Aḥituv - Yardeni, ibid., also correct several personal names that have been misread, and suggest that they be read as "Zabdada"; see Lemaire, Musée d'Israël 44 l.1, 74 A l.2, 139 l.1; Lemaire 2002, 205 l.3 (ISAP 1044, 1074, 2450(?), 1306); see also two unpublished ostraca mentioning this Idumean name: ISAP 1705 and 2542. Another unpublished ostracon was listed by Porten - Yardeni 2003, 214 no. 10 (ISAP 1658). The spelling of the name Zabdada in Greek, and specifically the second *alpha* here, seems to rule out the suggestion that the second compound of the name can be transcribed as Idah, i.e. Zabdidah (so Porten 111\*, 122\*, 124\*). It has been suggested that the 'ada element in names like 'Abd'ada and Zabd'ada refers to the deity Hadad (Eph al - Naveh, Ostraca 36 ad no. 46). Alternatively, this theophoric compound may be linked to the Hebrew word for master – 'Adon (Aḥituv - Yardeni 2004, 18).

There are parallels for inscriptions incised in large scale into the walls of subterranean caves in the region, cf. no. 3450 (also single names as in the present case), and no. 3304 (a late antique invocation).

Bibl.: I. Stern - B. Alpert, HA-ESI 126, 2014 (www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\_detail\_eng. aspx?id=12643&mag\_id=121, viewed: 13.12.2016), figs. 6 (ph.), 7 (dr.) (ed. pr.). - Cf. F. Zucker, Doppelinschrift spätptolemäischer Zeit aus der Garnison von Hermopolis Magna, Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse 1937; Sh. Aḥituv - A. Yardeni, Maarav 11, 2004, 7-23; B. Porten, in: M. Mor - J. Pastor - I. Ronen - Y. Ashkenazi eds., For Uriel, 2005, 105\*-30\*; Sh. Aḥituv - A. Yardeni, EI 29, 2009, 6-21 (Hebr.); E. Eshel, in: I. Stern ed., The Excavations of Maresha Subterranean Complex 57, 2014, 77-94.

Photo: I. Stern (ph. and dr.).

DG

#### 3738. Greek graffiti on a wall

Two graffiti found scratched into the wall of a subterranean complex side by side. The scratches are of very different depth, and it is therefore uncertain whether they were made by the same person and at the same time, but (a) 1.2 and (b) look similar enough to be by the same hand.

Findspot: Subterranean complex in Maresha; the inscriptions are known only from the photographs.

Pres. loc.: See findspot.



fig. 3738.1 (a and b)

```
(a) ++++(?)
MNEIATOY
++A+ANTO+
KA[.]+[.]A+
A+++++++
++A+[--]++++
+++++(?)
(b) M++IATOY
```

- (a) 1.2 μνεία τοῦ
- (b) μνεία τοῦ

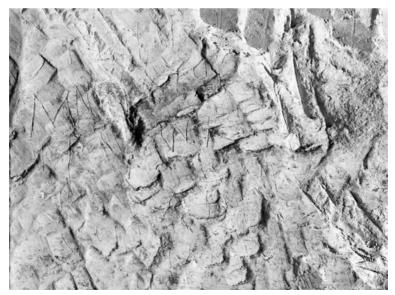


fig. 3738.2 (Detail left side=a)



fig. 3738.3 (Detail right side=b)

#### (a) 1.2 and (b) *Memory of the* ...

Comm.: The formula is not common, and it seems curious that in (b) neither a name nor an attribute seem to follow the article; cf. SEG 60, 1742.9 (a vase from Marisa): μνεία Ἰξιλσικλέους.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WA/DK

# H. Fragments

### 3739. Beginning of a Greek word, 2-1 c. BC

Fragment of white limestone found with another fragment which joins it on the left. However, the left fragment has no traces of an inscription.

Meas.: h 29.6, w 39.5 (with fragment on the left 49.5), d 17.5 cm; w of inscription

28.1 cm; letters 3.2-5.2 cm.

Findspot: Subterranean Complex 89. Pres. loc.: Maresha storage facilities, exc. reg. no. 89-301-481-S3. Autopsy: 18 August 2013.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩ[--]

Aπολλω[--]

To Apollo(?) or Apollo[--].

fig. 3739

Comm.: The inscription may have been a dedication to the god Apollo. Alternatively we have here a theophoric name such as the very popular Apollonius, Apollonia or one of the other twenty or so names that contain the compound Apollo- and have an *omega* as the sixth character.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

DG

## 3740. Fragmentary stone plaque with Greek inscription, 2-1 c. BC

Fragment of a plaque, broken on all sides as it seems; a guideline after the fourth line of letters.

Meas.: h 13.5, w 8.6, d 2 cm; letters 0.9-1.7 cm.

Findspot: Subterranean Complex 169.

Pres. loc.: Har Hotsvim, IAA, Jerusalem; exc. reg. no. 169-36-602-S1. Autopsy: 1 March 2016.

[--]**∑**[+[--]

[--]OΛE[--]

[--]NOIΔIA[--]

[--]ΣAIME+[--]

[--]MAINE+[--]

[--]∑∏P[--]



Bibl.: Unpublished.

fig. 3740

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

#### 3741. Marble fragment with Greek inscription

Fragment of a marble slab broken on all sides, consisting of three perfectly fitting fragments; there are thin guidelines, the letters are skillfully executed. The back is smooth.

Meas.: h 13.2, w 11.5, d 1.7 cm; letters 2.6-3.4 cm.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1947-1831. Autopsy: 13 October 2013 (WE/DK).

Comm.: l.2: last letter *iota*, *gamma* or perhaps *pi*. – l.3: first letter probably *tau*; cf. perhaps Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia I a, App. 32: κεῖται Λυσίας ἐν τύμβω τῷδε καταφθίμενος.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: DK.



fig. 3741

WA/DK

#### 3742. Marble fragment with Greek inscription

Fragment of marble broken on all sides, the original left-hand edge is preserved. The fragment shows the beginnings of two lines of an inscription.

Meas.: h 12, w 10 cm.

Findspot: Tell Sandahannah.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv.

no. 1947-1826 (currently lost).

[--]+ONŢ[--] [--]NEΓ+[--]



Comm.: l.2: either a form of προσενεγκεῖν, or rather a reminder of the resurrection, ἀνέγερσις vel sim.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.

WA

# CXXII. Murabba'at

## 3743. Wooden stamp with inscription

"Cachet de bois gravé de deux lignes en lettres latines disposées de droite à gauche et retournées" (ed. pr. 35).

Meas.: h of stamp: ca. 2.5 cm; lower surface with inscription: h ca. 2-2.4, w ca. 5.3 cm (all according to scale in DJD II fig. 12 and pl. 9).

OANNAEI GARGILIV

(centuria) Annaei | Gargiliu(s)

Centuria of Annaeus, Gargilius (signs something).



fig. 3743.1

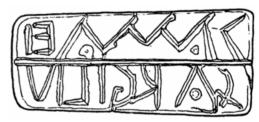


fig. 3743.2

Comm.: If the reading is correct, the stamp tells us that a soldier called Gargilius and belonging to the centuria of Annaeus used the stamp. The legion remains unknown.

Bibl.: DJD II 35, 37, 42f. (ed. pr.). – E. Stern, EAEHL 3, 1977, 691-4 at 693.

Photo: DJD II 42 fig. 12,9 (dr.) pl. 9,26 (ph.).

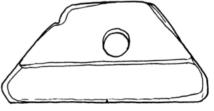


fig. 3743.3

WE

# CXXIII. H. Horesh

#### 3744. Greek funerary inscriptions in a cave

"Greek inscriptions, written in mud and soot between the cornice and the kokhim, have faded because of the moisture and can be deciphered only with difficulty; they probably contained the names of the deceased. Two inscriptions (decorations?) above Kokhim 15 and 23 were torn out by tomb robbers, who caused severe damage to the cave" (Zissu - Ganor). There are inscriptions above Kokhim 6, 9-11 (a-d), 13, 14/15, 16, 17 (e-h), and above Kokhim 21/22 (i-j). The sketches do not rule out the possibility that some of these letters belong to a non-Greek alphabet (see especially the drawing of the inscriptions between Kokhim 14/15 and above 16).

Findspot: Near Ḥ. Ḥoresh.

- (a) ΩΦΟΣ
- (b)  $++\Lambda AI+++$
- (c) MA++Y+
- (d)  $XAE\Sigma\Sigma +$
- (e) HA++MKA+O
- (f) APB+A $\Sigma$ 
  - +++
- (g) +++
- (h) EΩPIA
- (i)  $\Lambda A \Upsilon A \Sigma + H \Sigma + T E$
- (j)  $\Lambda$ ANA $\Sigma$ H $\Sigma$  $\Lambda$



fig. 3744.1 (j)



fig. 3744.2

Comm.: Possibly names. – (a) [--] $\circ\phi\circ$ ? (f) a form of Barbara vel sim? The excavators notice the general resemblance of the cave to the burials in the vicinity of Maresha and are therefore inclined to a date in the 3 c. or 2 c. BC. Inscription (j), at least, is of a much younger vintage than this (witness, for instance, the lunate *sigma*, the second *alpha* – and all the other letter forms); perhaps this is an indication of continued use of the burial cave.

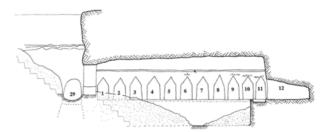


fig. 3744.3

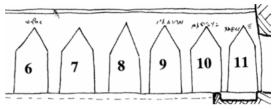


fig. 3744.4 (detail of fig. 3)

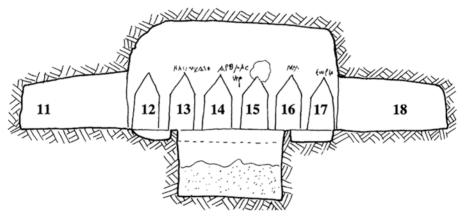


fig. 3744.5

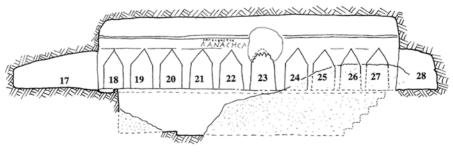


fig. 3744.6

(h) ἀωρία seems impossible, and even a name like  $\Delta \omega$ ρίᾶ[ς] or ending in  $-\omega$ ρία(?),  $-\omega$ ριανός seems unlikely; [θ]εωρία (as a personal name only in LGPN 2)? (i) ninth letter pi? Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 67 reports  $\Delta$ αυ.

Bibl.: B. Zissu - A. Ganor, ESI 18, 1998, 100 (=HA 106, 151ff. [Hebr.]). – Dagan, Survey 1, 80\*f. Photo: B. Zissu - A. Ganor, HA 106, 1998, 152f. (ph. and dr.).

WA

# CXXIV. Alula (mod. Halhul)

## 3745. Bread stamp "Yehuda," 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE

Limestone stamp with tiny handle, apparently a bread stamp. Meas.: Ø 3.3 cm.

Findspot: Allegedly Alula (museum archive card).

Pres. loc.: Dagon Grain Museum, Haifa, inv. no. R-1202. Autopsy: 2 June 2014 (WE).

יהוד ה דסי

Translit.: yhwd|h dsy

Yehuda Dosi(theus?).



fig. 3745.1

Comm.: The inscription was never properly published. The real provenance of this object is not certain. The text is difficult to read; the last three letters are most uncertain, but if correctly rendered, probably are the owner's second name, Dositheus; the Hebrew form of this name, ססוד dwsts or ססוד dsts, appears on several ossuaries from the period, cf. CIIP I 109, 375, 376, 496, 525. Many bread stamps inscribed with Hebrew names and Jewish symbols remain uncollected and unpublished, see D. Amit, in: Epigraphy and Daily Life 159-74.



fig. 3745.2

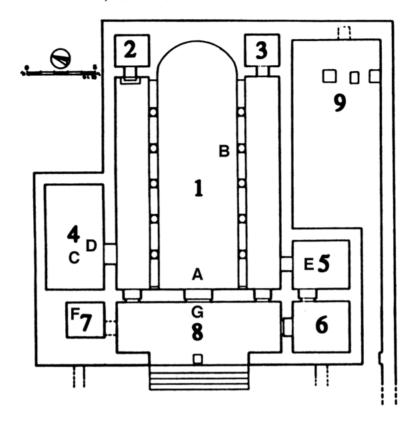
Bibl.: J. Briend, Le monde de la Bible 114, 1998, 79 (only ph. and transl., no text given). Photo: WE.

JJP/AE

# CXXV. Beth Loya (Kh. Lehi)

#### 3746.-3754. Church complex

On top of a hill at Beth Loya are some late antique structures, including an oil press, a wine press and a burial cave (columbarium, see no. 3754). A church was built around 500 AD (20.4x13.9 m); two aisles at the side of the nave, a central apse with pastophoria at its side; several other rooms were accessible from the aisles, and an exonarthex (w 3.6 m). A baptistery on the southern side (4.1x3.5 m) could be entered through a doorway located in the southern aisle. Gutfeld - Ecker use the benefactor inscriptions to argue (successfully) that this was not necessarily a monastery, but a church. A cistern (no. 3753) seems to have served in secondary use as an hermitage.



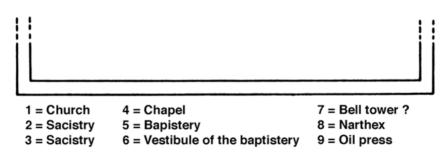


fig. 3746.A Schematic ground plan, RB 96, 1989, 259 fig. 23

## 3746. Greek building inscription by the donors Azizus and Cyricus

With the exception of the presbyterion, the whole church was beautifully paved with mosaics, parts of which were destroyed by iconoclasts (perhaps in 721, Patrich - Tsafrir 1993, 265); repairs were affected "by the random resetting of the original stones" (ibid. 267).

Meas.: ø 60 cm; letters 7.5 cm.

Findspot: This inscription set in a medallion at the western end of the nave, near to the central entrance; see introduction to nos. 3746-3754, fig. A, no. A. Pres. loc.: In situ. Autopsy: 6 June 2014 (WE).

ΑΖΙΖΟΣ ΚΑΙΚΥΡΙΚΟΣ ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΝΤΕΣΑΝΕΘΗ ΚΑΜΕΝΤΟΝ ΝΑΟΝ



fig. 3746

"Αζιζος | καὶ Κύρικος | εὐχαριστοῦ|ντες ἀνεθή|καμεν τὸν | ναόν

We, Azizus and Cyricus, giving thanks, have donated the church.

Comm.: l.1: Ἄζιζος, Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 13; on Azizus, cf. no. 3747. – l.2: On Cyricus, cf. Feissel, Chroniques 228 no. 728. – l.6: ναός as church, see Lampe s.v.

Bibl.: J. Patrich - Y. Tsafrir, Qadmoniot 18, 1985, 108 no. 1, 110f. (dr.) (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – ESI 4, 1985, 11-4 fig. 2 (=HA 86, 26f. [Hebr.]); Meimaris, Sacred Names 145 no. 746; SEG 35, 1538; J. Patrich - Y. Tsafrir, Qadmoniot 19, 1986, 57 (Hebr.); RB 96, 1989, 261f., fig. 24a; J. Patrich - Y. Tsafrir, in: Y. Tsafrir ed., Ancient Churches Revealed, 1993, 269; H. Goldfus, Tombs and Burials in Churches and Monasteries of Byzantine Palestine (324-628 A.D.), 1997, 166-9; Madden, Corpus 26ff. no. 24. - Cf. Y. Tsafrir, in: Archéologie Chrétienne 1758 fig. 19; P. Figueras, in: ibid. 1781f.; J. Patrich - Y. Tsafrir, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 212f.; Bagatti, Judaea 148; Feissel, Chroniques 238 no. 764; Dagan, Survey 1, 117\*ff.; Ribak, Religious Communities 137; Hachlili, AMP 237 fig. XI.6c; O. Gutfeld - A. Ecker, in: D. Chrupcała ed., "Christ is here!," 2012, 170f.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

#### 3747. Offering of Azzizus with Greek inscription

Mosaic inscription in a round wreath.

Meas.: ø 50 (wreath), 34.5 (inner field) cm; letters 6 cm.

Findspot: "Center of the east side of the acanthus leaf border which encloses the central carpet in the nave" (ESI); see introduction to nos. 3746-3754, fig. A, no. B.

Pres. loc.: In situ. Autopsy: 6 June 2014 (WE).

ΠΡΟΣ ΦΩΡΑΑ ΖΖΙΖΟΥ

προσ φωρὰ Ά ζίζου

Offering of Azzizus.

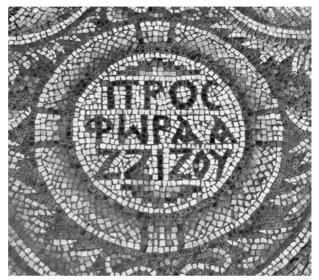


fig. 3747

Comm.: Perhaps this Azzizus is to be identified with the person mentioned in no. 3746.

Bibl.: SEG 39, 1621 (ed. pr.). – ESI 6, 1987/8, 5 (=HA 90, 50 [Hebr.]) (dr. and translat. only); RB 96, 1989, 261f.; H. Goldfus, Tombs and Burials in Churches and Monasteries of Byzantine Palestine (324-628 A.D.), 1997, 166-9; Madden, Corpus 26ff. no. 24. – Cf. J. Patrich - Y. Tsafrir, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 212f.; Bagatti, Judaea 148.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WA

# 3748. Greek donation of a mosaic by Epanagia

Mosaic inscription in a round medallion; black tesserae on white ground. The medallion is surrounded by a broad band showing an ornament of stylised calyces. Meas.: ø 57 cm; letters 6.5 cm.

Findspot: In the center of the geometric carpet in the chapel; see introduction to nos. 3746-3754, fig. A, no. C.

Pres. loc.: In situ. Autopsy: 6 June 2014 (WE).

ΕΠΑΝΑΓΙΑ ΥΠΕΡΑΝΑΠΑΥ ΣΕΩΣΚΑΙΜΝΗ ΜΗΣΑΕΤΙΟΥ ΤΗΝΨΉΦΩΣΙΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑ



fig. 3748

Έπαναγία | ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύ|σεως καὶ μνή|μης Άετίου | τὴν ψήφωσιν | ἀνέθηκα

I, Epanagia, donated the mosaic for the rest and memory of Aetius.

Comm.: l.1: "EΠANAΓIA (nom féminin?)" Feissel; accepted as a name by SEG, but without parallel. The donor (l.1), the donation (l.5), and the act of donation (l.6) are assigned each to a single line. – l.4: for the name Aetius, cf. e.g. IGLS 5, 2620, 2628 (Emesene); SEG 8, 16 (Diocaesarea): υείοῦ ἀετίου τοῦ κό(μητος); the name can be derived from ἀετός, but with these late examples an influence of western nomenclature cannot be excluded (see esp. nine Aetii in PLRE 2).

Bibl.: E. Lipinski, in: Recherches Archéologiques en Israel, 1984, 93 fig. 52 (ed. pr.). – ESI 4, 1985, 11-4 (=HA 86, 26f. [Hebr.]); J. Patrich - Y. Tsafrir, Qadmoniot 18, 1985, 106ff. (Hebr.); SEG 35, 1539; J. Patrich - Y. Tsafrir, Qadmoniot 19, 1986, 57 (Hebr.); RB 96, 1989, 263 fig. 26a, pl. 18; J. Patrich - Y. Tsafrir, in: Y. Tsafrir ed., Ancient Churches Revealed, 1993, 270; H. Goldfus, Tombs and Burials in Churches and Monasteries of Byzantine Palestine (324-628 A.D.), 1997, 166-9; Madden, Corpus 26ff. no. 24. – Cf. Y. Tsafrir, in: Archéologie Chrétienne 1763f.; J. Patrich - Y. Tsafrir, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 212f.; J. Patrich, in: Th. Levy (ed.), The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land, 1995, 482; Feissel, Chroniques 238 no. 764; Bagatti, Judaea 148; Dagan, Survey 1, 117\*ff.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

#### 3749. Greek invocation of Christ on behalf of Theclus

Square frame, made of two rows of tesserae, the outer one black, the inner one lighter; black letters, lines divided by a row of lighter tesserae.

Meas.: h 45, w 45 cm; letters 6.8-7.8 cm.

Findspot: In the eastern part of the chapel, where no. 3748 was found; see introduction to nos. 3746-3754, fig. A, no. D.

Pres. loc.: In situ. Autopsy: 6 June 2014 (WE).

ΚΕ ΙΣ ΧΕ ΑΝΑΠΑΥ ΣΟΝΘΕΚΛΟ ΥΝΤΗΝΔΟΥ ΛΗΣΟΥ



fig. 3749

κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστ)έ, | ἀνάπαυ|σον Θεκλο|ῦν, τὴν δού|λη σου

Lord Jesus Christ, give rest to Theclus, your servant.

Comm.: l.3f.: This seems to be the only hitherto known instance of the name Θεκλοῦς, patently derived from the well known Cilician saint Thekla. – l.4f.: τὴν δούλη: on the omission of nu "before a word beginning with a liquid, nasal, or sibilant," see Gignac I 112.

Bibl.: SEG 39, 1622 (ed. pr.). – ESI 6, 1987/8, 6 (=HA 90, 50 [Hebr.]) (dr. and translat. only); RB 96, 1989, 263; H. Goldfus, Tombs and Burials in Churches and Monasteries of Byzantine Palestine (324-628 A.D.), 1997, 166-9; Madden, Corpus 26ff. no. 24; – Cf. J. Patrich - Y. Tsafrir, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 212f.; Bagatti, Judaea 148.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

#### 3750. Mosaic with Greek inscription quoting Proverbs 13,9

"Le pavement du baptistère est un damier, de carrés rouges, noirs et blancs, posés sur la pointe. L'accès à la cuve baptismale est flanquée d'une inscription grecque, intégrée dans la composition" (RB 96).

Meas.: w 147.5 cm; letters 7-8 cm.

Findspot: "In the baptistery in front of the screen at the entrance to the font" (ESI); see introduction to nos. 3746-3754, fig. A, no. E.

Pres. loc.: In situ. Autopsy: 6 June 2014 (WE).



fig. 3750

#### (cross) $\Phi\Omega\Sigma\Delta IKEOI\Sigma\Delta IA\PiANTO\Sigma$ (palm) (cross)

Φῶς δικέοις διὰ παντός

The righteous always have light.

Comm.: This is the only quotation of Prov 13,9 in Felle (φῶς δικαίοις διὰ παντός, φῶς δὲ ἀσεβῶν σβέννυται. ψυχαὶ δόλιαι πλανῶνται ἐν ἁμαρτίαις, δίκαιοι δὲ οἰκτίρουσιν καὶ ἐλεῶσιν).

Bibl.: J. Patrich - Y. Tsafrir, Qadmoniot 18, 1985, 106-12 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – ESI 4, 1985, 11-4 (=HA 86, 26f. [Hebr.]); SEG 35, 1541; J. Patrich - Y. Tsafrir, Qadmoniot 19, 1986, 57 fig. 4 (Hebr.); Ben Pechat, L'architecture baptismale II 43f., III pl. 35; RB 96, 1989, 264 fig. 27 (dr.); M. Ben Pechat, SBF 39, 1989, 165-88 fig. 2,26 pl. 32 fig. 13; Felle, Biblia epigraphica 116 no. 175. – Cf. P. Figueras, in: Archéologie Chrétienne 1781f.; J. Patrich - Y. Tsafrir, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 212f.; K. Vriezen, in: L. Rutgers et al. eds., The Use of Sacred Books in the Ancient World, 1998, 253; Feissel, Chroniques 238 no. 764; Bagatti, Judaea 148; Dagan, Survey 1, 117\*ff.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WA

## 3751. Mosaic with Greek inscription quoting LXX Ps 120,8

White mosaic floor with a circular medallion; crude layout of the text. Meas.: ø 59 cm; letters 5-10 cm.

Findspot: Ground floor of the bell tower; see introduction to nos. 3746-3754, fig. A, no. F.

Pres. loc.: In situ. Autopsy: 6 June 2014 (WE).

(cross) ΚΣ ΦΥΛΑΞΙ ΤΗΝΕΙΣΟ ΔΟΝΣΟΥΚ ΤΗΝΕΞΟ ΔΟΝΣΟΥ



fig. 3751.1

κ(ύριο)ς | φυλάξι | τὴν εἴσο|δόν σου κ(αὶ) | τὴν ἔξο|δόν σου

The Lord will guard your entrance and your exit.

Comm.: Cf. CIIP II 1338 comm. Vriezen's section is called "inscriptions quoting OT-texts and showing a relation between the contents of the inscription and its location," but in this case (cf. Vriezen 250 n.14) the inscription is not connected with the entrance to the church. As he notes, LXX Ps 120,8 is not quoted together with 120,7 (κύριος φυλάσαι ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ) in Palestine.



fig. 3751.2

Bibl.: J. Patrich - Y. Tsafrir, Qadmoniot 18, 1985, 106ff. (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – ESI 4, 1985, 11-4 (=HA 86, 26f. [Hebr.]); SEG 35, 1540; J. Patrich - Y. Tsafrir, Qadmoniot 19, 1986, 57 (Hebr.); BE 1987, 526; J. Patrich - Y. Tsafrir, in: Y. Tsafrir ed., Ancient Churches Revealed, 1993, 265f., 270f.; Felle, Biblia epigraphica 116 no. 176; Madden, Corpus 26ff. no. 24. – Cf. J. Patrich - Y. Tsafrir, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 212f.; Vriezen, Mosaic Pavements 248-51; Bagatti, Judaea 148; Dagan, Survey 1, 117\*ff.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; J. Patrich - Y. Tsafrir, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 213 (dr.).

#### 3752. Fragmentary Greek mosaic inscription

Part of the mosaic carpet; inscription in a tabula ansata, black letters on white ground; the frame and the ansae are made of red and gray tesserae. The inscription had only two lines, of which only the last letter(s) can be seen.

Meas.: letters 8 cm.

Findspot: At the entrance to the church, in front of the medallion containing inscription no. 3746; see introduction to nos. 3746-3754, fig. A, no. G. Pres. loc.: In situ. Autopsy: 6 June 2014 (WE).

[--]OI [--]H



fig. 3752

Bibl.: Unpublished. – J. Patrich - Y. Tsafrir, in: Y. Tsafrir ed., Ancient Churches Revealed, 1993, 267.

Photo: WE.

WA

#### 3753. Greek exclamation "Jesus is here!" in a cistern

A round cistern on the eastern slope of an archaeological site, with a stair-case at its eastern side (ed. pr., figs. 1f.); recesses and lamp niches were found in the western wall, indicating a secondary use of the cistern as a hermitage in Late Antiquity. "A large Greek inscription is seen in the northwestern wall, facing the entrance" (ed. pr. 167). For Hermits living in cisterns they quote Hieron., Vita Pauli 6; Theodoret, Historia religiosa 26,6. Above the inscription there is a depiction of a boat with a man who is probably preaching ("since this depiction is located on the seam between the upper layer of hard limestone and the lower layer of soft limestone, the boat's keel and rudder were carved in the soft rock, while its top part was drawn in charcoal," ed. pr. 168). Beneath the inscription there is a cross in a medallion (ø 81 cm), the cross perhaps "styled as a *chi-rho*."

Meas.: w 2.1 m; letters 34 cm at the beginning, 15 cm at the end of the inscription.

(cross) ΙΕΣΟΥΣΟΔΕ

'Ιεσοῦς δίδε

Iesus (is) here.



fig. 3753.1

Comm.: The editors dated the inscription to the 5-7 c. or 8 c. AD, with a preference (based on the letter forms) for a late date. They compare the "Χριστὸς ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ" inscriptions and their apotropaic use (cf. e.g. IGLS 2, 424 [Refade]: Ἰησ(οῦς) ὁ Ναζωρεως, ὁ ἐκ Μαρίας γεννεθίς, ὁ υ(ἱὸ)ς τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ, ἔνθα κατοικῖμὶ ἔστω ὅδε [κακόν]), and they present a close parallel in CIL 13, 5656 (=ILCV



fig. 3753.2

1619; Vix): *Chr(istu)s hic est*. This is compared with Mt 8,23ff., 13,2ff.: Jesus calming the tempest and addressing the crowds from a boat – and the boat alone is surely a good symbol for the Christian church (but, according to the motif index of Rahner 567, Jesus addressing the crowds from a boat was not exploited as a symbol of ecclesiology). On the "Wirkungsgeschichte" of Matthew's texts, Luz 27ff.

Bibl.: O. Gutfeld - A. Ecker, in: D. Chrupcała ed., "Christ is here!," 2012, 167ff. (ed. pr.). – Cf. H. Rahner, Symbole der Kirche, 1964; U. Luz, Das Evangelium nach Matthäus II 1990.

Photo: O. Gutfeld - A. Ecker, in: D. Chrupcała ed., "Christ is here!," 2012, 172 figs. 4 and 5 (ph. and dr.).

WA

#### 3754. Greek funerary inscription (?)

"On the outer face of a subterranean rockcut columbarium" (ed. pr.); "Carved in the northern wall of the cave is a Greek inscription, only several letters of which are preserved, and below it, a cross" (Dagan).

Findspot: "On the eastern fringes of the settlement - a rock-hewn cruciform cave (each arm c. 3.0x4.1 m) with 845 columbarium niches varying in shape hewn in its walls." (Dagan).

 $XAP\Omega[N]$ 

 $X \acute{\alpha} \rho \omega \llbracket \nu \rrbracket$ 

Charon.



fig. 3754

Comm.: "There are traces of an erased letter, presumably a nu, after the omega" (edd.). The letter forms point to the 4-7 c. AD, hence it is quite remarkable to have this sole mention of the ferryman.

Bibl.: S. Applebaum - B. Isaac - Y. Landau, SCI 6, 1982, 111 no. 24 (ed. pr.). – SEG 32, 1510; Dagan, Survey 1, 117\*ff.

Photo: S. Applebaum - B. Isaac - Y. Landau, SCI 6, 1982, 118 fig. 24.

WA

#### CXXVI. Rasm el-Beida

#### 3755. Remains of a Greek inscription on a wall of a cave

"A large cross is deeply carved (6 cm) in the wall ... The arms of the cross (length of the central arm 0.4 m) are bifurcated at their ends. Opposite the cross is a Greek inscription comprising 17 letters;  $\alpha$  (alpha),  $\varphi$  (theta) [sic!] and  $\psi$  (psi) were identified, the remaining letters are illegible" (Dagan). No photograph is available.

Findspot: In a bell-shaped cistern. Altogether, twelve rock-hewn caves were part of the remains of the ancient settlement, including columbarium caves, bell-shaped cisterns and burial caves. In the last phase of their use the caves were connected by narrow passages, thus forming extensive subterranean complexes.

Pres. loc.: In situ.

Comm.: " $\varphi$  (theta)": It remains unclear whether the mistake is with the letter or its name, i.e. if " $\varphi$  (phi)" or " $\theta$  (theta)" is meant. Too little is left to suggest a reconstruction, all the more so since Dagan does not specify which positions in the sequence of the 17 letters were held by those he had identified. At least, the vicinity to the cross argues for a Christian context of the inscription.

Bibl.: Dagan, Survey 1, 161\*f. (ed. pr.).

EDD

# CXXVII. Bethennim (mod. Kh. Beit 'Anun)

#### 3756.-3760. The central church

A Byzantine church was located at the edge of Beit 'Anun; the church was built in the first half of the 5 c. AD; in the 6 c. AD another church was erected over the walls of the first one. The church had a central nave with an apse, two aisles, and a narthex (see fig. A [the narthex carried an inscription in a tabula ansata, but this text is completely lost, no. E on the plan]). From the first building phase originate two mosaic inscriptions in the nave (no. 3756 [A on the plan]) and at the western end of the southern (right) aisle (no. 3757 [B on the plan]). A building adjoining the already existing narthex, but earlier than the second church is sometimes labeled as "inscriptions hall" (Magen 125: "there is a considerable similarity between the hall's mode of construction and that of the walls of the first stage church"); the eastern and western border of its mosaic carpet carry inscriptions, both of which could be read by persons entering the room (nos. 3758 and 3759 [C, D on the plan]). A fifth mosaic inscription belonging to the second building phase of the church was found in a room north of the narthex (no. 3760 [F on the plan]).

Bibl.: Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 181-6; Y. Magen, ibid. IV 121-68.

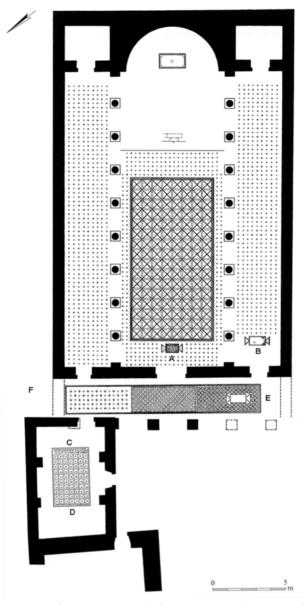


fig. 3756.A Ground plan, Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity IV 126 fig. 7

#### 3756. Greek mosaic inscription of Probatius

Tabula ansata, black and white tesserae; the lines are separated by rows of tesserae. Meas.: h 60, w 93 cm (with ansae 1.53 m); letters 8.1-10 cm.

Findspot: On the floor of the central nave, just behind the middle entrance of the church, before the mosaic carpet; see introduction to nos. 3756-3760 fig. A, no. A. The mosaic belongs to the first phase of the church.

ΟΕΙΣΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΥΞΑΣΘΩΥΠΕΡ ΠΡΟΒΑΤΙΟΥΤΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ

ό εἰσερχόμενος | εὐξάσθω ὑπὲρ | Προβατίου τοῦ | πρεσβυτέρου



fig. 3756

Whoever enters: pray for Probatius, the priest!

Comm.: Di Segni dates the letter forms to the late 4 c. or mid 5 c. AD. She argues, quite rightly, that Probatius must have been a donor or the priest in whose time the church was dedicated. For adhortations to pray, see no. 3228 (comm.). The name Probatius, as Di Segni points out, is quite common in the western provinces in the 4 c. and 5 c. AD (170, 174 nn.4f.), but see also J.-P. Rey-Coquais, Inscriptions grecques et latines découvertes dans les fouilles de Tyr (1963-1974) I. Inscriptions de la nécropole, 2006 no. 112.

Bibl.: Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity IV 121ff., esp. 131, 135; L. Di Segni, ibid. 169f. no. 1 (dr.) (edd. prr.). – Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 186 fig. 280,7 (ph.).

Photo: Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity IV 136 fig. 27.

WA

#### 3757. Fragmentary Greek mosaic inscription

Inscription in a tabula ansata; hederae in the ansae; the lines are separated by rows of tesserae.

Meas.: h 62.5, w 117.5 cm (with ansae 179.4 cm); letters 10-11.2 cm.

Findspot: In the southern aisle of the church, just behind its right entrance; first building phase; see introduction to nos. 3756-3760 fig. A, no. B.

[--]+NTHΣ

 $[--]+\Sigma$ 

[--]MENO[--]TH

[--]ΕΨ[--]+ΝΣΤΟΑΝ



fig. 3757.1

Comm.: Each line has 15-20 letters, with the letters in the end of the last two lines more densely packed. Using known and common formulas, Di Segni suggests tentatively: [κ(ύρι)ε, μνήσθητι τῶ]ν τῆς | [κώμης οἰκετόρων] ὡς | [εὐξά]μενο[ι ὑπὲρ <math>σω]τη|[ρ(ίας) αὐτῶν] ἐψ[ἡφωσαν τ]ἡν

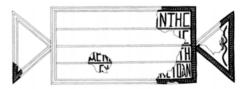


fig. 3757.2

στοάν. The necessary abbreviation in l.5 and the word order make this a bit awkward. – l.1 and 2: First letter eta, iota or omega; in l.1 omicron is possible too. – l.1f.: A pagan text, IK 39, 23, has ὑπὲρ τῆς κώμης καὶ οἰκετῶν, but οἱ τῆς κώμης οἰκήτορες has no real parallel. – ll.3f.: [εὐξά]μενο[ι ὑπὲρ σω]τη|[ρ(ίας)] is not well attested, but cf. SEG 28, 1324 (Kommagene): εὐξάμενοι ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτίων αὐτῶν κὲ σωτερίας Κανδίδο<υ> υἱοῦ αὐτῶν τὸν ἄγιον τόπον ἐψήφωσαν. – l.4: For στοά indicating an aisle, cf. SEG 33, 1299 (the Tiberias synagogue): Προφοτοῦρος ὁ μιζότερος ἐποίησεν τὴν στοὰν ταύτην τοῦ ἀγίου τόπου.

Bibl.: Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity IV 121ff., esp. 130; L. Di Segni, ibid., 170f. no. 2 (dr.) (edd. prr.).

Photo: Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity IV 134 fig. 24 (ph. and dr.).

WA

#### 3758. Greek mosaic inscription of Thaimon, Ioannes and Ioannes

Floor of white tesserae; in its center a mosaic carpet made of a grid of squares (4.1x2.6 m); this text is at the eastern border of the carpet; letters in red. Meas.: h 40, w (1.2) 241 cm; letters (average) 8 cm.

Findspot: This text is placed at the eastern border of the carpet in the "inscriptions hall" of the "intermediate" building phase; see introduction to nos. 3756-3760 fig. A, no. C.



fig. 3758.1

# (cross) ΚΕΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙΤΩΝΔΟΥΛΩΝΣΟΥ ΘΑΙΜΩΝΟΣΚΑΙΙΩΑΝΝΟΥΚΑΙΙΩ ΑΝΝΟΥΤΩΝΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΩΝΑΜΗΝ

κ(ύρι)ε, μνήσθητι τῶν δούλων σου | Θαίμωνος καὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ Ἰω|άννου τῶν πρεσβυτέρων. ἀμήν

Lord, remember your servants Thaimon and Ioannes and Ioannes, the priests. Amen.

Comm.: Letter forms are, according to Di Segni, compatible with a date in the later 5 c. AD; she continues p. 172: "l.3 is not aligned with ll.1-2, and the placement of the white tesserae in the space gives the impression that a correction was made here: possibly, the omega was repeated at the beginning of the line, and deleted ... when the mistake was discovered." – l.2: For Thaimon and related names, cf. Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 52ff. – l.3: πρεσβυτέρων may relate to the three names, not only to the last two men named Ioannes.

. =						h
+KEHNHCOHTITOYAJAKONOYCANAUNOCOIKONO						
96	99	36	95	46	88	88
98	88	85	#	46	85	80 80
on on	36	98	98	80	<b>86</b>	86
90	98	ge gp	96	88	ac ac	98
98	90	35	<b>98</b>	90	35	9D 80
90	90	30 0P	80	90 9P	90	30 36
96	98	98	gb.	35	95	86
96	99	98	98	88	86	88
88	ab	88	gg.	98	96	86
86	96	86	영합	렴	88	88
KEMNHCÖHTITÜN ZOYZÜNĞOY BAIMÜN OCK ZIIÜ ZAN OOYKZIIÜ BAN OYTÜN TEECRYTER ÜN ZAHN						

fig. 3758.2

Bibl.: Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity IV 121ff., esp. 125; L. Di Segni, ibid. 171f. no. 3 (dr.) (edd. prr.).

Photo: Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity IV 128 fig. 10 (dr.), 129 fig. 11 (ph.).

#### 3759. Greek mosaic inscription mentioning Deacon Salaon

This text is placed at the western border of the carpet; letters in red. For a drawing of the complete mosaic see no. 3758.

Meas.: w 241 cm; letters 5-10 cm.

Findspot: In the "inscriptions hall" of the "intermediate" building phase; see introduction to nos. 3756-3760 fig. A, no. D.



fig. 3759

#### (cross) ΚΕΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙΤΟΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥΣΑΛΑΩΝΟΣΟΙΚΟΝΟ

κ(ύρι)ε, μνήσθητι τοῦ διακόνου Σαλαῶνος οἰκονό(μου)

Lord, remember the Deacon Salaon, the steward.

Comm.: On Salaon and related names, cf. Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 111, 113; for another example see no. 2988 – and cf. no. 3761 from a site near the present one: [--]αλα[--]. – οἰκονόμος: "who manages the finances of a state, a diocese, a church, a monastery" (Meimaris, Sacred Names 256); here it refers most probably to an office of the parish (or church) in question; priests, archdeacons and deacons are attested as οἰκονόμοι.

Bibl.: Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity IV 121ff., esp. 125; L. Di Segni, ibid., 172f. no. 4 (dr.) (edd. prr.).

Photo: Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity IV 129 fig. 12.

WA

#### 3760. Greek mosaic inscription

Inscription in a tabula ansata, white background, black letters.

Meas.: w: 75 cm (without ansae); letters 4-6.5 cm.

Findspot: The inscription was found in "a small room created beside the narthex, between its northern end and the western wall of the supposed diaconicon" (Di Segni 173); see introduction to nos. 3756-3760 fig. A, no. F; this room belongs to the second phase of the church, i.e. to the 6 c. or even later.

KEMNHΣ∫ΤΩΝΠΡ [..]++EKANT∫KAI [--]



fig. 3760.1

 $\kappa(\acute{v}\rho\imath)$ ε,  $\mu\nu\acute{\eta}\sigma(\theta\eta\tau\imath)$  τῶν  $\pi\rho[[o\sigma]$ ενεκάντ $(\omega\nu)$  καὶ |[--]

Lord, remember the donators and ...

Comm.: l.2: For the spelling without *gamma*, Di Segni quotes SEG 36, 1352 (Kh. Futeis); IGLS 6, 2888 (Baalbek), but see Gignac I 116 who gives examples for the



fig. 3760.2

omission of a medial nasal before a velar stop (e.g. ἀπηνέκατο). Most likely a second participle is missing; cf. e.g. IGLS 21,2, 106 (Belqua): τῶν προσενεγκόντων κ(αὶ) μελλόντων προσενεγκῖν; 135 (Madaba): κ(ὑρι)ε, μνήσθητι καὶ τῶ(ν) [προσενεγκό]ντων καὶ κοπωθέντω(ν) – neither one of which is, of course, a true parallel. A second invocation or a completely different object for μνήσ(θητι) is not impossible though.

Bibl.: Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity IV 121ff., esp. 139; L. Di Segni, ibid., 173 no. 5 (dr.) (edd. prr.).

Photo: Y. Magen, Christians and Christianity IV 144 fig. 43 (ph. and dr.).

WA

#### 3761. Greek mosaic inscription with Christian invocation

The inscription is in a frame made of six rows of tesserae (two white, two black, two white); there are remains of another black frame at the bottom, the lower left and the upper right side of the text. Some small, rather decorative crosses are put into the frame (especially, but not only, below the last line).

Meas.: h 1, w 1 m; letters ca. 3.75-10 cm (according to scale in Y. Magen - Y. Baruch, Christians and Christianity IV 192 fig. 9).

Findspot: An agricultural and industrial complex was discovered at Kh. Abu Rish, 0.5 km northeast of Beit 'Anun, and dated – archaeologically – to ca. 500 AD. Room A has a mosaic floor with the inscription in its center. The content of the inscription seems to indicate a second, religious use of the building (as a monastery or a pilgrimage site? Cf. Magen - Baruch). It was built above a cemetery of the Second Temple period; and it has been said that the mosaic marked the site of a grave (Di Segni).

 $\overline{KE}$ [--]I TO[--]A  $\Lambda$ A[--] (cross)  $\Pi$ PE[--]AN TΩN[--]+POΣΚΥ NOΥΝΤΩΝΕΝΤΩ TΟΠΩΤΟΥΤΩΚΑΙ TΩΝΚΑΡΠΟΦΟ PΟΥΝΤΩΝΕΝΤΩ TΟΠΩΤΟΥΤΩ (cross)



fig. 3761.1

Κ(ύρι)ε [Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)έ, μνήσθητ]ι | το[ῦ δούλου σου --]Α $|\Lambda$ Α[--] | πρε $[\sigma$ β(υτέρου) καὶ  $\pi$ ]άν $[\tau$ ων  $[\tau$ ων σε] προσκυ[νούντων ἐν τ $\tilde{\omega}$   $[\tau$ όπ $\tilde{\omega}$  τούτ $\tilde{\omega}$  καρποφο $[\rho$ ούντων ἐν τ $\tilde{\omega}$   $[\tau$ όπ $\tilde{\omega}$  τούτ $\tilde{\omega}$ 

Lord Jesus Christ, remember your servant ... the priest, and all those who worship you in this place and all those who bring their offerings to this place.

Comm.:1.1: Alternatively, Tzaferis thought of K(ύρι)ε [ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν]. A part of the frame is drawn after the iota at the end of the line. – 1.3: XA Tzaferis, corr. Bingen apud SEG; cf. no. 3759 for Σαλαῶνος. – 1.3f.: [τοῦ] (cross) |πρε[σβ(υτέρου)] edd., but an adjective would be more appropriate (ἐλεεινοῦ, θεοφιλεστάτου, etc.). – 11.5f.: the photograph and the drawing do not match: the photograph shows nothing following the nu, but traces of a pi after the lacuna, whereas the drawing seems to show TΩM, followed perhaps by the lower part of an epsilon. The reading above is based on the photograph and the doxology, e.g. Od. 14,



fig. 3761.2

4ff.: αἰνοῦμέν σε, εὐλογοῦμέν σε, προσκυνοῦμέν σε, δοξολογοῦμέν σε, εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σου δόξαν, κύριε βασιλεῦ. Ev. Barthol. F 1, 6: καὶ προσκυνοῦντάς σε; Origines, Fragm. in Psalm. 79, 19: σὲ προσκυνοῦντες τὸν πατέρα Θεόν, etc. The fact that people worshipping at this place are mentioned expressis verbis suggests the idea of a pilgrimage to this place (Tzaferis; Feissel); cf. Lampe s.v. προσκύνησις 3 j: "of shrines, relics, holy places." But it would be more likely to identify the two groups, one bringing their offerings, the other one offering their prayers, as the community of this church.

Bibl.: V. Tzaferis, Atiqot 32, 1997, 147f. (Hebr.), 47\* (ES); id., SBF 47, 1997, 355ff. (edd. prr.). – SEG 47, 2053; Feissel, Chroniques 237 no. 758; Madden, Corpus 34 no. 34. – Cf. Y. Magen - Y. Baruch,

SBF 47, 1997, 339ff.; S. Gibson, The Cave of John the Baptist, 2004, 118; L. Di Segni, ARAM 18/19, 2006/7, 381ff., fig. 6; Greenberg - Keinan 2009, 129 no. 883; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 187ff., fig. 281,4; Y. Magen - Y. Baruch, Christians and Christianity IV 191f. (ph., dr.).

Photo: V. Tzaferis, SBF 47, 1997, 356 fig. 9 (dr.), pl. 15 ph. 5.

WA

#### 3762.-3763. Tomb A

Two ossuaries were discovered in a two-chambered burial cave 70 m west of the main cluster of tombs at Bethennim. Two chambers each have a separate entrance from a hewn courtyard, and are connected within. The tomb had been exposed and looted ahead of the excavators. The other finds in this cave were from the 2-4 c., but as Di Segni suggested to the editors of SEG, the tomb itself could date to the 1 c., those later finds belonging to a church built on the site; Tomb B from Bethennim is firmly dated to the 1 c. (see introduction to nos. 3764-3765).

# 3762. Ossuary of 'Ami/Ammaidus with Aramaic and Greek inscription, 1 c. CE (?)

Hard limestone ossuary with high gabled lid; the façade of the box is dressed with a ¾ rectangular frame, hanging from the center of which is a raised rectangular panel bearing an Aramaic and Greek inscription, flanked by two six-petaled rosettes; one side of the box has a similar ¾ rectangular frame with concentric raised circles in the middle. The front and corresponding side of the lid are similarly dressed with rectangular and triangular frames, respectively. Meas.: box: h 90, w 82, d 48 cm; letters 3.5 cm (ed. pr.).

עמיבר פרוריה AMMAI ΔΟΣΟ ΦΕΡΩ POΥ



fig. 3762.1

עמי בר | פרוריה Άμμαί|δος ό | Φερώ|ρου

Translit.: 'my br | prwryh

'Ami son of Pheroriya. Ammaidus son of Pheroras.

Comm.: The name עמי 'my reflects the sound of the Greek name; but it could also be עמו 'mw with a vav, a Nabataean name, Negev, Personal Names 52. SEG cites the opinion of Di Segni that Αμμαιδος is the genitive of Aμμαις, which is possible, but the article δ makes that difficult, and note the similar names Άμμάδα, Άμμάδας, Άμ-(μ)αδίκα, Άμμαδίσκος, Άμάδας, Άμάδοκος, Άμάδωκος, as attested in LGPN, and Άμάδοκος in Preisigke, NB 27. The father's name would have been pronounced Pheroriya or Pheroraya. Much later, a פרורוס prwrws who was a comes is mentioned in one of the synagogue inscriptions in Hamat Gader, Naveh, Stone and Mosaic, no. 32, and see Sukenik, Qovetz 3, 1934, 56 (Hebr.). Ilan, Lexicon II 378 and 479 cites two instances of פרורה prwrh in the Jerusalem Talmud. In the inscription the second *resh* looks like a dalet, but these two letters are com-



fig. 3762.2

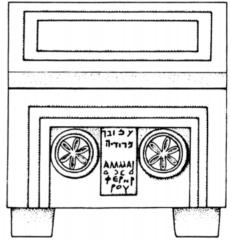


fig. 3762.3

monly confused, and the name would not change significantly. As for Greek Pheroras, Herod's brother is the best-known instance (Jos. BJ 1,181 etc.); the name is rare in Greek. There is an earlier attestation in Maresha, see no. 3631; see also N. Kokkinos, The Herodian Dynasty, 1998, 165.

Bibl.: Y. Magen, Qadmoniot 34, 2001, 53-9 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – SEG 51, 2023A; Y. Magen, Judea and Samaria, 2008, 115-20; Greenberg - Keinan 2009, 129 no. 882.

Photo: Y. Magen, Qadmoniot 34, 2001, 54f. (ph. and dr.).

#### 3763. Ossuary of Dostas with Aramaic inscription, 1 c. CE (?)

Fragments of a hard, red-tinged limestone ossuary, pieced back together; apparently the façade, with a rectangular frame, raised panel in center bearing a three-line Aramaic inscription, flanked by a wreath on the right and concentric circles on the left. Remains of a rounded lid belonging to the same ossuary were also recovered. Meas.: h 51, w 83 cm; letters 3-5 cm (ed. pr.).

דוסת סבר חוניה



דוסת|ס בר | חוניה

fig. 3763.1

Translit.: dwst|s br | hwnyh

Dostas son of Ḥoniya.

Comm.: According to Magen, the looters had broken the ossuary in order to remove the inscription, which was eventually recovered and rejoined to the box when it was pieced together. Dostas is the Greek name  $\Delta\omega\sigma(\theta\epsilon\sigma\varsigma)$ , well attested in ossuaries from Jerusalem and other sources; see CIIP I 332 comm. + 109, 525. The father's name Ḥaniya/Ḥoniya is in the family



fig. 3763.2

of the ophoric names based on  $\Pi$ -n-n "be gracious, favor," popular in antiquity, with many instances among the Jerusalem ossuaries, see CIIP I 68, 137, 457 etc. This Dostas was probably related to 'Ami in no. 3762, even if they had different fathers.

Bibl.: Yardeni, Textbook A 226, B 78 (ed. pr.). – Y. Magen, Qadmoniot 34, 2001, 53-9 (Hebr.); Greenberg - Keinan 2009, 129 no. 882.

Photo: Y. Magen, Qadmoniot 34, 2001 fig. 55a; AY (dr.).

#### 3764.-3765. Tomb B

The tomb consists of two chambers with separate entrances from a central court-yard. One of the chambers, with six loculi, contained most of the finds, ceramic and ossuary fragments, left behind by the thieves who had thoroughly looted the tomb before the excavation. Obviously the tomb originally contained several ossuaries, of which no. 3764, which was pieced together, and the fragment no. 3765 were the only intelligible pieces among the remains. The finds clearly date the tomb to the 1 c. CE.

#### 3764. Ossuary of Selacus with Greek inscription, 1 c. CE

Soft limestone ossuary, the façade decorated crudely with two rows of triangles filled with zigzag lines, separated by a horizontal zigzag band, all inside a zigzag frame. On one side, a zigzag frame surrounding a triangle filled with zigzag lines; across the top of this triangle is a one-line Greek inscription.

Meas.: h 32, w 59, d 23.5 cm; letters 2.5 cm (ed. pr.).

#### ΣΕΛΑΚΟΣ

Σελακος

Selacus.

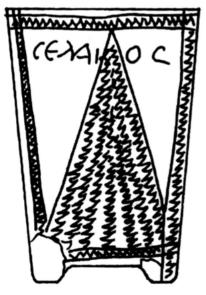


fig. 3764.2



fig. 3764.1

Comm.: The name Selacus seems to have no parallel; it may be a form of Σέλευκος (Ilan, Lexicon I 450).

Bibl.: Y. Magen, Qadmoniot 34, 2001, 53-9 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – SEG 51, 2023B; Y. Magen, Judea and Samaria, 2008, 120, 122; Greenberg - Keinan 2009, 129 no. 882.

Photo: Y. Magen, Qadmoniot 34, 2001, 57 (ph. and dr.).

JJP

## 3765. Ossuary fragment inscribed "Israel," 1 c. CE

Fragment of limestone ossuary with Hebrew inscription.

## ישראל

Translit.: yśr'l

Israel.

SXTER SO

fig. 3765.1

Comm.: As a name, Israel would be unique on an ossuary; the other occurrences are in doubt (CIIP I 42) or irrelevant as parallels (Ilan, Lexicon II 140). The formula אַלום על ישראל šlwm 'l yśr'l would be unique for an ossuary.



fig. 3765.2

Bibl.: Y. Magen, Qadmoniot 34, 2001, 53-9 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – Id., Judea and Samaria, 2008, 123; Greenberg - Keinan 2009, 129 no. 882.

Photo: Y. Magen, Qadmoniot 34, 2001, 57 (ph. and dr.).

JJP

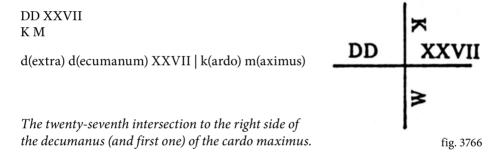
# CXXVIII. Lachish (mod. el-Qubeibe)

## 3766. Boundary stone of Roman centuriation

Flat square stone, "clearly the capstone of a cippus" (ed. pr.). The inscription is known only from a copy of Justus Meyer of Nahariyah.

Meas.: 37x37 cm.

Findspot: Two boundary stones, belonging to the Roman system of centuriation (see commentary below), have been found in Israel: the present one was found in 1942 by Y. Ori in the area of Lachish (today Tell ed-Duweir) "close to the Roman road running northward from Tell Lachish" (ed. pr.), and the other in the same area (grid 1376/1098) before 1981/2 (see no. 3767). Both stones were found "on the east verge ... of a Roman road going north from the Tell" (ed. pr.).



Comm.: The stone indicates the location of a *centuria*, an assigned land unit, whose borders are the twenty-seventh *decumanus* to the right of the *decumanus maximus* and as it seems the first *limes* of the *cardo maximus*; it is not specified, if this *limes* of the *cardo* lay *ultra* or *citra* the *cardo*.

The counting of the *limites* starts at the spot, where the land surveyor put up the *groma*, the instrument for measuring land. The centuriated land extended along the *cardo maximus* for at least ca. 9.4 km, assuming that a *centuria* contained 10 *actus*, which come up to ca. 350 m. However, if a *centuria* contained twenty *actus*, the centuriated land extended for almost 19 km. The latter would mean that "a very considerable area, which included the land near or round Tell Lachish, was divided up by Roman surveying methods" (ed. pr.). This method of measuring a field by such stones was no longer in use after the 3 c. AD. The most likely time for the Roman government to have assigned such a considerable stretch of land in Judaea must have followed the aftermath of the First Jewish Revolt in the 70s AD or of the Bar Kochba revolt after 136 AD. The latter seems more plausible in view of the fact that Lachish is located in the Shephelah where no Jewish settlements are attested for about a century after the Bar Kochba revolt. The *bona vacantia* created by death

or flight of the Jewish population could have been used by the Roman provincial administration for land assignation to veterans like those made in the Peraia (see Eck, Judäa-Syria Palästina 275ff.). Lachish was not far away from the new colonia Aelia Capitolina, whose first citizens were veterans.

Bibl.: S. Applebaum - B. Isaac - Y. Landau, SCI 6, 1981/2, 98-118 at 105ff. no. 16A (ed. pr.). – SEG 32, 1489. – For the method of land surveying and the boundary stones see O. Dilke, The Roman Land Surveyors, 1971, 82ff., 98ff.; B. Campbell, The Writings of the Roman Land Surveyors, 2000, in general and 493.

Photo: S. Applebaum - B. Isaac - Y. Landau, SCI 6, 1981/2, 105 fig. 16A (dr.).

WE

## 3767. Boundary stone of Roman centuriation

A flat square stone, cf. no. 3766, "also divided by two lines bisecting at right angles" (ed. pr.); the surface is quite worn out.

Meas.: 37x37 cm.

Findspot: See no. 3766; the stone was found before 1981/2 (grid 1376/1098).



fig. 3767

Comm.: For the land surveying system see no. 3766. The *decumanus maximus* alone gives no precise location of the assigned area: either the inscription was not finished or the reading is wrong due to the bad state of preservation of the surface.

Bibl.: S. Applebaum - B. Isaac - Y. Landau, SCI 6, 1981/2, 98-118 at 105ff. no. 16B (ed. pr.). – SEG 32, 1489. – For further literature see no. 3766.

Photo: S. Applebaum - B. Isaac - Y. Landau, SCI 6, 1981/2, 105 fig. 16B (dr.).

WE

## 3768. Fragment of an opisthographic Greek funerary(?) inscription

Three adjoining fragments, two lines of letters visible on side (a), three on side (b). The upper edge seems to be the original one, and therefore in both the letters belong to the first line of the inscription.

Pres. loc.: Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte und Archäologie des Mittelalters, University of Tübingen, inv. no. 11056.

(a) [--]ΤΑΘΕ+[--] [--]ΓΕΩΡ[--] (b) [--]ΩΛΙΨΑ[--] [--]ΩΡΟΥ[--] [--]+ΒΑ[--] A[--]

(b) [--]Ω λίψα[νον/-α --|--]ώρου [--|--]+BA[--]

fig. 3768.1 (a)

Comm.: Both texts date to the 4 c. AD or later; it is difficult to decide which one is earlier.

(a) l.1: The trace of a letter at the upper left-hand corner could be an *epsilon* or, e.g., a square *sigma*, or even a square *theta*. – l.2: first letter *tau*? Most likely something like in CIIP III 2480 (Gaza): σῆμα καταθέσεως σόματ(ος) τῆς τοῦ Χρ[ι]στοῦ δούλης 'Αναστασίας (there with parallels from Nessana and Beersheba); the name of the dead in the present inscription is perhaps Γεωρ[γίου]? The word κατατεθῆναι is barely used in Palestine.



fig. 3768.2 (b)

(b) l.1: For  $\lambda\epsilon$ i $\psi$ avov see CIIP I 1009, III 2484; it was most often, but not exclusively used for relics. – l.2: evidently the rest of a name in the genitive. – l.3: first letter probably sigma.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: H. Bloedhorn.

# CXXIX. Mamre (mod. Ramet el-Khalil)

#### Introduction

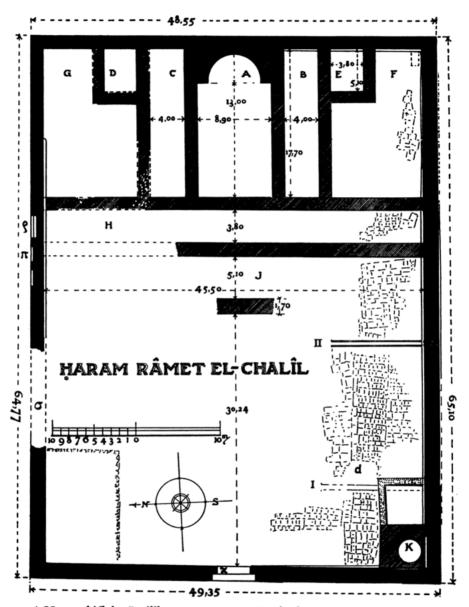
For general introduction see Hebron.

## **Inscriptions**

## 3769.-3788. Haram Râmet el-Halîl

The precinct of the Haram was erected at the place where tradition located the oak or terebinth where Abraham set up an altar and in the shadow of which he hosted the three visitors (Gen 13,18; 18,1-22). The site was first excavated by A. Mader in 1926-28. His two-volume excavation report was published posthumously in 1957. Excavations were resumed in 1984-86 by Y. Magen. The walls of the rectangular enclosure of ca. 65x50 m were built of huge ashlars, up to 1.10 m high, 5.35 m long and 0.90 m wide, carefully worked and installed (see fig. A and extensive plans and vertical sections in Mader). In the southwestern corner there is a well. At the center were found remains of foundations of a big altar. The resemblance of the construction of the walls of the temenos to that of the Herodian Temple in Jerusalem and the sanctuary in Hebron suggests that they were erected at the time of Herod. After the First Jewish Revolt the precinct was used for pagan rites. Eusebius (Vita Constantini 3,52f.) tells us that Constantine ordered to purify the place from the idolatrous items of these cults and built a church there. Indeed a church of basilical style was revealed in the eastern part of the enclosure, in line with the east-west middle axis of the Haram. The church seems to have been used until the Crusader period; its apse, however, which joins the eastern wall of the enclosure possibly predates the church. The site also produced a considerable number of finds from the Roman and Byzantine periods, inter alia the head of a statue of Dionysus, a Hermes-Mercurius stele, a lion's head from a statue of Hercules and architectural fragments. Around the foundations of the altar large quantities of offerings were found: little bells of metal, ear and finger rings as well as bones of sacrificed animals. The well was also used for offerings as is shown by the considerable number of pottery, lamps and coins found in the debris and mud at the bottom of its shaft.

Bibl.: Mader, Mambre; Keel - Küchler 696-713; Y. Magen, NEAEHL 3, 1993, 939-42; D. Jericke, Abraham in Mamre, 2003, 35-48; NEAEHL 5, 2008, 2102 (with additional bibliography).



A Hauptschiff der Basilika.

B und C Seitenschiffe.

D und E Prothesis und Diakonikon.

H Narthex.

J Fundamentreste des Abrahams-Altares.

K Abrahams-Brunnen.

I und II arabische Kanäle aus dem

15. Jahrhundert.

Zeichnung von Gisler.

[Textband Seite 112]

fig. 3769.A Ground plan Mader, Mambre, Tafeln, fig. 37

#### 3769. Altar with Greek letters

Small altar, decorated on the front, right and left sides with two concentric rosettes. Greek letters at the front of the base. The other sides of the base are smooth (Mader), but the photograph gives the impression that the right and left sides of the base are not preserved.

Meas.: h 21, w 15 (bottom), 10 cm (top).

Findspot: Between the foundations of the Constantinian church, together with other pagan objects. Constantine's order for a demolition of pagan cults seems to have been followed.

Pres. loc.: Formerly Museum of Dormition Abbey, Jerusalem, sold to an unknown buyer, traces now lost.

## [--]KOΣ

Comm.: Three enigmatic letters – Patrich suggested the Edomite deity Qôs (Coza in Latin), on which see Vriezen; Knauf. There is no reason to assume an inscription running along the sides of the altar base, like  $\dot{\epsilon}\pi\eta|\kappa\delta\omega|$  ..., but kappa is not necessarily the first letter of the text.

Bibl.: Mader, Mambre 137 no. 6 (ed. pr.). – K. Vriezen, Oudtestamentische Studien 14, 1965, 330ff.; J. Patrich, Cathedra 26, 1982, 79 (Hebr.); E. Knauf, in: K. van der Toorn - P. van der Horst - B. Becking eds., Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible, 1995, 674ff.

Photo: Mader, Mambre, pl. 76 fig. 141.



fig. 3769

WA

#### 3770. Fragments of a Latin inscription

Six fragments of plaques of white marble, two of them fitting together (a). "Die sechs lateinischen ... Inschriftenfragmente gehörten wohl ein und derselben Inschrift an, schließen aber nicht unmittelbar aneinander. Charakteristisch sind überall die hochgezogenen und merkwürdig gestelzten Buchstaben, deren Vertikalhasten unten und oben keilförmig eingehauen sind. ... Obgleich die Buchstaben

zwischen noch klar erkenntlichen Hilfslinien stehen, sind sie doch nicht überall gleich hoch. ... Der Marmor ist überall der gleiche" (ed. pr.).

Meas.: (a) h 11.5, w 12.2 cm; (b) h 7.6, w 14.1 cm; (c) h 8.3, w 15 cm (according to scale on Mader's photograph).

Findspot: Scattered in the debris between the foundations of Constantine's basilica together with two fragments of a Greek inscription (see no. 3771).

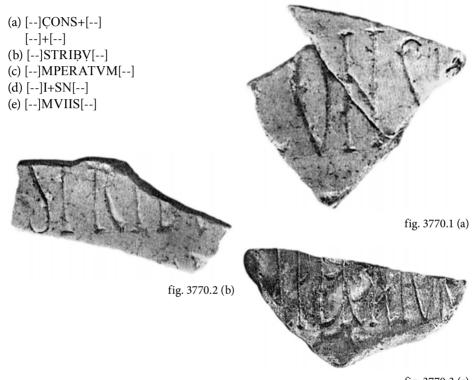


fig. 3770.3 (c)

Comm.: The fragments do not join. Therefore it is difficult and unsafe to draw conclusions from the few letters preserved on them. In (a) one is tempted to read something like *consul/consularis* or *consultum*, in (b) *tribunus*, in (c) *imperatum*. Whereas the first two fragments may point to an administrative-public context, the word *imperatum* in (c) is sometimes attested in dedications to divinities. The inscription may have commemorated an act of the provicial government in a religious context, as also the Latin language seems to suggest.

Bibl.: Mader, Mambre 138f. (ed. pr.).

Photo: Mader, Mambre, pl. 77 fig. 142.

## 3771. Marble fragments with Greek inscription

Two fragments of white marble; the form of the letters as well as that of the stones makes it very probable that the fragments belonged to the same inscription.

Findspot: Inside the foundations of the Constantinian church.

(a)  $[--]OI\Sigma I+[--]$   $[--]+\Sigma I \cdot \Pi I+[--]$ (b)  $[--]OI\Pi O[--]$ [--]+NT O[--]



fig. 3771 (a)

Comm.: Mader dates the letters to the early 2 c. AD. – Even though the two pieces belong together, it is improbable that they have touched each other as Mader's original montage implies (see Mader, pl. 77 fig. 142). There may be traces of an *alpha* or *lambda* as the first letter in (b) l.2, but it is almost impossible to align these traces in a way that fits (a) l.2. – (a) l.2: Word divisor after *iota*. Last letter *alpha* or *lambda*? Were it possible to decide that the two stones fit together, one could read  $\pi \alpha [\nu \tau \delta \varsigma]$ . – (b) l.1: most likely  $[\lambda] o \iota \pi \delta [\nu]$  vel sim. – l.2:  $[\pi] \alpha \nu \tau \delta [\varsigma]$  is still possible.



fig. 3771 (b)

Bibl.: Mader, Mambre 138f. (ed. pr.).

Photo: Mader, Mambre, pl. 77 fig. 142.

WA

## 3772. Greek invocation by Paregorius

Two ashlar stones (gap indicated with:  $|\cdot|$ ); sketch of their profile at Mader, Zeichnung 92. Mader gives a precise description of the letters and sees an inexperienced letter cutter at work. Both stones are very worn and were handled roughly at the edges. Meas.: h 0.55, w >1 m; letters 12-17 cm.

Findspot: Eastern wall; see introduction to nos. 3769-3788 fig. A. The two stones belonged to the Constantinian basilica, were later used in the Arab tower built on the church's apse, and are now used in the supporting wall in front of the Apsis.

[.]EO $\Theta\Sigma$ [.]|OH $\Theta$ H $\Sigma$ O[.] ΠΑΡΗ[..]|ΡΙΩΤΩ ΔΟΥΛΩ|ΣΟΥ



fig. 3772.1

[κ(ύρι)]ε ὁ θ(εό)ς, [β]οήθησο[ν] | Παρη[γο]ρίω τῷ | δούλω σου

Lord God, help your servant Paregorius.

Comm.: Mostly dated to the 6 c. AD, but Mader, Mambre insists that some of the "late" letter forms are due to the mason's inexperience; he uses a *delta* and a *lambda* typical of the 4 c. and 5 c. AD. – l.1: OH $\Theta$ H $\Omega$ .



fig. 3772.2

i.e.  $[\beta]$ οήθη  $\Omega$  Germer-Durand, Mader 1918 (and abbreviated praenomen, like Hosea);  $+\Theta++\Sigma I$  OHΘH $\Sigma+$ , i.e.  $\theta$ εὸς  $(\beta)$ οηθήσι Dalman; corr. Alt; the last nu may have stood on the neighboring stone (Alt). – l.2:  $\Pi$ AP+[.]+ $\Pi$ Ω,  $\Pi$ αρ $(\theta$ εν)ί $\omega$  Dalman; "perhaps a Jew," Applebaum, but  $\Pi$ αρηγόριος fits the times rather than implies a specific religion.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, EO 3, 1900, 142f. (ed. pr.). – G. Dalman, PJb 2, 1906, 51; A. Mader, Altchristliche Basiliken und Lokaltraditionen in Südjudäa, 1918, 89; A. Alt, ZDPV 47, 1924, 96f. no. 6; H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1925, 1696f.; SEG 8, 241; Mader, Mambre 132, 139ff. no. 2; Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 72 pl. 13; id., Judaea 74 pl. 13,2. - Cf. S. Applebaum, EAEHL 3, 1977, 778; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 178f.

Photo: Mader, Mambre pl. 78 fig. 143; H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1925, 1497 (dr.).

## 3773. Greek names (?) on an ashlar

Ashlar; inscription scratched into the already worn block, later scraped off. Meas.: h 90, w 55 cm; letters 20 cm.

Findspot: In the debris in the church's choir.

 $\begin{array}{l} \Delta \; (\text{cross}) \; \Sigma ENI\Omega[\text{--}] \\ XP\Upsilon\Sigma O\Phi\Delta[\text{--}] \end{array}$ 

Comm.: Mader assumed the lines to have continued on another block attached on the right-hand side of this one. – Mader toyed with Arsenius and Christophorus, which is accepted by Bagatti. But Mader himself made the serious objection that the second "letter" in l.1 is really a cross; and at the end of l.2 the *delta* is quite clear;  $X\rho u\sigma o \phi \acute{\alpha} v \eta \varsigma$  is rather rare (TAM 5,2, 1203).

Bibl.: Mader, Mambre 142 no. 3 (ed. pr.). – Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 72; id., Judaea 74.

Photo: Mader, Mambre, pl. 78 fig. 144.



fig. 3773

WA

#### 3774. Greek ashlar with name "Demas"

Meas.: h 63, w 44 cm; letters 5 cm.

Findspot: Perhaps the same spot as no. 3773, but not specifically recorded.

ΔΗΜΑΣ

Δημᾶς

Demas.

Comm.: Mader points out that this is not a continuation of no. 3773. – For Demas as a Christian name, see Philem. 24; Col 4,15; 2 Tim 4,10.

Bibl.: Mader, Mambre 142 no. 3 (ed. pr.). - Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 72; id., Judaea 74.

WA

#### 3775. Greek invocation

Findspot: On the "Hadrianic" eastern wall; see introduction to nos. 3769-3788 fig. A; found on the third and fourth stones of the second row from the top. Traces of plaster can still be seen in some places; this plaster was applied only after the inscriptions were cut into the stones. Mader believes the plaster to be part of a renovation by Modestus of Jerusalem, thereby giving a terminus ante quem of ca. 630 AD for the inscriptions. It is not impossible that at least some of the stones had already been inscribed when put into this wall (cf. no. 3778). Three large crosses below the inscription. The photograph fig. 2 shows nos. 3775 (2), 3776 (4), 3777 (1), 3778 (3).

## $KE\Sigma\Omega\SigmaO[.]TON\DeltaO\Upsilon[--]$

κ(ύρι)ε, σῶσο[ν] τὸν δοῦ[λόν σου --]

Lord, save your servant ...



fig. 3775.1

Comm.: For an invocation to save somebody (σῶζε etc.), Mader quotes H. Grégoire, Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Asie mineure, 1922 nos. 116, 253, 283 and CIIP I 764. It is, of course, quite common.



fig. 3775.2

Bibl.: Mader, Mambre 142 no. 4a (ed. pr.).

Photo: Mader, Mambre, pl. 79 fig. 145 and pl. 45 fig. 81.

## 3776. Undecipherable Greek inscription, an invocation (?)

Findspot: Cf. no. 3775. Mader 143: "Auf der fünften, sechsten und siebten Quader derselben Schicht [scil. of the same row to which no. 3775 belonged] steht eine Inschrift in kleineren Buchstaben, aus denen nur zu erkennen ist, daß es sich um eine ähnliche Invokation handelt. Übrigens gehören die Inschriftenreste auf den drei Quadern vielleicht nicht einmal zusammen; denn die erste Linie der sechsten Quader steht auffallend höher als diejenige der fünften und siebten." (See fig. 2 in no. 3775)

Bibl.: Mader, Mambre 142f. no. 4b.

WA

## 3777. "One God" written in Greek on an ashlar

Findspot: Cf. no. 3775 and fig. 2 there; the tenth stone of the third row from above.

#### ΕΙΣΘΕΟΣ

[--]

εἷς θεός, [--]

One God, ...

Bibl.: Mader, Mambre 142ff. no. 4c (ed. pr.).

WA

#### 3778. Greek letters on stone block

Findspot: Cf. no. 3775 with fig. 2 there. The eleventh stone of the third row from above, below no. 3775 and to the right of no. 3777 (on the lower block on the right in the fig. here).

#### ΙΩΡΤ

Comm.: Mader thinks that the letters had to continue on another stone, with the implication that the



fig. 3778

stone was inscribed before it had been inserted into the wall. A name like Ίωρτή, Γωρτάσιος (or [Ε]ίωρτ[ή] etc.)?

Bibl.: Mader, Mambre 142ff. no. 4d (ed. pr.).

Photo: Mader, Mambre, pl. 79 fig. 145.

WA

#### 3779. Greek letter on stone block

Findspot: North wall; see introduction to nos. 3769-3788 fig. A; a Byzantine cross in the middle of an Herodian cornice; to the right of it the rough sketch of a tree. The letter between cross and tree.

(cross) B (tree)

Bibl.: Mader, Mambre 144f. no. 5a (ed. pr.).

Photo: Mader, Mambre, pl. 80 fig. 147.



fig. 3779

WA

## 3780. Undecipherable inscription

Findspot: North wall; see introduction to nos. 3769-3788 fig. A; 4 m to the east of no. 3779, in the same row.

"Inschrift, von der kaum ein Buchstabe sicher zu lesen ist" (Mader).

Bibl.: Mader, Mambre 144f. no. 5b.

WA

## 3781. Undecipherable inscription

Findspot: North wall; see introduction to nos. 3769-3788 fig. A; 6.5 m to the east of no. 3780, in the same row.

"Mehrere Buchstaben einer Inschrift ... ohne jedoch einen Sinn zu ergeben" (Mader).

Bibl.: Mader, Mambre 144f. no. 5b.

#### 3782. Greek invocation

Three-line inscription; the two letters in the first line are much larger than in the rest (reported by Mader but not recognizable on the photograph).

Findspot: North wall; see introduction to nos. 3769-3788 fig. A; in the same row as no. 3779; fifth stone from the east.

OΘ ΚΕΕΣΤ[--] ΘΕΟ[--]



fig. 3782

 $ΟΘ \mid κ(ύρι)ε, ἔστ[ω --] \mid θεό[ς --]$ 

... Lord, be ... God ...

Comm.: The three lines are not necessarily connected.

Bibl.: Mader, Mambre 144f. no. 5c (ed. pr.).

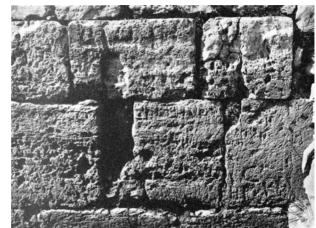
Photo: Mader, Mambre, pl. 80 fig. 148.

WA

#### 3783. Greek letters on stone block

Findspot: North wall; see introduction to nos. 3769-3788 fig. A; "am oberen Rand der mittleren Quader der oberen Schicht in L(ichtbild) 149 [i.e. the one reproduced here]" (Mader).

 $O\Omega\Sigma$ 



Bibl.: Mader, Mambre 144f. no. 5d (ed. pr.).

Photo: Mader, Mambre, pl. 81 fig. 149.

fig. 3783

WA

## 3784. Greek inscription on stone block

Findspot: North wall; see introduction to nos. 3769-3788 fig. A; "am oberen Rand der mittleren Quader der unteren Schicht" (Mader). For photograph see no. 3783.

ΘΕΟΣ

θεός

God.

Bibl.: Mader, Mambre 144f. no. 5d (ed. pr.).

WA

## 3785. Greek letters on stone block

Findspot: North wall; see introduction to nos. 3769-3788 fig. A, below no. 3784 on the same block. For photograph see no. 3783.

"Weiter unten ... noch einige Buchstabenreste ..., die nicht sicher deutbar sind" (Mader).

Comm.: Mader speculates that these letters could be the beginning of no. 3786.

Bibl.: Mader, Mambre 144f. no. 5d.

#### 3786. Name "Marcianus" in Greek on stone block

Findspot: North wall; see introduction to nos. 3769-3788 fig. A, on the block to the right of nos. 3784 and 3785. For photograph see no. 3783.

[--] ΜΑΡ[.]ΙΑΝΟ[.] [--]| Μαρ[ϰ]ιανό[ς]

... Marcianus.

Comm.: Perhaps the continuation of the illegible letters of no. 3785 (Mader).

Bibl.: Mader, Mambre 144f. no. 5d (ed. pr.).

WA

#### 3787. Greek acclamation to the One God

Findspot: Below no. 3786, on the same block. For photograph see no. 3783.

+ΙΣ ΘΣΚΑΙ [--] εἶς | θ(εὸ)ς καὶ [--]

One God and ...

Comm.: l.1: The first letter was on the block of stone to the left. l.2: most likely εἶς |  $\theta(\epsilon\delta)$ ς καὶ [ $\delta$  Χριστὸς αὐτοῦ], even though this formula is more common in Syria, cf. Peterson 1: "in der christlichen Epigraphik Syriens durchaus nicht selten" – with a large number of examples following. The only other attestation in Palestine seems to be CIIP I 976a. Some minor variants of this formula are, of course, possible.

Bibl.: Mader, Mambre 144f. no. 5d (ed. pr.).

#### 3788. Fragmentary Greek inscription(s) on ashlars

Three weather-worn stones; one of them "in a sort of recess close to the southwest corner" (Hanauer), two projecting stones to the east. Inscription (a) appears on the left block, (b) on the narrow central block and (c) on the right block in recess.

Findspot: Southern wall, above the well in the southwestern corner; see introduction to nos. 3769-3788 fig. A. The inscription was cut after the stone was set in its place (Flinders Petrie relating to [b]); differently, but without autopsy Rendel Harris.

- (a) XANE
- (b)  $\Delta$ OMNA $\Sigma$   $\Delta$ HMETH
- (c) EKN



fig. 3788.1 (a) and (b)



fig. 3788.2 (a)

fig. 3788.3 (b)

fig. 3788.4 (c)

Comm.: (a)  $\partial v \acute{\epsilon} [\theta \eta \varkappa \epsilon v]$  Rendel Harris, who tries to find Julia Domna and her children (see text [c] [ $\tau$ ]  $\varepsilon \varkappa v$ [--]) on these stones. Mader remarks: "Eine Menge anderer, teilweise etwas kleinerer Buchstaben sind über die ganze Quader zerstreut, von denen auf dem Lichtbild [i.e. the one reproduced here] weiter links von ANE ein C und ein P, darüber ein O erkenntlich sind." – (b)  $\Delta OMNA|\Delta H+O$  Hanauer,  $\Delta OMNA\Sigma|\Delta HMETH$  (with tau and eta in ligature) Flinders Petrie, who understood: Domna, daughter of Demetrius;  $\Delta OMNA|\Delta HMO[\Sigma ?]$  Mader. – (c) First letter might have been beta. Cf. Flinders Petrie: "There are traces of a second inscription on a block by the side of Domna's: this is BY ... IC." He adds that this inscription was among the ones reported by Hanauer; it appears to be (c) rather than (a).

Bibl.: J. Hanauer, PEQ 21, 1889, 185f. (ed. pr.). – W. Flinders Petrie, PEQ 22, 1890, 242f.; Mader, Mambre 145f. no. 6. – Cf. J. Rendel Harris, Some Interesting Syrian and Palestinian Inscriptions, 1891, 17, 19ff. no. 3 (using Hanauer's text).

Photo: Mader, Mambre, pl. 81 fig. 150; J. Hanauer, PEQ 21, 1889, 186 (dr.).

# CXXX. Tell el-Hesi

## 3789. Greek graffito

Either "a rude lampstand with a few letters scrateched across its base, but out of the centre" (Bliss) or a "Table of Oblations" (Macalister).

Findspot: "Near the foundations" (Bliss, cf. plan, p. 287).

ΑΡΗΕΒΛΡ



fig. 3789

Comm.: Macalister notes that the horizontal stroke at the foot of the last letter is not part of the inscription, "but the loop at the head, whatever it may signify, seems intentional."

Bibl.: F. Bliss, PEQ 20, 1891, 289 (ed. pr.). – R. Macalister, PEQ 36, 1904, 402 no. 2; BE 1906 p. 52.

Photo: R. Macalister, PEQ 36, 1904, 402 (dr.).

WA

## CXXXI. Kh. en-Nakieh

## 3790. Greek letter alpha carved on a wall of a cave

"In the northern wall of the cave, above a square recess (0.55x1.20x1.40 m) – a worn carving of a circle (diam. 0.55 m) circumscribing a cross and next to it a carving of the Greek letter  $\alpha$  (*alpha*)" (Dagan). No photograph was provided.

Findspot: In a rock-hewn cave. Amongst the building remains of an ancient settlement are located two rock-hewn caves with entrances at the south. The graffito was found in the southern cave (4.3x6.0 m) that holds 44 columbarium niches. Pres. loc.: In situ.

#### Α

Comm.: The cross in a circle suggests a Christian context. Since the combination of a cross with the letters *alpha* (beginning) and *omega* (end) is a common Christian graphical representation, one may suggest that the *alpha* was once followed by an *omega* now lost due to the poor state of preservation of the carving.

Bibl.: Dagan, Survey 1, 213\*f. no. 288 (ed. pr.).

EDD

# CXXXII. H. Qazra

#### 3791.-3805. Burial cave

To the south of the archaeological installations there is a large underground burial complex, dating to the 1-2 c. AD. In later times, most probably in the 5-6 c. AD it was converted into a Christian (underground) chapel. One of the inner chambers was enlarged "to form a small hall with a carved chancel screen ... the finds from the chapel, mainly the oil lamps, indicated that it was in use between the seventh and ninth centuries. The numerous Arabic inscriptions provide a vivid example of the penetration of the Arabic language into the Christian communities of Palestine" (Avni 252). The chapel was abandoned in the 10-11 c. AD. "Several inscriptions in Greek, Arabic and Syriac adorn the walls ... as well as many crosses" (Di Segni - Patrich 31\*); most of the inscriptions are from the 7 c. and later centuries;

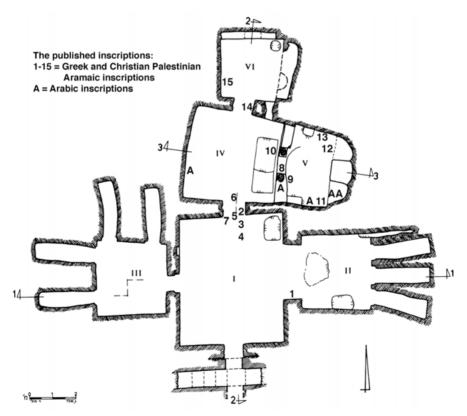


fig. 3791.A Ground plan, A. Kloner, Atiqot 10, 1990, 130

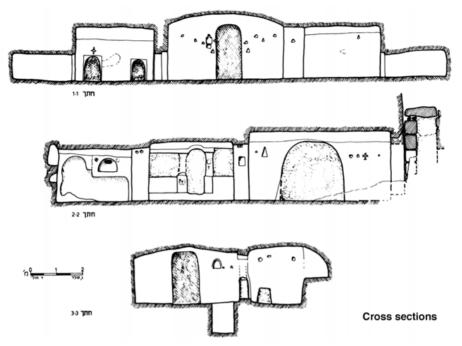


fig. 3791.B Cross sections, A. Kloner, Atiqot 10, 1990, 130

they are not easily legible, and some may be deciphered in times to come. For the positions of the edited inscriptions cf. fig. A.

Bibl.: A. Kloner, Atiqot 10, 1990, 129ff. (Hebr.); L. Di Segni - J. Patrich, ibid. 141-54 (Hebr.), 31\*-5\* (ES); L. Di Segni, in: H. Cotton - R. Hoyland - J. Price - D. Wasserstein eds., From Hellenism to Islam, 2009, 366; G. Avni, The Byzantine-Islamic Transition in Palestine, 2014, 251f., 289.

# 3791. Greek graffito

Findspot: Passageway between Rooms 1 and 2; see introduction to nos. 3791-3805 fig. A, no. 1.

Pres. loc.: In situ. Autopsy: June 2014 (WE).

NHE (cross)  $KPI\Upsilon\Phi\Upsilon$ 



fig. 3791.1

Comm.: ν(η) εκρι(κρ) ύφι(ον) = νεκρικρύφιον (hapax legomenon), Di Segni - Patrich, but see SEG: "the reading is utterly uncertain, Bingen, who wonders whether there are one or two more letters initio." *phi* is uncertain and looks rather like a *psi* in the photograph.



fig. 3791.2

Bibl.: L. Di Segni - J. Patrich, Atiqot 10, 1990, 141 (Hebr.), 31\* no. 1 (ed. pr.). – SEG 40, 1450.

Photo: L. Di Segni - J. Patrich, Atiqot 10, 1990, 141 fig. 1 (ph. and dr.).

WA

#### 3792. Invocation on behalf of Zacharias

Inscription in a tabula ansata; there are many crosses incised around the inscription and in between letters; some of them are surely the work of later visitors to the chapel. Fig. 1 below shows above the tabula ansata no. 3793 and to the left and below the tabula ansata no. 3794.

Findspot: Above the arched passageway from the entrance hall (1) to the chapel (4); see introduction to nos. 3791-3805 fig. A, no. 2.

Pres. loc.: In situ. Autopsy: June 2014 (WE).



fig. 3792.1

(cross) ΑΓΙΑΣΑΛΩΜΗΕΛΕ (cross) ΗΣΟΝΖΑΧΑΡΙΑΝΥΥ ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟ(cross)ΥΑΜΗΝ άγία Σαλώμη, ἐλέ|ησον Ζαχαρίαν ΥΥ | Κυρίλλου. ἀμήν

Holy Salome, have mercy on Zacharias, son of Cyrillus. Amen.

Comm.: Di Segni - Patrich think that this was - despite the efforts put into it - not the work of a professional. Salome was one of the women present by Jesus' grave (Mk 15,40; 16,1); this gave rise to a large apocryphal tradition (e.g. Orig. c. Cels. 5,62; EvThom 61; 1 Apc-

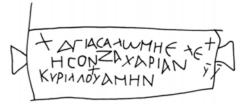


fig. 3792.2

Jac 40,25f.). Furthermore, she is mentioned in the so-called secret gospel of Marc (2), in the Pistis Sophia (c. 54; 58; 132; 145) and in the Greek gospel of the Egyptians (Clem. Alex., Strom. 3,6,45; 9,63ff.; 13,92; Excerpta Theodoti 67). Epiphanius mentions a sister of Jesus with this name (an offspring of Joseph's first marriage), Pan. 78,8,1; 9,6. Lastly, there is the midwife of the Protevangelium Jacobi 18-20 (see Luther on the different Salomes). Most probably the first Salome was meant (and some of them were sometimes conflated). – 1.2: The name Zacharias may derive from the prophet, but this is also the name of John the Baptist's father. –  $\upsilon(io)\widetilde{\upsilon}$  Di Segni - Patrich; cf. on this abbreviation (and its very late occurrence) no. 2655. Bingen, apud SEG, had doubts about this (as well as about the genitive).

Bibl.: L. Di Segni - J. Patrich, Atiqot 10, 1990, 141ff. (Hebr.), 31\* no. 2a (ed. pr.). – SEG 40, 1451a. – Cf. Dagan, Survey 1, 240\*; S. Luther, www.bibelwissenschaft.de/stichwort/53939/ (viewed: 2.3.2017); L. Di Segni, in: B. Bitton-Ashkelony - D. Krueger eds., Prayer and Worship in Eastern Christianities, 2017, 64 (on the religious graffiti in this cave in general).

Photo: L. Di Segni - J. Patrich, Atiqot 10, 1990, 142 (dr.) and fig. 2 (ph.).

WA

# 3793. Greek invocation on behalf of Cyrillus

Findspot: Above the tabula ansata of no. 3792; see introduction to nos. 3791-3805 fig. A, no. 3.

Pres. loc.: In situ. Autopsy: June 2014 (WE).



fig. 3793.1

(staurogram) KYPIE[--]  $TONA\Delta E\Lambda\Phi O\Sigma [...]I\Lambda\Lambda O\Sigma \mbox{ (cross)}$ 

κύριε, [ἐλέησον] | τὸν ἀδελφὸς [Κύρ?]ιλλος

Lord, have mercy on Brother Cyrillus(?).

Comm.: The beginning and the end of the inscription are marked by the staurogram and the cross. l.1: The first letter looks like a ligature of *kappa* and *epsi*-

PKYPIE INDEMOC INDOCT

fig. 3793.2

lon; the last letter looks like an alpha, corrected into an epsilon (or vice versa: κυρία is not necessarily excluded). – l.2: A gap between sigma and iota, and above the gap the letter eta; this could belong to an [ἐλέ]η[σον], but Di Segni - Patrich do not print this. The reading of the second line is problematic (WE). Some other inscriptions of this cave have the article in the correct case followed by a nominative. On Cyrillus cf. perhaps no. 3792.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni - J. Patrich, Atiqot 10, 1990, 143 (Hebr.), 31\*f. no. 2b (ed. pr.). – SEG 40, 1451b. Photo: L. Di Segni - J. Patrich, Atiqot 10, 1990, 143 (dr.), 144 fig. 3 (ph.).

WA

## 3794. Greek graffito with the name of the chapel

Findspot: l.1 to the left of the tabula of no. 3792 and written perpendicular to it, l.2 below the frame of the tabula and in the same direction as no. 3792; see introduction to nos. 3791-3805 fig. A, no. 4.

Pres. loc.: In situ. Autopsy: June 2014 (WE).



fig. 3794.1

## ΙΕΡΟΝΤΙΣ ΑΓΙΑΣΑΛΩΜΗ

ίερὸν τῖς | ἁγία Σαλώμη

Chapel of St. Salome.



fig. 3794.2

Comm.: l.1: The first letter is formed like a cross. – l.2: The name is not in the genitive case (cf. no. 3796). On St. Salome, cf. no. 3792.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni - J. Patrich, Atiqot 10, 1990, 143-7 (Hebr.), 32\*f. no. 3 (ed. pr.). – SEG 40, 1452; Dagan, Survey 1, 240\*.

Photo: L. Di Segni - J. Patrich, Atiqot 10, 1990, 143 (dr.), 144 fig. 3 (ph.).

WA

## 3795. Greek graffito

## Cross with letters.

Findspot: A bit to the left of the lower left corner of the tabula ansata with no. 3792 and oriented perpendicular to it (ed. pr. erroneously reported it to be located near no. 3802 and the ground plan in A. Kloner, Atiqot 10, 1990, 137 shows it to be in the northeastern corner of Room 6); see introduction to nos. 3791-3805 fig. A, no. 5. Pres. loc.: In situ. Autopsy: June 2014 (WE).



MHX MHX

fig. 3795.2

fig. 3795.1

Comm.:  $\mu[\nu]\dot{\eta}\mu\eta$  M $\alpha$ [--] Di Segni - Patrich, but their drawing doesn't seem to match entirely what can been seen on the photograph. – l.1: after the vertical

stroke a large *eta*, *mu* or *nu*? l.2: first letter *mu* seems doubtful; after *eta* remains of another letter; behind the stroke a rounded letter – *omicron* or cursive *alpha* (?) – and another hasta? l.3: second letter an imperfectly executed *epsilon* or *eta* rather than *alpha*?

Bibl.: L. Di Segni - J. Patrich, Atiqot 10, 1990, 152 (Hebr.), 35\* no. 9 (ed. pr.). – SEG 40, 1458.

Photo: WE; L. Di Segni - J. Patrich, Atiqot 10, 1990, 152 (dr.).



fig. 3795.3

WA

## 3796. Greek graffito by a deacon

Findspot: "Engraved on the soffit of the ... passageway ... from the entrance hall (I) ... into the chapel (IV)" (ed. pr.); see introduction to nos. 3791-3805 fig. A, no. 6. Pres. loc.: In situ. Autopsy: June 2014 (WE).



fig. 3796.1

## (cross) ΑΜΒΑΣΑΓΑΠΗΣΟΑΜΑΤΟΛΟΣ ΔΗΑΚΟΝΤΗΣΑΓΗΑΣΑΛΟΜΗ+++

ἀμβᾶς ἀγάπης ὁ ἁματολός, | δηακὸν τῆς ἁγήα Σαλώμη +++

Father(?) Agapis, the sinner, deacon of the holy Salome ...

Comm.: l.1: ἀμβᾶς=ἀββᾶς, Άγά- $\pi\eta$ ς='Αγά $\pi$ ιος Di Segni - Patrich. On the omission of a nasal before a stop, cf. Gignac I 108. – l.2: τῆς ἀγήα<ς> Σαλώμη<ς>

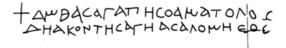


fig. 3796.2

EOΣ=ἔθη( $\kappa \varepsilon$ ) Di Segni - Patrich, but cf. no. 3794 on the absence of the genitive; the last three letters are problematic; WE reads: "OΓ/ $\Lambda$ OΣ?" – "As the founder or

principal benefactor of the church was Zacharias, we may conclude that what the deacon 'set up' ... was not the chapel he was entrusted with, but the memorial inscription itself, or perhaps some sacred object located near the entrance," Di Segni - Patrich. Apart from the questionable  $\xi\theta\eta(\kappa\epsilon)$  "set up," it is not clear from no. 3792 that Zacharias was a benefactor.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni - J. Patrich, Atiqot 10, 1990, 148 (Hebr.), 33f.\* no. 4 (ed. pr.). – SEG 40, 1453; Dagan, Survey 1, 240\*.

Photo: L. Di Segni - J. Patrich, Atiqot 10, 1990, 148 fig. 4 (ph. and dr.).

WA

## 3797. Christian Palestinian Aramaic inscription mentioning St. Salome

Christian Palestinian Aramaic inscription of two lines in a tabula ansata. In addition to the lateral borders, ansae are also indicated in the middle of the top and bottom borders.

Meas.: w 20 cm.

Findspot: On the left wall of the passage from Room 1 to Room 4; see introduction to nos. 3791-3805 fig. A, no. 7.

Pres. loc.: In situ. Autopsy: 6 June 2014 (WE).

[.]\*o~[.-]

[,]zoz [--] | ci, aoct

Translit.: [y]šw<sup>°</sup> [--] | mry swml

Jesus ..., Saint Salome.



fig. 3797

Comm.: The inscription is set in a tabula ansata and comprises two short lines. The first letter of the first word is missing, but the following <code>šw</code> make it almost certain that we should read Yešū'/Jesus. The following letters are too unclear to hazard a reading, but more than likely spell out either an epithet for Jesus or the second half of a double-barrelled name in the east Syrian style, such as Yešū'denaḥ ("Jesus is manifest") or Yešū'yahb ("Jesus gives"). The first word of the second line is the honorific <code>mry</code> (the hook above the <code>resh</code> is in place of the usual dot), used to address holy persons. The following three letters, <code>swm</code>, are very clear; then there is a very long stroke, which could be a <code>lamed</code> or an extraneous mark. It seems reasonable to assume that the author made a mistake here (initially missing out the <code>lamed</code> and so

adding it at the end instead) and intended to write *slwm*/Salome, the name of the saint affiliated with the chapel. It is tempting to take this text as a copy in Christian Palestinian Aramaic of Greek inscription no. 3798, which reads "St. Salome, Jesus Christ," but it is difficult to see *mašīḥ* (Christ) in the second word of the first line, though some epithet for Jesus is likely.

The second stage of the church, to which most of the inscriptions belong, was dated to the Byzantine-Early Islamic period (6-8 c.) by the excavators, and the script of the Christian Palestinian Aramaic text is consistent with that date.

Bibl.: J. Naveh, Appendix B, The Syriac Inscriptions, in: A. Kloner, Atiqot 10, 1990, 139 no. 1 (Hebr.) (Naveh recorded the text as undeciphered); R. Hoyland, in: M. Macdonald ed., The Development of Arabic as a Written Language, 2010, 29-45 at 37ff. no. 11.

Photo: WE.

RH

#### 3798. Greek monogram

Square, divided by a cross in four fields; the letters have been incised below and a bit to the left of the square.

Findspot: Room 4 was separated from Room 5, the chancel, by a screen with two columns; the inscription is on the north face of the capital of the surviving southern column; see introduction to nos. 3791-3805 fig. A, no. 8.

Pres. loc.: In situ. Autopsy: June 2014 (WE).

# $\frac{AI\Sigma A}{I\Sigma} \overline{X\Sigma}$

 $\dot{\alpha}(\gamma)\dot{\iota}(\alpha)$  Σα(λώμη) | Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς X(ριστό)ς

Holy Salome. Jesus Christ.

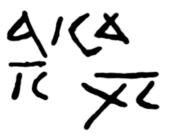


fig. 3798.2



fig. 3798.1

Comm.: l.1: no example for  $\dot{\alpha}(\gamma)\dot{\iota}(\alpha)$ ,  $\ddot{\alpha}(\gamma)\iota(\circ\zeta)$  can be found in Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni - J. Patrich, Atiqot 10, 1990, 148 (Hebr.), 34\* no. 5 (ed. pr.). – SEG 40, 1454; Dagan, Survey 1, 240\*.

Photo: WE; L. Di Segni - J. Patrich, Atiqot 10, 1990, 148 (dr.).



fig. 3798.3

WA

## 3799. Greek graffito

Findspot: Eastern side of the southern column of the screen separating Room 4 from the chancel, Room 5; see introduction to nos. 3791-3805 fig. A, no. 9.

(cross) NIKA

νίκα

(Christ,) be victorious!

Bibl.: L. Di Segni - J. Patrich, Atiqot 10, 1990, 153 (Hebr.), 35\* no. 11 (ed. pr.). – SEG 40, 1460.

Photo: L. Di Segni - J. Patrich, Atiqot 10, 1990, 153 (dr.).



fig. 3799

WA

# 3800. Greek inscriptions on a capital

Triangular, broken capital made of soft limestone covered with graffiti on all four sides. The density of graffiti, partly overlapping each other, in combination with additional unintentional scratches makes it difficult to identify and decipher the single inscriptions.

Meas.: h 23, w (side a) 27, (side b) 36, (side c) 35 cm.

Findspot: On the capital of the northern column of the screen separating Room 4 from the chancel, Room 5. Since the column was broken, the capital was found lying on the floor; see introduction to nos. 3791-3805 fig. A, no. 10.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1984-2039. Autopsy: 14 October 2013 (WE/DK).

- (a) (cross) ΜΝΗΣΤΗ+ΗΤΗΚΕ ΤΟΥΔΟΥΛΟΥΣΟΥΑΣΟ ΜΕΥΚΕΟΜΟΥΡΗΣΟ+ ΚΕΟΜΩΤΡΗΣΟΥΚΕ ΤΡΗΜΟΥΚΕΟΜΑΔΗΜ
- (b) (chi-rho) MNI $\Sigma\Theta$ ITI $\Gamma$ + $\Gamma$ AMIN
- $\begin{array}{c} \text{(c) (cross) } MN \\ K\overline{E} \end{array}$

TOLA OLVOLOGIALM

TOLA OLVOLOGIA

MEVEL THE SAHM

KEHMOVICO TO SAHM

fig. 3800.2 (a)

PUNKHHIT

fig. 3800.4 (b)

+ MN Ke fig. 3800.6 (c)





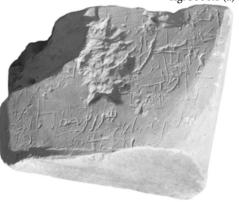


fig. 3800.3 (b)



fig. 3800.5 (c)

- (a) μνήστηθη{τη}, κ(ύρι)ε, | τοῦ δούλου σου ΑΣΟ|ΜΕΥ κὲ ὁμοῦ ΡΗΣΟ+ | κὲ ὁμ(οῦ) Ωτρησου κὲ | ΤΡΗΜΟΥ κὲ ὁμ(οῦ) ᾿Αδημ
- (b) (chi-rho) μνίσθιτι Γ+Τ | ἀμίν
- (c) μν(ήστηθη), | κ(ύρι)ε
- (a) Remember, Lord, your servant ASOMEY and also RHESO+ and also Otresus and TREMUS and also Adem.
- (b) Remember, ... Amen.
- (c) Remember, Lord.

Comm.: Cursive letters of the 6 c. and 7 c. AD. - (a) ll.2ff.: Οσο μεν κὲ όμοῦ 'Ρήσο[υ] | κὲ όμ(οῦ) ἀτρήσου κὲ [ὁμ(οῦ)] | Τρήμου κὲ ὁμ(οῦ) Άδημ (cross), Di Segni - Patrich. - 1.2 fin.:  $\Delta\Sigma$ O? – 1.3ff.: The *mus* in  $\delta\mu(\tilde{o}\tilde{v})$  are written upside down. - (b) "is engraved ... over an Arabic inscription"; l.1: μν(ήστηθη), κ(ύρι)η, ΠΤΙΓ Di Segni - Patrich. After the tau perhaps the trace of a circular letter. Other traces of letters to the right and above the tau, perhaps a zeta, an omega, an eta? - l. 2: the ἀμίν does not stand directly below l.1 as suggested by the published dr. (reproduced here fig. 4) but a good deal to the right at the lower right corner of



fig. 3800.7 (fourth face)

this side. The two lines do not necessarily belong together. Is there an *omega* in front of the  $\dot{\alpha}\mu\dot{\nu}$ ? – (c) was identified by the first editors in the upper left corner of the third side in a tangle of graffiti. A line above the *epsilon* served as an abbreviation mark.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni - J. Patrich, Atiqot 10, 1990, 150ff. (Hebr.), 34f.\* no. 7 (ed. pr.). – SEG 40, 1456. Photo: WE; L. Di Segni - J. Patrich, Atiqot 10, 1990, 150ff. (dr.).

WA/DK

# 3801. Greek graffiti of Zacharias and Rhantes(?)

Findspot: To the right of the arch in the eastern wall of Room 5; (a) was written first, (b) and (c) were written by the same hand taking account of (a); see introduction to nos. 3791-3805 fig. A, no. 11.

Pres. loc.: In situ. Autopsy: June 2014 (WE).

- (a) (cross) XA
- (b)  $\overline{\text{KEE}}\Lambda\text{EH}$   $\Sigma\Omega\text{NTON}$   $\Delta\text{OY}\Lambda\text{ON}\Sigma\text{OY}$  ZAXAPHA
- (c) (cross)  $\overline{\text{KE}} \text{E} \Lambda \text{E} \text{H} \Sigma \text{ON}$
- (d) KEEΛE HΣONT PANTH



fig. 3801.1 (a-c)

- (a) XA
- (b) κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέη|σων τὸν | δοῦλόν σου | Ζαχαρήα
- (c) κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον
- (d) κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέ|ησον τ(ὸν) | Ῥάντη(?)
- (b) Lord, have mercy on your servant Zacharias.
- (c) Lord, have mercy.
- (d) Lord have mercy on Rhantes(?).

FE E>EH CON fig. 3801.3 (c)

Comm.: The *zeta* of (b) is dated to the 7-8 c. AD by Di Segni - Patrich. – (a) Di Segni - Patrich discuss various possibilities,  $\chi\alpha(\rho\dot{\alpha})$ ,  $\chi\alpha(\tilde{\imath}\rho\epsilon)$ ,  $X(\rho\imath\sigma\tau\dot{\epsilon})$ ,  $\dot{\alpha}(\mu\dot{\eta}\nu)$ . (b) On Zacharias cf. no. 3792; on the loss

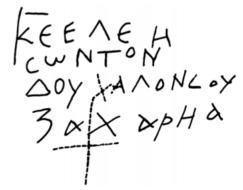


fig. 3801.2 (a and b)

of the final nasal "in pausa," cf. Gignac I 111. (d) Di Segni - Patrich quote Paus. 5,21,12 for an Egpytian Rhantes and compare the Semitic 'Ραέθνης. Still, the article is awkward, unless we assume the omission of a phrase like  $\tau$ ον <δοῦλόν σου>.



fig. 3801.5 (d)

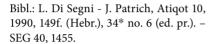




fig. 3801.4 (d)

Photo: WE; L. Di Segni - J. Patrich, Atiqot 10, 1990, 149f., fig. 6 (ph. and dr.).

WA

#### 3802. Greek invocation

Findspot: To the left of the arch in the eastern wall of Room 5; see introduction to nos. 3791-3805 fig. A, no. 12.

 $MNH\Sigma[--]$ 

Comm.:  $\mu$ νησ[θη --],  $\mu$ νήσ[θητι --].

Bibl.: L. Di Segni - J. Patrich, Atiqot 10, 1990, 152 (Hebr.), 35\* no. 8 (ed. pr.). – SEG 40, 1457.

Photo: L. Di Segni - J. Patrich, Atiqot 10, 1990, 152 fig. 8 (ph. and dr.).



fig. 3802.1

MNHC

fig. 3802.2

WA

# 3803. Christian Palestinian Aramaic(?) graffito

Findspot: Scratched in the northern wall of Room 5 of the cave; see introduction to nos. 3791-3805 fig. A, no. 13.

Pres. loc.: In situ.

# イン:ci でごん

Translit.: 'dkr mr' | 'lh'

Make mention of the Lord God.



fig. 3803

Comm.: Since only three words of this text are legible, it is impossible to be sure whether it is in Syriac, the dialect of Aramaic found in northern Syria and Mesopotamia (al-Jazira) – then perhaps written by a passing pilgrim or traveller – or in Christian Palestinian Aramaic, the dialect of Aramaic used in the southern Levant. There are a number of other letters visible, but they may well relate to different graffiti and in any case are indistinct. The verb is presumably the imperative of the *aphel* form: *adker*, and so should be translated as "make mention of," rather than just "remember," as is given by Naveh, apparently taking it to be of the *peal* form.

The cave was converted to a Christian chapel about the 5-6 c., but continued in use until at least the 8 c., and so the text is to be dated within this date range.

Bibl.: J. Naveh, in: A. Kloner, Atiqot 10, 1990, 139 no. 2 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – A. Kloner, Atiqot 10, 1990, 129-37 (Hebr.), 29\*f. (ES); R. Hoyland, in: M. Macdonald ed., The Development of Arabic as a Written Language, 2010, 29-45 at 37 no. 11.

Photo: A. Kloner, Atiqot 10, 1990, 139 fig. 23.

RH

# 3804. Greek graffito

The first three letters in a circle, which is divided into eight parts. The other letters below the circle.

Findspot: On the right wall of the passageway leading from Room 4 to Room 6; see introduction to nos. 3791-3805 fig. A, no. 14.

# $\Sigma\Theta\overline{X}$ ΛΑΠΟΥΝΙ[--]PH



fig. 3804.1

Comm.: l.1: A bar to indicate the abbreviation above the *chi*; Di Segni - Patrich propose  $[\mu\nu\dot{\eta}]\sigma$ - $\theta[\eta\tau I]$ ,  $[\mu\nu\eta]\sigma\theta[\tilde{\eta}]$   $X(\rho I\sigma\tau\dot{\rho}\varsigma)$ .

Bibl.: L. Di Segni - J. Patrich, Atiqot 10, 1990, 153 (Hebr.), 35\* no. 12 (ed. pr.). – SEG 40, 1461.

Photo: WE; L. Di Segni - J. Patrich, Atiqot 10, 1990, 153 (dr.).



fig. 3804.2

WA

# 3805. Greek graffito

Findspot: Western wall of Room 6; see introduction to nos. 3791-3805 fig. A, no. 15.

(cross)  $\overline{XE}BOHB$ 

Χ(ριστ)έ, βοή(θει) Β

Christ, help! B.



fig. 3805.1

Comm.:  $\beta o \dot{\eta} [\theta \epsilon \iota]$  Di Segni, but possibly we have to understand an abbreviation. The last letter is not a *theta*, therefore  $\beta o \dot{\eta} \theta [\epsilon \iota]$  is impossible. There is no indication whether any letters are lost after *beta* or not, but we certainly suspect a name beginning with *beta*.

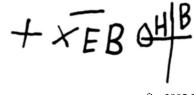


fig. 3805.2

Bibl.: L. Di Segni - J. Patrich, Atiqot 10, 1990, 152 (Hebr.), 35\* no. 10 (ed. pr.). – SEG 40, 1459. Photo: L. Di Segni - J. Patrich, Atiqot 10, 1990, 152 fig. 9 (ph. and dr.).

WA

# CXXXIII. Beit el-Ban

## 3806. Greek letters carved on a wall of a cave

"On the eastern wall are two carved circles (diam. 0.78 m), 0.45 m apart, and carved between them are the Greek letters *alpha* and *delta*" (Dagan). No photograph was provided.

Findspot: Near an ancient settlement three rock-hewn bell-shaped caves have been discovered. The graffiti were found westmost.

Pres. loc.: In situ.

#### ΑΔ

Bibl.: Dagan, Survey 1, 245\*ff. (ed. pr.).

EDD

#### CXXXIV. Duweimi

#### 3807.-3808. Rock-cut burial chamber

A subterranean burial chamber was found on the southern side of the hill on which the village was built. The entrance is at its northern side, the three other walls contain three tombs each ("Trogkammergrab," Kuhnen); the tombs in the southern wall are roughly 20-50 cm longer than the rest. ("Galt hier vielleicht ... ein längeres Grab für einen Ehrbeweis?" van Kasteren).

#### 3807. Greek acclamation on behalf of Malchus

The inscription "in kleinen, unschön eingehauenen, aber gut erhaltenen Buchstaben" (van Kasteren), is located above the central sepulcher on the southern side across from the entrance. The grave is the longest one in this cave measuring 2.42 m

ΕΥΤΥΧΩΣ ΜΑΛΧΩ ΤΩΚΤΙΣΤΗ

εὐτυχῶς | Μάλχω | τῷ κτίστη

**ΕΥΤΥΧω C** ΜΑΛΧω ΤωΚΤΙ**C** ΤΗ

All the best for Malchus the builder.

fig. 3807

Comm.: Cf. no. 2687: With the possible exception of nos. 2679 and 3807 (used for the meter), there does not seem to exist any κτίστης of a tomb. (SEG 55, 1709: Ἰούστου Ἰούστου Θεοφίλου κτίστου | καὶ ἸΑρχελαείδος Σίμωνος ἸΑλεξάνδρου συνβίου, on a sarcophagus; the editor understood "founder of the mausoleum," although Chaniotis added: "or occupation: 'builder' [e.g. P.Oxy. 2144,8]").

Bibl.: J. van Kasteren, ZDPV 12, 1889, 25 (ed. pr.). - Kuhnen, Nordwest-Palästina 65.

Photo: J. van Kasteren, ZDPV 12, 1889, 25 fig. 2 (dr.).

#### 3808. Greek name Malchus on a small column

To the left of the entrance, on the eastern site of the vault, there is a small pilaster, "der 24 cm vom nordöstlichen Winkel und 50 cm über dem Boden aus der Kalksteinwand hervortritt. Auf einem 24 cm breiten Fusse steht ein etwas schmaleres Säulchen, das seiner Länge nach in drei Theile zerfällt. ... Der mittlere Theil ist von einem senkrechten Einschnitt in zwei Zwillingssäulchen getheilt, deren südliches sechs Buchstaben trägt ... Die Gesamthöhe beträgt 60 cm" (van Kasteren). The letters have to be read from the bottom up.

Σ	U
O	0
X Λ A	×
M	^
Μάλχος	Α
Malchus.	М
Comm.: Cf. no. 3807.	fig. 3808

Bibl.: J. van Kasteren, ZDPV 12, 1889, 26 (ed. pr.). – Kuhnen, Nordwest-Palästina 65.

Photo: J. van Kasteren, ZDPV 12, 1889, 26 fig. 3 (dr.).

WA

# CXXXV. Kh. el-Kom

#### 3809.-3811. Burial cave in el-Kom, near Hebron

Three Hebrew inscriptions, all inscribed on limestone blocks, were apparently removed from a burial cave in 1967, according to their IAA inventory numbers. They are currently located in the IAA storerooms in Beth Shemesh, with very little information attached, except that the cave was from the "early Roman" period. The form and style of their letters may date them to 1 c. BCE-2 c. CE.

#### 3809. Hebrew funerary inscription of Miriam, 1 c. BCE-2 c. CE

Limestone block, roughly finished, with inscription incised within recessed area on one of the long sides.

Meas.: h 21, w 46 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1967-947. Autopsy: 9 October 2013 (WE/DK).

מרים

Translit.: mrym

Miriam.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.



fig. 3809

JJP/AY

# 3810. Hebrew funerary inscription of Shalom, 1 c. BCE-2 c. CE

Limestone block, roughly finished, with inscription incised within recessed area on one of the long sides. Meas.: h 24, w 58 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1967-946.

שלום



#### 1288 CXXXV. Kh. el-Kom

Translit.: šlwm

Shalom (name) or Peace.

Comm.: The word can be a woman's name or a hopeful expression of peace for the deceased.

Bibl.: IMC 259 no. 262 (ed. pr.).

Photo: IAA.

JJP/AY

## 3811. Fragmentary Hebrew funerary inscription, 1 c. BCE-2 c. CE

Limestone block, roughly finished; within recessed area on one of the long sides, incisions which are probably intended to be letters, indecipherable today.

Meas.: h 19, w 41 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1967-945. Autopsy: 9 October 2013 (WE/DK).

Comm.: The marks in the recessed space for an inscription could be palaeo-Hebrew; a possible *alef* and *resh* can be made out.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.



fig. 3811

JJP

# CXXXVI. Kh. el-Muraq

#### 3812. Greek letters on a chancel screen

Marble. Upper left part of a chancel screen with a wreath in the middle and a cross in the upper left corner. The letters are on the top register of the frame.

Findspot: In a house at Kh. el-Muraq.

KḤ[--]EʃE+[--]

Comm.: ∫ as abbreviation mark?

Bibl.: P. Bar-Adon - C. Epstein - R. Gophna - S. Gutmann - Z. Kallai - M. Kochavi - Y. Porat, Judaea, Samaria and the Golan. Archaeological Survey 1967-1968, 1972, 60 no. 137 (Hebr.).



fig. 3812

Photo: P. Bar-Adon - C. Epstein - R. Gophna - S. Gutmann - Z. Kallai - M. Kochavi - Y. Porat, Judaea, Samaria and the Golan. Archaeological Survey 1967-1968, 1972, 60 fig. 137.

WA

#### 3813. Greek graffito of Helcias, son of Simon

Soft limestone slab; inscription scratched on the dressed side.

Meas.: h 47, w 28 cm.

Findspot: Herodian villa, sometimes called "palace of Helcias" after the name in this inscription. The stone covered the water channel east of the tower.

ΕΛΚΙΑΣΣΙΜΩΝΟΣΕΓΡΑ

+ 1KI; ((MYMNOCFLY)

Έλκίας Σίμωνος ἔγρα(ψα)

fig. 3813

*I, Helcias, son of Simon, wrote (this).* 

Comm.: Not every letter is clear, but the reading cannot be doubted. – Helcias is used in Josephus, but LXX usually translates the name with Chelcias. "Maybe done by one of the workmen" (Mussies). A. Ecker, per litt., suggested to transpose two

letters and to read  $\xi\rho\gamma\alpha$ . This would fit nicely with Mussies' suggestion and would render the abbreviation unnecessary. Nevertheless, unmarked abbreviations are not rare, and in addition this abbreviation in particular is quite common in the papyri. Furthermore, the reading  $\xi\rho\gamma\alpha$  requires us to understand Έλκίας as a genitive, which works only if the name was used undeclined.

Bibl.: E. Damati, IEJ 22, 1972, 173 (ed. pr.). – HA 33, 1970, 6 (Hebr.); E. Damati, in: M. Broshi ed., Between Hermon and Sinai, 1977, 107 (Hebr.); K. Jaroš, AfO 27, 1980, 263; E. Damati, Qadmoniot 15, 1982, 120f. (Hebr.); id., NEAEHL 5, 2008, 1962f. – Cf. G. Mussies, NTS 29, 1983, 360; Hachlili, Jewish Art 55; H. Kuhnen, Palästina in griechisch-römischer Zeit, 1990, 240; J. Schwartz, IEJ 40, 1990, 52; Y. Hirschfeld, Cathedra 80, 1996, 10 (Hebr.); Greenberg - Keinan 2009, 131f. no. 905.

Photo: E. Damati, NEAEHL 5, 2008, 1963 (dr.).

WA

#### 3814.-3815. Mason's marks from a Herodian villa, so-called Palace of Helcias

On mason's marks, cf. introduction to nos. 3404-3425.

#### 3814. Mason's mark on column drum with Greek letter delta

Round column drum, a letter on the upper surface of the drum.

Meas.: ø 47 cm.

#### Δ

Comm.: Since a column drum with a square *lamed* and the numeral 9 was found (no. 3815), Damati 2008 believes that the columns were marked with letters of the Hebrew and Greek alphabet (22 columns and at least four more), and that the numeral was designed to mark the place of the drum in the column.

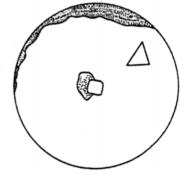


fig. 3814

Bibl.: E. Damati, in: M. Broshi ed., Between Hermon and Sinai, 1977, 106 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – HA 33, 1970, 6 (Hebr.); E. Damati, IEJ 22, 1972, 173; id., Qadmoniot 15, 1982, 120f. (Hebr.); Foerster, Masada V 99; E. Damati, NEAEHL 5, 2008, 1962.

Photo: E. Damati, in: M. Broshi ed., Between Hermon and Sinai, 1977, 106 fig. 19 (dr.).

# 3815. Mason's mark on column drum with Jewish script letter *lamed*, 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE

#### ל IIIII+4

Translit.: 4+5=91

#### Lamed 9.

Comm.: The numerals are Nabataean (Damati); another column from this structure was inscribed with a Greek letter for the same purpose (see no. 3814).

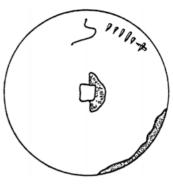


fig. 3815

Bibl.: E. Damati, in: M. Broshi ed., Between Hermon and Sinai, 1977, 93-113 at 106 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – HA 33, 1970, 6 (Hebr.); E. Damati, IEJ 1972, 173.; id., Qadmoniot 15, 1982, 120f. (Hebr.); Hachlili, Jewish Art 78f.; Foerster, Masada V 99; E. Damati, NEAEHL 5, 2008, 1961ff.

Photo: E. Damati, in: M. Broshi ed., Between Hermon and Sinai, 1977, 106 fig. 19 (dr.).

JJP

# CXXXVII. 'Ein el-Ma'amudiye

#### 3816. Lintel with Greek inscription of Demetris (and OT quotations)

Lintel, broken in three parts, of which only one – the upper left corner – is missing. The stone is decorated with a tabula ansata, in the middle of which there is a cross (above each arm of the cross there is a star and below the arms letters); the damage of the stone below the cross must be old. At each side of the cross there is an escutcheon. Two lines of the inscription are inside the tabula ansata, and the third below it. Meas.: h = 1, w = 3, d = 0.6 m (lintel); letters 5-6 cm.

Findspot: Found near a baptismal church, on the road from Taffuh to Dura. There are no traces of a village, and therefore Christians from the two neighboring places must have used the baptistery (Bagatti, Judaea 46); most people believe that the lintel belongs to this building.

(below the arms of the cross:)  $\overline{\text{I}\Sigma}\,\overline{\text{X}\Sigma}$   $BOH\ThetaITON\DeltaO\Upsilon[..]N\SigmaO\Upsilon$   $\Delta HMH$   $TPINK[.]THN\Sigma\Upsilon NO\DeltaI[..]A\Upsilon TTO\Upsilon$ 

fig. 3816.1

[...]ΗΕΠ[.]ΛΗΤΟΥΚΎΚΣΦΥ[..]ΞΙΤΗΝΙΣΟΔΟΝΣΟΥ[.]ΕΤΗΝΕΞΟΔΟΝΣ[.]Υ

Jesus Christ, help your servant Demetris and his congregation. This is the gate of the Lord. May the Lord protect your entrance and your exit.

Comm.: Steve refers to a similarly decorated lintel from Tell Ilazneh in Syria (Lassus 29 fig. 31), dated 562/3 AD; the stars

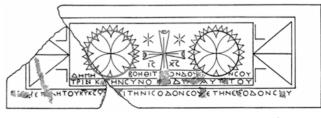


fig. 3816.2

have the same meaning as the *alpha* and *omega* in other texts, Kraeling 511 (cf. no. 3817). – l.4: Bagatti believes this  $\sigma u v o \delta i \alpha$  to have been a group of monks; this is pos-

sible, but not necessary. l.5: A pastiche of Ps 117,20 (αὕτη ἡ πύλη τοῦ κυρίου, δίκαιοι εἰσελεύσονται ἐν αὐτῆ) and 120,8 (κύριος φυλάξει τὴν εἴσοδόν σου καὶ τὴν ἔξοδόν σου ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ ἔως τοῦ αἰῶνος); both are often used in similar contexts (Feissel notes "une quarantaine d'examples" in Syria).

Bibl.: A.-M. Steve, RB 53, 1946, 569ff. (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, Sacred Names 35 no. 168 (l.4), 44f. no. 237 (l.1), 56 no. 331 (ll.1f.); Ben Pechat, L'architecture baptismale II 5, 8, III pl. 6a-b (dr. and ph.); Felle, Biblia epigraphica 112f. no. 166. – Cf. J. Lassus, Inventaire archéologique de la région au nord-est de Hama, 1935; C. Kraeling, Gerasa, 1938; QDAP 13, 1948, 166f.; BE 1950, 215; B. Bagatti, SBF 3, 1952/3, 116 no. 7; id., Giudea e Neghev 58; D. Feissel, in: C. Mondésert ed., Le monde ancien et la Bible, 1984, 227; Vriezen, Mosaic Pavements 248-51; Bagatti, Judaea 46, 59f.; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 198ff., fig. 290,2.

Photo: A.-M. Steve, RB 53, 1946 pl. 10,2, 569 fig. 8 (dr.).

WA

# 3817. Cross with Greek inscription above an entrance

A lintel with a medallion decorated with a cross. Letters above and below the arms of the cross.

Findspot: On the hill above 'Ein el-Ma'amudiye, called Kh. ed-Deir (not the same Kh. ed-Deir as in nos. 3818-3822). A square building (10.45x12.5 m) with a narrow entrance on the south; the building consists of two symmetrical wings accessible through a central corridor with a white mosaic floor. The building has been identified by the excavator as a small fort, intended to protect the two buildings in 'Ein el-Ma'amudiye. The inscription is on the lintel of the entrance. which was found still in situ.

 $\frac{A \Omega}{I \Sigma X \Sigma}$ 



fig. 3817.1



fig. 3817.2

ἄ(λφα), ὧ (μέγα) | Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς

Alpha (and) Omega. Jesus Christ.

Bibl.: A.-M. Steve, RB 53, 1946, 562 (ed. pr.). – C. Johns, PEQ 80, 1948, 97; QDAP 13, 1948, 166f.; Ben Pechat, L'architecture baptismale II 5, 8, III pl. 1c (dr.); Dauphin, Palestine byzantine 943f. no. 459; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 201.

Photo: Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 201 fig. 291,1 (dr.); A.-M. Steve, RB 53, 1946 pl. 8.

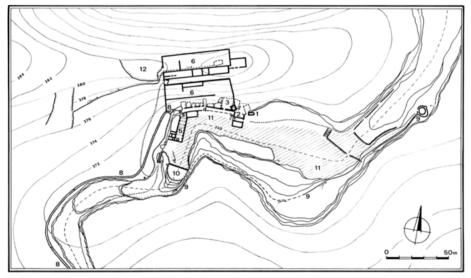
WA

# CXXXVIII. Kh. ed-Deir

## 3818.-3822. Monastery at Kh. ed-Deir

A monastery on a small hill; it dates to the first half of the 6 c. AD and was abandoned in the middle of the 7 c., see fig. A. Gardens in the canyon. A church flanked by burial alcoves was built into a natural cave. Above the church, in the walls of the canyon, were the cells; for the location of the inscriptions, see fig. B.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni - Y. Hirschfeld, OCP 53, 1987, 365-86; Y. Hirschfeld ed., The Early Byzantine Monastery at Khirbet ed-Deir in the Judean Desert, 1999; Ribak, Religious Communities 153.



1 = Burial chapel • 2 = Baptistry • 3 = Cave church • 4 = Burial alcove • 5 = Refectory • 6 = Living quarters • 7 = Tower 8 = Upper aqueduct • 9 = Lower aqueduct • 10 = Reservoir • 11 = Garden • 12 = Quarry

fig. 3818.A General plan, L. Di Segni - Y. Hirschfeld, OCP 53, 1987, 369 fig. 2

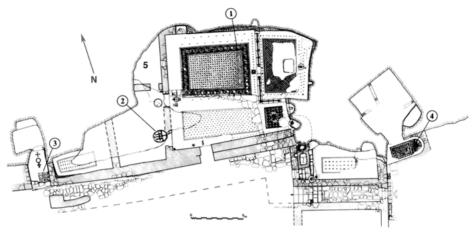


fig. 3818.B Cave church and surroundings, L. Di Segni - Y. Hirschfeld, OCP 53, 1987, 370 fig. 3

#### 3818. Greek mosaic inscription quoting Ps 105,4f., 6 c. AD

The opening of the cave is blocked by a wall with a door; the central nave of the church is decorated with a mosaic. The lines of the inscription are divided by yellow tesserae.

Meas.: tabula: h 30, w 330 cm; inscription: w 270 cm; letters 7 cm.

Findspot: "On the east of the panel is a three-line inscription within a tabula ansata" (Di Segni - Hirschfeld 368); see introduction to nos. 3818-3822 fig. A, no. 3, fig. B, no. 1.



fig. 3818

# ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙΗΜΩΝ $\overline{\text{KE}}$ ΕΝΤΗΕΥΔΟΚΙΑΤΟΥΛΑΟΥΣΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚ[.]ΨΑΙΗΜΑΣΕΝΤΩΣΩΤΗΡΙΩΣΟΥΤΟΥΙΔ[.]ΙΝ ΕΝ[.]ΗΧΡΗΣ[.]ΟΤΗΤΙΤΩΝΕΚΛΕΚΤΩΝΣΟΥ

μνήσθητι ήμῶν, κ(ύρι)ε, ἐν τῆ εὐδοκία τοῦ λαοῦ σου | ἐπισκ[έ]ψαι ήμᾶς ἐν τῷ σωτηρίῳ σου τοῦ ἰδ[ε]ῖν | ἐν [τ]ῆ χρησ[τ]ότητι τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν σου

Remember me, o Lord, with the favour that thou bearest unto thy people: o, visit me with thy salvation; that I may see the good of thy chosen. (King James Version)

Comm.: A precise quotation. – l.1:  $\delta \lambda \alpha \delta \varsigma \sigma \sigma \upsilon$  is taken by the editors to refer either to the Christian people as a whole or to the monastic community at the place.

Bibl.: RB 93, 1986, 278 (transl.); L. Di Segni - Y. Hirschfeld, OCP 53, 1987, 368-73 no. 1 (edd. prr.). – SEG 37, 1493; Vriezen, Mosaic Pavements 260; L. Di Segni, in: Y. Hirschfeld, The Early Byzantine Monastery at Khirbet ed-Deir in the Judean Desert, 1999, 97f. no. 1; SEG 49, 2067; Felle, Biblia epigraphica 119 no. 183. – Cf. ESI 1, 1982, 21f. (=HA 78/9, 1982, 84ff. [Hebr.]); Y. Hirschfeld - T. Schmutz, AW 18, 1987, 43ff.; Y. Tsafrir, in: Archéologie Chrétienne 1754; Y. Hirschfeld, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 336f.; id., BAR 21, 1995, 28ff., 70; J. Magness, BASOR 322, 2001, 93; Feissel, Chroniques 233 no. 747; Madden, Corpus 50ff. no. 61.

Photo: Y. Hirschfeld, The Early Byzantine Monastery at Khirbet ed-Deir in the Judean Desert, 1999, 98 fig. 1.

WA

#### 3819. Greek mosaic inscription quoting 1 Cor 15,52-54, 6 c. AD

Mosaic, showing two crosses, one of which is a crux ansata, and the inscription at the entrance to a chamber, to be read by whoever enters the chamber. Hirschfeld

thought this was the grave of the monastery's founder. Nine-line Greek inscription, black square letters on white background.

Meas.: 100x100 cm; letters 8 cm.

Findspot: "A small chamber, measuring 3x1.90 m, was found beyond the western wall of the church" (Ribak). Its antechamber contains a mosaic inscription; see introduction to nos. 3818-3822 fig. B, no. 3.

(cross)
(cross)
ΔΕΙΤΟΦΘΑΡΤΟΝ
ΤΟΥΤΟΕΝΔΥΣΑΣ
ΘΑΙΑΦΘΑΡΣΙΑΝ
ΚΑΙΤΟΘΝΗΤΟΝ
ΤΟΥΤΟΕΝΔΥΣΑΣ
ΘΑΙΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΑΝ
ΣΑΛΠΙΣΕΙΓΑΡ
ΚΑΙΟΙΝΕΚΡΟΙ
ΑΝΑΣΤΗΣΟΝΤΑΙ

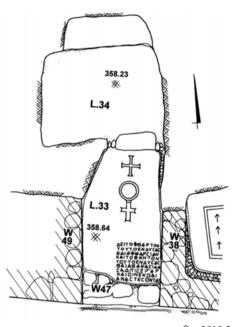


fig. 3819.1

δεῖ τὸ φθαρτὸν | τοῦτο ἐνδύσασ|θαι ἀφθαρσίαν | καὶ τὸ θνητὸν | τοῦτο ἐνδύσασ|θαι ἀθανασίαν. | σαλπίσει γὰρ | καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ | ἀναστήσονται.

For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality. For the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised. (King James Version)

Comm.: It is commonly believed that this was the cell of the monastery's founder, later converted into his tomb. Di Segni 1999, 101 comments: "The use of the square alphabet points to the earlier part of this period" (scil. to the earlier part of the time between 532 and 555[!]). - The text is a slightly altered version of 1 Cor 1,52-4; see 1 Cor 15,51ff.: ίδοὺ μυστήριον ὑμῖν λέγω. πάντες οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ άλλαγησόμεθα, (52) ἐν ἀτόμω, ἐν ῥιπῆ όφθαλμοῦ, ἐν τῆ ἐσχάτη σάλπιγγι· σαλπίσει γὰρ καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐγερθήσονται άφθαρτοι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀλλαγησόμεθα. (53) Δεῖ γὰρ τὸ Φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι άφθαρσίαν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι άθανασίαν. (54) ὅταν δὲ τὸ Φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσηται ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσηται ἀθανασίαν, τότε γε-



tig. 3819.2

νήσεται ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νῖκος. (55) ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ νῖκος; ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον; – The difference is obvious: "the trumpet" is moved to the end of the sentence; the γάρ of 53 init. is omitted, because it is unnecessary in this context, and the original ἐγερθήσονται is changed to ἀναστήσονται. The latter is recorded also as the reading of a number of NT manuscripts, viz. A (5 c. AD), D (6 c. AD), F, G and P (all 9 c. AD), and of p(au)c(i) (Nestle - Aland, 27th ed.). Di Segni (ed. pr. 380ff.; 1999, 101) connects the inscription with the second Origenist controversy, because to her the greater concision of our text – i.e. the partial quotation of 1 Cor 15,52f. – "results in a particular emphasis on the word τοῦτο twice repeated, which ... owes its poignancy to Cyril's exegesis," referring to Cyr., Cat. 18 (PG 33, 1040): τὸ γὰρ σῶμα τοῦτο ἐγείρεται, οὐ τοιοῦτον μένον ἀσθενές, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐγείρεται. She continues to connect the supposed stress on the τοῦτο with the second Origenist controversy, which began about 514 AD and ended with the council of Constantinople in 553 AD – thus arriving at a date for the death of the founder and at a context for the foundation of the monastery.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni - Y. Hirschfeld, OCP 53, 1987, 377-83 no. 3 (ed. pr.). – SEG 37, 1495; Y. Tsafrir, in: Archéologie Chrétienne 1754; Y. Hirschfeld, BAR 21, 1995, 28-37, 70; R. Hachlili, ZDPV 113, 1997, 99, 104ff.; Vriezen, Mosaic Pavements 260; L. Di Segni, in: Y. Hirschfeld, The Early Byzantine Monastery at Khirbet ed-Deir in the Judean Desert, 1999, 99ff. no. 3; Felle, Biblia epigraphica 125 no. 200; Madden, Corpus 50ff. no. 61. – Cf. ESI 1, 1982, 21f. (=HA 78/79, 1982, 84ff. [Hebr.]); RB 93, 1986, 279 fig. 23; Y. Hirschfeld - T. Schmutz, AW 18, 1987, 44f., fig. 12; Hirschfeld, Judean Desert Monasteries 140f., fig. 71 (dr.); id., NEAEHL 1, 1993, 337; J. Magness, BASOR 322, 2001, 93; Feissel, Chroniques 233 no. 747; Ribak, Religious Communities 153.

Photo: Y. Hirschfeld, The Early Byzantine Monastery at Khirbet ed-Deir in the Judean Desert, 1999, 51 fig. 75 (dr.), 114 fig. 20.

WA

#### 3820. Mosaic with a prayer for the intercession of the holy fathers, 6 c. AD

Mosaic floor, inscription in tabula ansata, letters in black, the lines separated by a row of yellow tesserae. *Psi* in l.3 is represented as a cross. Meas.: tabula: h 21, w 95 cm; lines: h 6 cm.

Findspot: In the smaller chapel (see introduction to nos. 3818-3822 fig. A, no. 1), which was interpreted as a burial chapel for monks of a higher rank. "Its location near the entrance of the corridor suggests that it was used for suffrage masses on anniversaries, as well as by monks and perhaps pilgrims who sought the intercession of the venerated persons buried here," Magness. Di Segni adduces Cyril, v. Euthymii 42, ed. Schwartz, p. 61; see fig. B, no. 4.

ΑΓΙΟΙΠΡΕΣΠΡΕΣΒΕ∫ΤΗ+ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΝΤΩΤΟΠΩΤΟΥ ΤΩΚΤ∫ΨΥΧΑΙΣΗΜΩΝ



fig. 3820

ἄγιοι π(ατέ)ρες, πρεσβε(ύετε) τὴν | εἰρήνην τῷ τόπῳ τού|τῳ κ(αὶ) τ(αῖς) ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν

Holy fathers, intercede for peace for this place and for our souls.

Comm.: l.1: πρεσ(βύτεροι) Di Segni,  $\pi(\alpha \tau \acute{\epsilon})$ ρες Feissel, but there is no abbreviation mark, and Di Segni remarks that unmarked abbreviations in this region are made more often with the help of truncations than of contractions. "The truncation of a verb is infrequently encountered except in common formulae," Di Segni (ed. pr. 383f.); she understands πρεσβεύειν in the sense of "to negotiate, especially peace," refers to LSJ and Lampe s.v. and collects passages for πρεσβεύειν in the sense of "to intervene" before God (n.50). – l.3: Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations 104 for the abbreviation of an article.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni - Y. Hirschfeld, OCP 53, 1987, 383ff. no. 4 (ed. pr.). – SEG 37, 1496; L. Di Segni, in: Y. Hirschfeld, The Early Byzantine Monastery at Khirbet ed-Deir in the Judean Desert, 1999, 101ff. no. 4; R. Talgam, ibid. 113 fig. 18; Madden, Corpus 50ff. no. 61. – Cf. Y. Hirschfeld - T. Schmutz, AW 18, 1987, 43 fig. 9; Y. Hirschfeld, Le Monde de la Bible 68, 1991, 15 fig. 13; id., Judean Desert Monasteries 141f., fig. 72; id., NEAEHL 1, 1993, 338; id., BAR 21, 1995, 28-37, 70 (ph.); J. Magness, BASOR 322, 2001, 92f.; Feissel, Chroniques 233 no. 747, 237 no. 759; SEG 49, 2067; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 212 fig. 299,3.

Photo: Y. Hirschfeld, The Early Byzantine Monastery at Khirbet ed-Deir in the Judean Desert, 1999, 102 fig. 5.

WA

# 3821. Greek inscription on an altar table commemorating its donors Alapheus and Aian..., 6 c. AD

An altar table that was destroyed when the ceiling of the western auxiliary room, where it was stored, collapsed. The front edge with the inscription is almost entirely preserved, although made up of seven pieces. Legs in the form of four columns. Meas.: h (altar) 115, h (mensa) 90, w (mensa) 130 cm; letters 3.8 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 3818-3822 fig. B, no. 2. Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. K-29519. Autopsy: 15 October 2013 (WE/DK); 9 April 2017 (WA).



fig. 3821.1

# $(cross)\ MNH\Sigma\Theta HTI\overline{KE}T\Omega NKAP\Pi O\Phi OPH\Sigma JA\Lambda A\Phi EOY\Delta [..] \c KJAIAN JMONAZJAINA AMBONAZJAINA AM$

μνήσθητι, κ(ύρι)ε, τῶν καρποφορησ(άντων) Ἀλαφέου δ[ια]κ(όνου) κ(αὶ) Αἰαν(--) μονάζ(οντος)

Remember, Lord, the donors Alapheus, the deacon, and Aian..., the monk.

Comm.: Alapheus: see Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen on the distribution of this name in southern Judaea, western Galilee, the northern Negev and Samaria, see also Piccirillo. - Αἴαν(τος) or Aἰαν(οῦ) Di Segni; she prefers Aias to Aianus, because Aianus is said to have been "almost unknown in everyday life" - but cf. no. 3023 with reference to Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 14. – μονάζ(οντος) or μοναζ(όντων) Di Segni, but the first version is to be preferred. Hirschfeld 1991 believes that the two monks donated the altar "lorsqu'ils ont intégré le monastère," but at least one of them had already reached the rank of deacon by then.

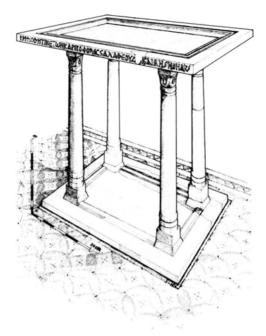


fig. 3821.2

Bibl.: L. Di Segni - Y. Hirschfeld, OCP 53, 1987, 386 no. 2 pl. A (ed. pr.). – RB 93, 1986, 280 fig. 23 (dr.); SEG 37, 1494; Y. Hirschfeld, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 337 (ph.); L. Di Segni, in: Y. Hirschfeld, The Early Byzantine Monastery at Khirbet ed-Deir in the Judean Desert, 1999, 99 no. 2; L. Habas, ibid. 119ff.; Cradle of Christianity 54ff., 216 (ph.). – Cf. Y. Hirschfeld, Le Monde de la Bible 68, 1991, 15f., fig. 14; M. Piccirillo, SBF 43, 1993, 503; B. Bitton-Ashkelony - A. Kofsky, Cathedra 96, 2000, 76 (Hebr.); J. Magness, BASOR 322, 2001, 92; Feissel, Chroniques 233 no. 747; B. Mulholland, The Early Byzantine Christian Church, 2014, 164 pl. 6,2.

Photo: Courtesy of Israel Museum, Jerusalem; E. Cohen (dr.).



fig. 3821.3

WA

#### 3822. Greek letters on the base of a reading stand (?)

Eight pieces of marble, of which only one (E) is substantially broken. Each piece represents a right-angled triangle and is marked on its back with one of the first eight letters of the alphabet; taking the letters as guides in assembling the pieces, the triangles constitute a square. The individual pieces were found together with bronze nails, and Hirschfeld concluded that the assembled slabs were "probably affixed to a wooden frame with the bronze nails."

Meas.: h 38, w 38 cm (assembled; the measurements of the individual pieces are given by Habas).

Findspot: On the floor in a room to the west of the church (Locus 31); see introduction to nos. 3818-3822 fig. B, no. 5.

#### ΑΒΓΔΕςΖΗ

1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8.

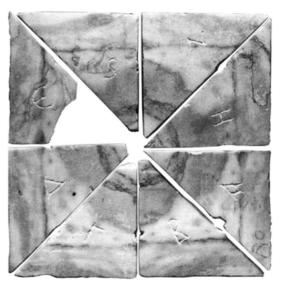


fig. 3822.1

Bibl.: Hirschfeld, Judean Desert Monasteries 100f. (ed. pr.). – L. Habas, in: Y. Hirschfeld, The Early Byzantine Monastery at Khirbet ed-Deir in the Judean Desert, 1999, 127ff. no. 4 pl. 4,1ff.

Photo: Hirschfeld, Judean Desert Monasteries 101 fig. 45; L. Habas, in: Y. Hirschfeld ed., The Early Byzantine Monastery at Khirbet ed-Deir in the Judean Desert, 1999, 128 pl. 4,7 (dr.).

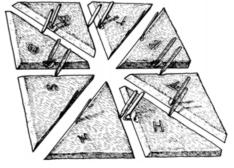


fig. 3822.2

# CXXXIX. Hebron (Kiriath Arba, Mamre)

#### Introduction

Hebron, called in the Bible also Kiriath Arba and Mamre, was the major city in the Judean hills, south of Jerusalem, during most of antiquity. It is located on the crest (1000 m elevation) of the Judean mountain ridge, about 30 km south of Jerusalem and about 37 km northeast of Beer Sheva. Its association with the tomb of the Patriarchs, the Machpelah, and David's choice of the town as his capital during the first seven years of his reign established it as one of the important biblical sites.¹ The meaning of the old name, Kiriath Arba, "City of Four" has been variously explained from antiquity onward, but this does not concern the present work.² Hebron was one of the cities which the Israelite spies reconnoitred according to Num 13,22, an indication of its significance. The biblical narrative emphasizes the extraordinary fertility of the valley of Eshkol, north of Hebron.

During the period of exile, after the destruction of the First Temple, the Idumaeans (Edomites) established themselves in Hebron and the surrounding region. After the return from exile in Babylon, Jews moved back into Hebron and other towns in the region, which was then part of a Persian province (Neh 11,25). The city is referred to in 1 Macc: "After this, Judas marched out and fought the descendants of Esau (i.e. the Idumaeans) in the South.<sup>3</sup> He captured Hebron and the surrounding villages, destroyed its fortifications and set fire to the towers on all sides."<sup>4</sup>

During the First Jewish Revolt Simon Bar Giora captured the city. "Simon having thus, beyond expectation, marched into Idumaea without bloodshed, first of all by a surprise attack captured the little town of Hebron, where he gained abundant booty and laid hands on vast supplies of corn..." In this period, then, Hebron was

<sup>1</sup> The Machpelah: Gen 13,18; 14,13; 18,1; 23,1-20; 25,9f.; 35,27-29; 50,12f. Hebron a Levitical city: Josh 21,11-13; 1 Chron 6,55-57. David's royal capital: 2 Sam 2,3f.; 5,5.

<sup>2</sup> For the town of Hebron in the mid-19 c.: Guérin, Judée 3 ch. 13. For discussion of the early history and cult at Hebron, see E. Kraeling, American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures 41, 1925, 174-8 (speculative); L. Vincent - E. Mackay, Hebron, 1923. See now at length: D. Jericke, Abraham in Mamre, 2003, 27ff., 38; Anchor Bible Dictionary 3, 2009, 107ff.; N. Na'aman, Canaan in the Second Millennium BCE 2, 2005, 180-5.

<sup>3</sup> For the Idumaeans, cf. 1 Macc 5: καὶ ἐπολέμει Ἰούδας πρὸς τοὺς υίοὺς Ἡσαυ ἐν τῃ Ἰδουμαίᾳ.

<sup>4 1</sup> Macc 5,65: καὶ ἐξῆλθεν Ἰούδας καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπολέμουν τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἡσαυ ἐν τῆ γῆ τῆ πρὸς νότον καὶ ἐπάταξεν τὴν Χεβρὼν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῆς καὶ καθείλεν τὰ ὀχυρώματα αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς πύργους αὐτῆς ἐνεπύρισεν κυκλόθεν ...

<sup>5</sup> Jos. BJ 4,529f.: Σίμων δὲ παρὰ δόξαν εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν εἰσήλασεν ἀναιμωτὶ καὶ προσβαλὼν ἀδοκήτως πρώτην αἰρεῖ τὴν πολίχνην Χεβρών, ἐν ἦ πλείστης ἐκράτησε

a modest, but prosperous town. Josephus goes on to explain that this was a city of great antiquity, older than Memphis.<sup>6</sup> He mentions the tombs of the Machpelah and a huge terebinth-tree six stadia (i.e. a little over 1 km) from the town.<sup>7</sup> Next Cerealis conquered it and killed the inhabitants he encountered and destroyed the town because it had offered resistance.<sup>8</sup>

As in the case of Bethlehem, Jews were not allowed to live there after the Bar Kochba revolt. Consequently, Talmudic sources either refer to biblical passages, or to the reality before the period of the revolts when Jews still lived there. Even the numerous references to the Cave of Machpelah do not reflect the period of the Mishnah and the Talmud. The only exception is an Amoraic tradition (3-5 c.) that reflects the reality of the 3-4 c. and which deals with the halakhic restrictions regarding the Market of Botnah, north of Hebron. Botnah is an alternative name for Mamre which was also named Beth Ilanim. "Came R. Yose b. R. Bun, Abba bar Hana in the name of R. Yohanan: They prohibited a fair only in the case of one of the character of that at Botnah. And it has been taught along these same lines in a Tannaitic tradition: 'There are three fairs, the fair at Gaza, the fair at Acre, and the fair at Botnah, and the most debased of the lot of them is the fair at Botnah'." This fair served as slave market for Jews sold after the Bar Kochba revolt, it is said, but this piece of information is found only in Christian sources. We may note

λείας, πάμπολυν δὲ διήρπασε καρπόν. For Josephus on Hebron: Möller - Schmitt 193f.

<sup>6</sup> Similarly, Eus. Onom. 170,25-27.

<sup>7</sup> Jos. BJ 4,531-3: μυθεύουσι δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ οἰκητήριον Ἀβράμου τοῦ Ἰουδαίων προγόνου γεγονέναι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἀπανάστασιν, τούς τε παῖδας αὐτοῦ λέγουσι καταβῆναι εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἔνθεν· ὧν καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα μέχρι νῦν ἐν τῆδε τῆ πολίχνη δείκνυται πάνυ καλῆς μαρμάρου καὶ φιλοτίμως εἰργασμένα. δείκνυται δ' ἀπὸ σταδίων εξ τοῦ ἄστεος τερέβινθος μεγίστη, καὶ φασὶ τὸ δένδρον ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως μέχρι νῦν διαμένειν.

<sup>8</sup> Jos. BJ 4,554-555: Κερεάλιος δὲ τούτους παραστησάμενος ἐπὶ Χεβρῶν ἑτέρας πόλεως ἀρχαιοτάτης ἐχώρει· κεῖται δ', ὡς ἔφην, αὕτη κατὰ τὴν ὀρεινὴν οὐ πόρρω Ἱεροσολύμων- βιασάμενος δὲ τὰς εἰσόδους τὸ μὲν ἐγκαταληφθὲν πλῆθος ἡβηδὸν ἀναιρεῖ, τὸ δ' ἄστυ καταπίμπρησι.

<sup>9</sup> yT Abodah Zarah 1,4, 11b, trans. J. Neusner, The Talmud of the Land of Israel 33, 1982. Botnah means Terebinth and may refer to the fair near Hebron. The context here is that Jews are permitted to trade at fairs where idolatry is practiced, an exception being the fair at Botnah, according to one opinion, and three fairs according to Tannaitic tradition.

<sup>10</sup> Hier. in Jeremian 31,15 (CCSL 74, p. 307): Quidam Judaeorum hunc locum sic interpretantur, quod capta Jerusalem sub Vespasiano, per hanc viam Gazam, et Alexandriam infinita millia captivorum Romam directa sint. Alii vero, quod ultima captivitate sub Adriano, quando et urbs Jerusalem subversa est, innumerabilis populus diversae aetatis, et utriusque sexus in mercato Terebinthi venumdatus sit. Et idcirco exsecrabile esse Judaeis mercatum celeberrimum visere. Dicant illi quod volunt, nos recte testimonium sumpsisse dicemus Evangelistam Matthaeum, pro loco in quo Rachel condita est, ut vicinarum in circuitu villarum filios quasi suos fleverit; Hier. in Zachariam 3,11,4-5 (CCSL 76A, p. 851): Legamus veteres historias, et traditiones plangentium Judaeorum,

also, that the fair was frequented by Jews in the 5 c., if we may believe Sozomenus (below).

An early Christian reference to the Tombs of the Patriarchs at Hebron is by Origenes (De Princ. 4,3,4).

Eusebius describes Hebron (s.v. "Arbo") as "now a very large village, formerly the metropolis of the foreigners and the home of giants, thereafter the capital of David. It belonged to the lot of Judah, and was a priestly city and a city of refuge, situated 22 miles south of Aelia. Abraham's oak and tomb may be seen there and the angels whom Abraham hosted, and the terebinth is seen there which is worshipped openly by the gentiles. It was first called Arbo and thereafter Chebron from Chebron, one of the sons of Chaleb, as mentioned in the Chronicles." Thus, while Josephus called Hebron a *polichne*, "a little town," Eusebius regards it as "a large village." In any case, it was no city in the period under consideration, nor was it a bishopric at any time. 12

The Bordeaux pilgrim, who travelled there around 333, mentions Terebinth (Mamre), "where Abraham lived and dug a well beneath the terebinth tree, and spoke and ate with the angels; an exceptionally beautiful basilica has been built there by command of Constantine. Two miles on from there is Hebron, where there is a remarkably beautiful tomb, square and made of stone, in which are laid Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah." This is the first mention since Josephus of the building over the tombs.

quod in tabernaculo Abrahae (ubi nunc per annos singulos mercatus celeberrimus exercetur) post ultimam eversionem, quam sustinuerunt ab Adriano, multa hominum millia venundata sint, et quae vendi non potuerint, translata in Aegyptum, et tam naufragio et fame, quam gentium caede truncata. Chronicon Paschale, PG 92, 613: Ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ὑπάτων Ἰουδαίων στασιασάντων ἦλθεν Ἀδριανὸς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ ἔλαβε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους αἰχμαλώτους, καὶ ἀπελθών εἰς τὴν λεγομένην Τερέβινθον προέστησεν πανήγυριν καὶ πέπρακεν αὐτοὺς εἰς ταγὴν ἵππου ἕκαστον, καὶ τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἔλαβεν εἰς Γάζαν, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔστησεν πανήγυριν καὶ ἐπώλησεν αὐτούς, καὶ ἔως τοῦ νῦν ἡ πανήγυρις ἐκείνη λέγεται Ἀδριανή.

<sup>11</sup> Eus., Onom. 6,8-16: Άρβώ (Gen 23,2). "αὕτη ἐστὶ Χεβρών", κώμη νῦν μεγίστη, μητρόπολις οὖσα τὸ παλαιὸν τῶν ἀλλοφύλων, καὶ γιγάντων οἰκητήριον, καὶ βασίλειον μετὰ ταῦτα Δαυίδ. κεκλήρωτο δὲ φυλῆ Ἰούδα, καὶ πόλις ἦν ἱερατική, μία τῶν φυγαδευτηρίων, Αἰλίας ἐκ νότου διεστῶσα σημείοις β' πρὸς κ'. ἡ δρῦς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ τὸ μνῆμα αὐτόθι θεωρεῖται καὶ θρησκεύεται ἐπιφανῶς πρὸς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡ τερέβινθος καὶ οἱ τῷ Ἡβραὰμ ἐπιξενωθέντες ἄγγελοι. πρότερον δὲ Ἡρβὼ καλουμένη ὕστερον ἐκλήθη Χεβρὼν ἀπὸ Χεβρών, ἐνὸς τῶν υίῶν Χαλέβ, ὡς ἐν Παραλειπομέναις. Cf. On. 112,18: Καριαθαρβώ (Gen 23,2). "αὕτη ἐστὶ Χεβρών." κεῖται καὶ ἀνωτέρω. See also 112,19 for the identity of "Kiratharbo" with Hebron and 124,5-7: Mamre and Hebron.

<sup>12</sup> Mader, Mambre 222-37, goes to much fruitless effort to prove it might have been a bishopric after all, but the evidence simply is not there.

<sup>13</sup> It. Burd. 599,3-9: Inde Terebinto milia VIIII, ubi Abraham habitavit et puteum fodit sub arbore terebintho et cum angelis locutus est et cibum sumpsit; ibi basilica facta est iussu Constantini mirae pulchritudinis. Inde Terebinto Cebron milia II, ubi est memoria per

Jerome knew of the tradition of Adam's burial at Hebron, as he mentions in his translation of Eusebius' Onomasticon (7,13). <sup>14</sup> The placement of Adam's tomb here appears to be a late development based on the interpretation of the ancient name of Hebron, Kiryat Arba (Gen 23,2) or "City of Four," to mean the three Patriarchs buried there and Adam. Jerome says Abraham's oak at Mamre existed until the reign of Constantius, being venerated also by the gentiles, and he mentions that a church had been built on the site of the Machpelah. <sup>15</sup> This is the earliest of the Christian sources to identify the Herodian structure as a church.

It is possible that Bede provides an indirect reference to Hebron, if his text indeed is based on Egeria's account (AD 381-4). At Terebinthus (Mamre) there is "an altar with a church in front of it" and in Hebron still stands part of David's house where people still come to pray. 16 The Machpelah is, curiously, described as "the House of Jacob, where a church without a roof has been built." Mention is made further of the tomb of Caleb and a cave "where rest the bodies of the eleven Sons of Jacob." 17 Caleb was introduced as an alternative to the fourth person buried in Hebron besides Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the other fourth being Adam, as already mentioned. Late in the 6 c. the Piacenza pilgrim travelled from Bethlehem to Hebron: "From Bethlehem it is twenty-four miles to the Oak of Mamre, the resting place of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Sarah and also of Joseph's bones. The basilica has four porticoes and no roof over the central court. Down the middle runs a screen. Christians come in on one side and Jews on the other, and they use much incense." The reference to Joseph's tomb there may be a misunderstanding of this author, for it is found nowhere else.

quadrum ex lapidibus mirae pulchritudinis, in qua positi Abraham, Isaac, Iacob, Sara, Rebecca et Lia.

<sup>14</sup> For Jerome on Hebron, see also quaest. in Gen. 35,23; ep. 108,11; 46,3. For the tomb of Adam at Hebron, see also b.Sota 13a; Josh (Vulg.) 14,15; Adomnan, de Loc. Sanct. 2.9.1-3.

<sup>15</sup> For the oak of Mamre, see also Eus., Onom. 76,1-3 and Jerome 771-4: quae usque ad aetatem infantiae meae et Constantii regis imperium terebinthus monstrabatur pervetus et annos magnitudine indicans.

<sup>16</sup> CCSL 175, p. 97, Appendix ad Itinerarium Egeriae II, N: In loco vero, qui appellatur Terebinthus, ubi apparuerunt tres angeli Abrae, est puteus Abrae optimus et spelunce due lucidissime ubi abitavit; nam et altarium ibi positum est et ante se ecclesiam abet. ... Intus vero in Ebron domus consistit Davit, unde adhuc aliqua pars stat; nam cubiculum, ubi mansit, usque odie ibi ad orationem curritur.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.: Non longe autem ab Ebron ad passus trecentos in loco, qui dicitur Abramiri, est domus Iacobi, ubi ecclesia sine tecto constructa est. Inde vero ad passus quiquaginta est sepulchrum sancti Chaleph. Item Abramiri vinea est, in qua est spelunca, ubi requiescunt corpora undecim filiorum Iacob... For this tradition, cf. Book of Jubilees 46,9; Jos. AJ 2,199. However, Acts 7,14-16, places their tombs in Shechem.

<sup>18</sup> Antonini Placentini, Itinerarium, 30 (CCSL 175, p. 144): De Bethlem autem usque ad ilicem Mambre sunt milia XXIV, in quo loco iacent Abraham et Isaac et Iacob et Sarra sed et ossa Ioseph, basilica aedificata in quadriporticus in medio atrio discopertus, per

Sozomen gives an elaborate description of the Fair at Mamre (Botnah, Terebinth) in the 5 c.  $^{19}$ 

On the Madaba map Hebron is represented by a tree placed between two vignettes. The caption is "Arba, also the Terebinth." It accompanies a church besides a portico with two stories. "The Oak of Mambre" is also indicated on the map.

The latest description in antiquity is by Adomnan, who got his information from Arculf in the 7 c.: "Hebron, also called Mamre ... according to what holy Arculf tells us, ... has no walls around it, and only some ruins remain to be seen, amongst the relics of the city's destruction. It has some hamlets, poorly built, and farms, on the plain, some of them inside and some outside the remains of the ruined walls, and in these hamlets and farms is living a large number of people."20 Adomnan describes the Tomb of the Patriarchs as situated outside the town: "On the east of Hebron is a field, facing the Double Cave of Mamre, which Abraham bought from Ephron to possess it. In the valley containing this plot holy Arculf made a pilgrimage to the place of the Tombs ... They are buried with their feet to the south (not east, as is usual in other parts of the world) and their heads to the north. Round the place where they are buried runs a low wall in a rectangle ... One finds this small field containing these tombs of the Patriarchs one stage to the east of the wall of ancient Hebron."21 He describes the tombs of Adam, the Patriarchs, and the three wives. Separately he gives an account of the hill and oak of Mamre. "It lies a mile to the north of the tombs we have just described and is covered in

medio discurrit cancellous et ex uno latere intrant Christiani et ex alio latere Iudaei, incense facientes multa. Trans. J. Wilkinson, Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades, 2nd ed. 2002.

<sup>19</sup> Soz. 2,2-54: "There every year a very famous festival is held in the summer time, by people of the neighbourhood as well as by the inhabitants of more distant parts of Palestine and by Phoenicians and Arabians. Very many come there for the sake of business, some to sell and some to buy. The feast is celebrated by a very big congregation of Jews, since they boast of Abraham as their forefather, of heathens since angels came there, of Christians since he who should be born from the Virgin for the salvation of human-kind appeared there to that pious man. Everyone venerates this place according to his religion: some praying to God the ruler of all, some calling upon the angels and offering libations of wine, burning incense or sacrificing an ox, a goat, a sheep or a cock."

<sup>20</sup> Adamnanus, de locis sanctis 2,8 (CCSL 175, p. 209): Chebron, quae et Mambre ... nunc, sicut sanctus refert Arculfus, murorum non habet ambitum, quaedam solummodo dirutae olim civitatis in reliquis vestigia ostendit ruinarum. Vicos tamen quosdam vili opere constructos et villas, alios intra et alios extra illas muralium reliquias distructionum per campestrem habet collocatos planitiem, in quibus videlicet vicis et villis multitude populi inhabitat. Trans. Wilkinson (n.18).

<sup>21</sup> Adamnanus 2,9 (CCSL 175, p. 209): Ab orientali vero plaga eiusdem Chebron ager ille occurrit speluncae duplicis respiciens Mambre quem emit Abraham ab Effron Aetheo in possessionem duplicis sepulchri. In huius agelli valle sanctus ille Arculfus locum sepulchrorum Arbe visitavit, hoc est .iiii. patriarchum ... Horum locus sepulchrorum quadrato humili circumvenitur muro... Trans. Wilkinson (n.18).

grass and flowers ... on the northern part [of the hill] has been built a large stone church."  $^{22}$  He claims that Arculf saw the oak – contradicting Jerome's statement that it existed only until the reign of Constantine. The impression gained from this source is that Hebron, as a settlement, had declined even further from the 4 c. until the 7 c. $^{23}$ 

Hebron was a nodal point in the Roman road-system: it was linked with Jerusalem/Aelia Capitolina through the main road following the watershed. This road continued southward, passing Carmel and Ma'on to Mampsis in the northern Negev, itself situated on an important crossroads. To the West a descending Roman road via the Adoraim ridge linked it with Eleutheropolis/Beit Guvrin, whence roads let to Diospolis/Lydda, Ascalon and Gaza. Another major road led to the Southwest across the Negev via Beer Sheva to Elusa and Nessana. It makes therefore sense that a military unit was stationed in or near the city of Hebron. A diploma issued in AD 186 to a soldier of the cohors I milliaria was allegedly found there. <sup>24</sup> Besides the major roads already mentioned, secondary roads connected Hebron with 'Ein Gedi, where in 124 a centurion of the same cohort is attested, occupying a praisidion flanked by soldiers' housing.<sup>25</sup> The duration of the military presence in Hebron or in the neighbourhood cannot be determined, for the only firm date is the year 186 already mentioned. Eusebius, who in many instances records the presence of an army unit at a location in his days, does not mention a military garrison in Hebron, as distinct from villages in the area described in relation to Hebron, such as Beer Sheva and Carmel.<sup>26</sup> It may therefore be concluded that the unit that was (partly?) in or near Hebron in the 2 c. had left by the end of the 3 c.

Ancient Hebron constitutes a cluster of ancient sites. 1) The earliest settlement, Tel Hebron, was located on Jebel Rumeida. Remains of the Bronze and Iron Age show that this is the site of the biblical settlement. It flourished and was the most important walled city in the Judean hills in the 17 c. and 16 c. BC, following which it was destroyed and remained unoccupied until the Iron Age I. It was occupied also from the Hellenistic period onward, but this probably represented a suburban development of the town, situated in the valley. Two destruction levels may possibly

<sup>22</sup> Adamnanus 11 (CCSL 175, pp. 210f.): Mambre collis mille passibus a monumentis supra discriptis ad boream separatus distat, herbosus valde et floribus, respiciens Chebron ab Affrico sibi occurrentem. Idem itaque monticellus Mambre nominatus habet in cacumine campestrem planitiem ubi ad aquilonalem eiusdem cacuminis partem lapidea magna fundata est eclesia. Trans. Wilkinson (n.18).

<sup>23</sup> Mader, Mambre 222-37, protests against A. Alt's conclusion that Hebron in Late Antiquity was merely a shadow of a town (Schattendasein), but Alt's conclusion is obviously right and Mader's attempt to identify Hebron with a town Diocletianopolis (near Ascalon) is off the mark.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. below no. 3827.

<sup>25</sup> P.Yadin I 11, l.2. From this papyrus it is clear also that there was a military base at 'Ein Gedi, so the milliary cohort may have been split between Hebron and 'Ein Gedi.

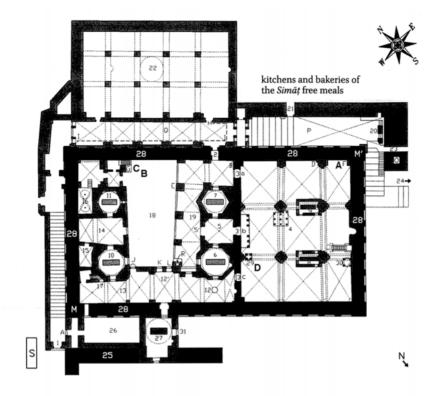
<sup>26</sup> For Beer Sheva: Eus. Onom. 50,52; Carmel: 118,5-7.

be identified with the two major Jewish revolts. 2) The massive ancient structure, Haram el-Khalil/Machpelah is situated on a slope opposite Tel Hebron.<sup>27</sup> 3) The modern city of Hebron lies in the valley between these two sites. Two other neighbouring sites are relevant here because they have produced Byzantine and Early Arabic remains: Khirbet en Nasarah and Jebel Batrak.<sup>28</sup>

ΒI

<sup>27</sup> On this, see Mader, Mambre.

<sup>28</sup> This information is based on the brief survey in NEAEHL 2, 1993, 606-9.



Pl. 1. Plan of the Hebron Sanctuary (al-ḥaram al-ibrāhīmī). Drawing: Jonathan Sharon

1. Bāb Yūsuf—NW entrance of the Sanctuary. 2. Gate of the sacred enclosure. 3a, 3b, 3c. Gates of the main mosque (al-Iṣḥāqiyyah). 4. Main mosque-former Byzantine and Crusader church. 5. Vestibule between Abraham's and Sarah's chambers (al-hadrah al-Ibrāhīmiyyah—the Revered Presence. Gate 3b: bāb al-hadrah) 5'. Wooden door wings of the gate leading from the open court into the vestibule, with copper inscriptions. 6. Abraham's chamber with cenotaph. 7. Sarah's chamber with cenotaph. 8. Isaac's cenotaph. 9. Rebecca's cenotaph. 10. Jacob's cenotaph. 11. Leah's cenotaph. 12. Miḥrāb al-Mālikiyyah 12'. Vestibule (Mujīr, 1283:57). 13. Women's mosque. 14. Vestibule between Jacob's and Leah's chambers 15. Original lumber room. 16. Oil storage room (al-mazyatah). 17. Stairs to terraces, 18. Open court, 19. Portico, 20. Original location of guards. 21. Passage to the kitchens and bakeries of the simāt free meals. 22. Jawliyyah -- mosque of Sanjar al-Jawli. 23. Passage to the northern and eastern quarters of the town. 24. Arrow pointing in the general direction of the original site of the mūristān and the ribāt al-manṣūrī (see N). 25. Wall of the demolished castle. 26. Joseph's cenotaph on the level of the cave. 27. Joseph's upper cenotaph on the level of Patriarchs' cenotaphs. 28. Ancient, most likely Herodian wall; For the Muslims: "the Solomonic wall". 29. The aperture leading to the underground chamber and grotto. 30. Blocked entrance into the underground passage leading to the grotto. A. Inscription of the amīr Ahmad al-Yaghmūrī. B. Inscription of Barqūq's waqfiyyah (perceived by Mujīr ad-Dīn over the gate). C. Inscription of al-Mustanşir on the minbar. D. Inscription of an-Nāṣir Muḥammad and Tankiz. E. Inscription of the governor of Damascus, 1172/1775; restoration of the porch. F. Greek inscription. Conder, PEFQ, 1882:203; 3:339; Cl. Ganneau, EAO, 1:143). G. Fragment of a Greek inscription. Conder, PEFQ, 1882:205; Bagatti, 2002:72. H. Inscription of al-Jāwlī (AH 720); above, the inscription of Mu'azzam 'Isā I-I. Long band resembling the one over the mihrāb in the main mosque. J, K, L.  $Three\ Qur'anic\ inscriptions\ painted\ red.\ M,\ M'.\ Minarets.\ N.\ Arrow\ pointing\ to\ original\ site\ and\ inscriptions\ of\ ribāt\ al-mansūri\ and$ al-matharah. O. Sabil as-Sultān Īnāl and inscription. P. Portico of the original main entrance to the Sanctuary (Presently, the southern staircase leading to it does not exist). Q. Corridor (dihlīz) between the Sanctuary and Jāwliyyah. R. Sabīl 'Uthmān. S. 'Ayn at-Tawāshī.

fig. 3823.A Ground plan, M. Sharon, CIAP 5, 16 pl. 1

# Inscriptions

#### A. Res sacrae

# 3823.-3826. Sanctuary - Haram el-Khalil

An important tradition located the graves of the patriarchs and their wives in Hebron (Gen 23,13ff.; 25,9ff; 49,31ff.; 50,13). The "original" burial cave could not be accessed after the 2 c. AD, but Jewish, Christian, and later Islamic pilgrimage encouraged a building process. It started with the Herodian circuit (Ḥaram), which was later divided into an open courtyard and a church (for a plan, see fig. A). The crusaders opened the burial cave in the 12 c., and the muslims closed it again and converted the crusader church to a mosque.

Bibl.: L. Vincent - E. Mackay, Hébron. Le Ḥaram el-Khalîl, 1923; Keel - Küchler 688ff.; H. Busse, ZDPV 114, 71-94; CIAP 5, 19ff.

#### 3823. Greek invocation of Abraham

Inscription in a tabula ansata, of which traces are still visible; the ansae were adorned. The cross at the beginning of l.1 was erased.

Meas.: h 27.5, w 56 cm; letters 3 cm.

Findspot: The inscription is located in the northern corner of the eastern nave of the mosque of Hebron (see l.1 init.!); cf. introduction to nos. 3823-3826 fig. A, no. A=CIAP no. F; Mader 1918, 135 (with n.3): "vielleicht ist die mohammedanische mündliche Überlieferung im Recht, die erzählt, die Inschrift habe einst in der Gruft vor dem Grabe Abrahams gestanden"; at the same time Mader voices doubts (Mambre 139). The inscription may be a relic of the Byzantine church. Cf. commentary. Pres. loc.: Seems to be still in the northeast corner of the mosque.

# $[[(cross)]]A\Gamma IEABPAAMAB\Omega H\Theta ITON\Delta O\Upsilon$

ΛΟΝΣΟΥΝΙΛΟΝΤΟΝΔΜΑΡΜΑ ΡΑΡΗΝΚΑΙΑΓΑΘΗΜΕΡΟΝ ΚΑΙΥΓΙΑΝΚΑΙΩΜΑΒΙΣΚΑΙΘΩ ΜΑΣΙΑΝΚΑΙΑΒΛΑΛΑΚΑΙΑΝΑ ΣΤΑΣΙΑΝ



άγιε Ἀβραάμα, βωήθι τὸν δοῦ|λόν σου Νῖλον τὸν ˙(πρωτο)˙μαρμα|ράρην καὶ Ἁγαθήμερον | καὶ Ὑγίαν καὶ ΩΜΑΒΙΣ καὶ Θω|μασίαν καὶ ὨΑδ καὶ ঐνα|στασίαν

Holy Abraham, help your servant Nilus, the foreman of the marble workers, and Agathemerus and Hygia, and Omabis(?) and Thomasia, and Abdala and Anastasia.

Comm.: Many photographs of this inscription have been published; it is therefore unnecessary to refer to all the differing readings or linebreaks recorded in the 19 c. Dating: 7 c. AD (Jaroš), or 6 c. AD (Bagatti). – l.1: the cross in the beginning has been effaced. – l.2:  $\Delta$  is sometimes omitted, lastly by Jaroš; Mordtmann 1894 and others read "A," Fischer - Grossmark, EI and Fischer

-:-ALIEYBYYYHYBOHOLONY VONCONIYONLONPHYB BYLHUKYIYUHYBICKYHON KYLIYUKYIWHYBICKYHON HYCIYUKYIYA HYCIYUKYIYA CUYUHYA CUYUHYA TYNIYA TYYLIY TYYLI

fig. 3823.2

1998 wrote "τὸν δ<ε>." Some editors deleted the letter; and Wilhelm apud SEG was the only one to look for making sense: he wrote instead of *delta*: ' $\alpha$ ''=( $\pi\rho\omega\tau$ ο)-μαρμαράρην, which was accepted by Di Segni. – Fischer - Grossmark 1996, 333 see the presence of marmorarii in Hebron "in harmony with the archaeological finds of the Byzantine period"; therefore, Waddington seems to have been wrong when he thought this "une prière … par des pèlerins." – ll.3ff.: Clermont-Ganneau thought that the six persons after Nilus were probably three couples. – l.4: ' $\Omega\mu\alpha$ ίβιο[ν] Newbold, ' $\Omega\mu$ άβρις Fischer - Grossmark 1996. SEG refers to SEG 7, 681: ' $I\mu\alpha$ βούας, and Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 88 has  $O\mu$ αβι. – l.5: Di Segni 75 on some examples of Christians bearing the name Abdallah.

There is one more item concerning the "Nachleben" of this text. The story is told by Busse, who translates from the work of Abū l-Fidā', a historian of the 13/4 c. AD, who had every chance to see this stone for himself, but tells an even older story: Muslims made a copy of a text in the mosque, opposite Rebecca's sarcophagus. An old man able to translate the text could be found only in Aleppo, and this was his translation: "Im Namen Gottes, des Gottes des siegreichen Thrones, des Rechtleitenden, Mächtigen und Tapferen! Das Kenotaph bei dieser Inschrift zeigt das Grab Rebekkas an, der Gemahlin Isaaks, das Kenotaph gegenüber das Grab Isaaks. Das größere Kenotaph gegenüber diesem zeigt das Grab des Gottesfreundes Abraham an, das Kenotaph diesem östlich gegenüber das Grab seiner Gemahlin Sara, das weiter entfernte, an Abrahams Kenotaph angrenzende Kenotaph zeigt Jakobs Grab an, das diesem östlich benachbarte das Grab Leas. Gott segne sie und schenke ihnen Heil! Esau hat dies mit eigener Hand geschrieben" (Busse 84). Evidently there was no genuine inscription with this text. The inscription here although not directly opposite Rebecca's sarcopha-

gus, is at least in its vicinity. – Lady Herbert commented on the text: "... as stupid as it well can be."

Bibl.: T. Newbold, Journal of the Royal Geographic Society 16, 1846, 336f. (copy by a "Muslimán" thought to be from Cyprus, given to the Prussian consul Schultz in Jerusalem) (ed. pr.). - RA 10, 1853, 374f. (copy by Dr. V. Guillabert); Times, 14th January 1867 (copy by the Marquis of Bute); E. Lady Herbert of Lea, Cradle Lands, 1867, 177; Waddington, no. 1905; J. Mordtmann, ZDPV 12, 1889, 132f. (copy by a Persian, given to Mordtmann by a Greek living in Tebriz, Χρ. Πισσας); id., ZDPV 17, 1894, 207f. (copy by Papadopoulos-Kerameus); Clermont-Ganneau, EAO 1, 1895, 143 pl. 3b (squeeze by van Berchem); A. Mader, Altchristliche Basiliken und Lokaltraditionen in Südjudaea, 1918, 134f.; L. Vincent - V. Mackay, Hébron, 1923, 161 fig. 68; SEG 8, 240; Keel - Küchler 691ff., fig. 448; Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 74f.; Meimaris, Sacred Names 87 no. 547 (ll.1-3); M. Fischer - T. Grossmark, in: R. Katzoff ed., Classical Studies in honor of David Sohlberg, 1996, 332f., 335; iid., EI 25, 1996, 471ff., fig. 9 (Hebr.); M. Fischer, Marble Studies, 1998, 272f., fig. 7; Jaroš, Inschriften 465 no. 300; Bagatti, Judaea 76f.; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 206; L. Di Segni, CIAP 5, 74ff., pl. 25. -Cf. C. Clermont-Ganneau, RCr 1, 1876, 291; R. Conder, PEQ 26, 1894, 202 no. 23; Conder -Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea 334, 339; F. Halkin, AnBoll 59, 1941, 307; id., AnBoll 69, 1951, 71; Mader, Mambre 140; H. Busse, ZDPV 114, 1998, 83ff.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 70 fig. 9,2 (dr.).

WA

#### 3824. Greek invocation

Findspot: On the stones of the courtyard, perhaps in the vicinity of no. 3825; cf. introduction to nos. 3823-3826 fig. A, no. B.

[[(cross)]] KEB $\Omega$ H $\Theta$ IT+[--]

κ(ύρι)ε, βωήθι τῷ [δούλῳ σου --?]

Lord, help your servant(?) ...



fig. 3824.1

Comm.: The cross has been effaced. – τῶ[ν δούλων σου?].

Bibl.: L. Vincent - V. Mackay, Hébron, 1923, 31f. (ed. pr.). – Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 74f.

Photo: L. Vincent - E. Mackay, Hébron, 1923, 31 fig. 21 (dr.); Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 70 fig. 9,2 (dr.).

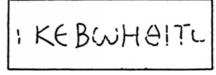


fig. 3824.2

# 3825. Greek pilgrim's inscription of Zonenus

The inscription was "evidently cut after the stone was in situ. The form of the letters is of Byzantine period." (Conder 1882); part of the text is covered with modern cement, evidently applied between 1882 and 1923.

Meas.: letters ll.1-2: 3.5, l.3: 3.2 cm (according the drawing in Vincent - Mackay 32 fig. 20).

Findspot: Set into the eastern wall of the courtyard of the Ḥaram; cf. introduction to nos. 3823-3826 fig. A, no. C=CIAP no. G.

[..]ΝΕΝΟΥ ABPAMΙΟΥ [.]+ΜΑΝΟΥΣ

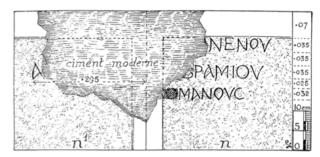


fig. 3825

# [Ζο]νένου | Άβραμίου | ['Ρ]ομανους

(Lord, remember your servants) Zonenus, Abramius, Romanus.

Comm.: Bagatti rightly remarks that the names are in the genitive case; he therefore posits a missing line, e.g. κύριε, μνήσθητι τῶν δούλων σου κτλ.; cf. no. 3824. – l.1: suppl. Vincent - Mackay, who referred to Abel, RB 1920, 115 (Negev): Ἀβρααμίου Αβου Ζοναίνου (for the name in Hebron, cf. no. 3829). – l.2: There does not seem to be sufficient space for [υίοῦ ʾA]βραμίου, as Vincent - Mackay suggested. They did not see the *alpha* recorded by the edd. prr., and only part of the *beta*. – l.3: first letter *omicron* or *omega*; perhaps an ethnic; Vincent thought it to be the transcription of the personal name "Romanus"; cf. SEG 8, 125 (Neapolis): Ἰοῦστος Ῥομάνυς, and especially the martyr from Caesarea, Eus. MP 7, 7ff. (syr.).

Bibl.: C. Conder, PEQ 14, 1882, 205; Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea 340 (edd. prr.). – C. Conder, PEQ 26, 1894, 202 no. 24; L. Vincent - V. Mackay, Hébron, 1923, 31f.; Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 70 fig. 9, 74f.; id., Judaea 76f. (dr.); Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 206; L. Di Segni, CIAP 5, 78 (dr.). – Cf. Clermont-Ganneau, EAO 1, 1895, 143; A. Mader, Altchristliche Basiliken und Lokaltraditionen in Südjudäa, 1918, 134ff.

Photo: L. Vincent - E. Mackay, Hébron, 1923, 31 fig. 20 (dr.).

#### 3826. Graffito of Abraham

Findspot: "On an ashlar ... in the subterranean chamber ... under the Sanctuary floor, which must have come from the building above" (Di Segni); cf. introduction to nos. 3823-3826 fig. A, no. D=CIAP no. 29.

**ABPAMAM** 

Aboa'h'am

/MBPAMAIT-

Abraham(?).

Comm.: Di Segni's reading is based on a "video frame"; she adds: "It seems to me that the third letter from the end is an H, not a M (could well be my bad copy MS), and the word is ABRAHAM, only a rho supplanted the R. ... The shape of the first letter, an A with a kind of flat roof on it, seems quite late to me (medieval?). I have seen an A like this in Crusader inscriptions at Akko." Of course it is quite possible that the small hasta distinguishing *rho* from r was simply not seen.

Bibl.: CIAP 5, 23ff.; L. Di Segni, ibid. 77f. (edd. prr.).

Photo: L. Di Segni, CIAP 5, 77 (dr.).

WA

# B. Military diploma

# 3827. Military diploma for a veteran in Syria Palaestina, 24/27 November 186 AD

Part of the tabella I of a military diploma is preserved; some lines on the top and at the bottom of the outer side are missing; the text of the inner side is partly corrupted by mistakes of the engraver. The two binding holes are preserved.

Meas.: h 9.2, w 11.1 cm; wt 75 g.

Findspot: In Hebron or nearby some years before 1976.

Pres. loc.: Before 1976 property of N. Munster (Lifshitz); according to RMD 1, 69 the last known owner was Nathan Meron (1978).



fig. 3827.1

#### Inner side:

- [--]ARDIVIMANTONINIP[--]
- [--]FILDIVIPIINEPDIVI[--]
- [--]VITRAIANIPARTHICABN[--]
- [--]AEADNEPOSAVRELIVSÇO[--]
- [--]NINV[.]PIVSFELIXAVGSAR[--]
- [--]ANICMAX () BRITTANIC[--]
- [--]ŢRIBPOTXIIMPVIICOS[--]
- [--]BETPEDITIBQVIMILITAV[--]
- [--]EAPPELLANTANTIANA[--]
- [--]RACV∞ETISEBASTE∞ETIDA[--]
- [--]GALATARVMET[--]BRACAR[--]
- [--]ESTINASVBIVLIOLEPIDIANO[--]
- [--]IPLV[.]IBV[.]VESTIPENDISE[--]
- [--]STAMISIONE () QVORNOMI[--]
- [--]IVITATROMANAQVIEORN[--]
- [--]ITETC[...]B[.]VM[..]OR[--]
- [--]VT[.]VMIS[--]DVXI[--]
- [--]XAT[--]



fig. 3827.2

## Outer side:

[--]ONTIFMAXTRIBPOT[--]

[--]COSVPP

EQVITIBETPEDITIBQVMILITAVERINALISII QVAEAPPELLNTVRANTIANAGALLORETTHRA CETANTIANAETCOHVIIVMELLAECRET ITHRAC∞ETISEBASTE∞ETIDAMASCEN[.] RETIVLPGALATARETIIVLPGALATARETIIII BRACARETSVNTINSYRIAPALESTINA SVBIVLIOLEPIDIANOLEGQVINIETVICENI PLVRIBVSVESTIPENDISEMERITISDIMISSIS

HONESTAMISSIONEQVORNOMINASVB SCRIPTASVNTCIVITATEMROMANAM QVIEORVMNOHABERENTDEDITETCONV [.]IVMCVMVXORIBVSQVASTVNCHABVIS SENTCVMESTCIVITASIISDATAAVTCVM ISQVA[--]DVXISSENTDVMTAXAT [...]GVL[..]ADV[--]KALDECEMBRES [..]ABVCIOMAIORECVALERIOSEN[--] [--]THRA[..]M[--]E[--]

#### Inner side:

[Imp(erator) Caes]ar divi M(arci) Antonini P[ii Germ(anici) | Sarm(atici)] fil(ius), divi Pii nep(os), divi [Hadriani pro|nep(os), di]vi Traiani Parthic(i) abn[ep(os), divi | Nerv]ae adnepos Aurelius Co[mmo|dus Anto]ninu[s] Pius Felix Aug(ustus) Sar[matic(us) | Germ]anic(us) max(imus) Brit{t}an(n)ic(us) [pontif(ex) | max(imus),] trib(unicia) pot(estate) XI, imp(erator) VII, co(n)s(ul) [V, p(ater) p(atriae) | equiti]b(us) et peditib(us), qui militav(erunt) [in alis | II, qua]e appellant(ur) Antiana [Gallor(um) | et Th]racu(m) (milliaria) et I Sebaste(norum) (milliaria) et I Da[mascenor(um) | et I et II] Galatarum et [IIII] Bracar(augustanorum) [et sunt in Sy|ria Pala]estina sub Iulio Lepidiano [leg(ato) quini(s) | et vicen]i(s) plu[r]ibu[s]ve stipendi(i)s e[meritis di|missi(s) hone]sta mis(s)ione, quor(um) nomi[na subscri|pta sunt, c]ivitat(em) Romana(m), qui eor(um) n[on habe|rent, ded]it et c[onu]b(ium) [c]um [ux]or[ibus, quas tunc ha|buissent, a]ut [c]um is, [quas] <postea> duxi[ssent, | dumta]xat [singulis]

#### Outer side:

[Imp(erator) Caesar divi M(arci) Antonini Pii Germ(anici) Sarm(atici) fil(ius), divi Pii nep(os), divi Hadriani pronep(os), divi Traiani Parthic(i) abnep(os), divi Nervae adnepos Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Pius Felix Aug(ustus) Sarmatic(us) Germanic(us) | max(imus) Britan(n)ic(us) plontif(ex) max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) [XI, | imp(erator) VII,] co(n)s(ul) V, p(ater) p(atriae) | equitib(us) et peditib(us), qu(i) militaver(unt) in alis II, | quae appell(a)ntur Antiana Gallor(um) et Thra|c(um) et Antiana et coh(ortibus) VII V <Ge>mella{e} c(ivium) R(omanorum) et | I Thrac(um) (milliaria) et I Sebaste(norum) (milliaria) et I Damascen[o]|r(um) et I Ulp(ia) Galatar(um) et II Ulp(ia) Galatar(um) et IIII | Bracar(augustanorum) et sunt in Syria Pal(a)estina | sub Iulio Lepidiano leg(ato) quini(s) et viceni(s) | pluribusve stipendi(i)s emeritis dimissis | honesta missione, quor(um) nomina sub|scripta sunt, civitatem Romanam, | qui eorum no(n) haberent, dedit et conu|[b]ium cum uxoribus, quas tunc habuis|sent, cum est civitas iis data, aut cum | is, qua[s postea] duxissent dumtaxat | [sin]gul[is]. a(nte) d(iem) V[--] Kal(endas) Decembres | [G(aio) S]abucio Maiore, G(aio) Valerio Sen[ecione co(n)s(ulibus) | coh(ortis)? I] Thra[cu]m [(milliariae), cui pra]e[st --. Descriptum et recognitum ex tabula aenea, quae fixa est Romae in muro post templum divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam]

### Text of the outer side:

Imperator Caesar, son of the divine Marcus Antoninus Pius Germanicus, Sarmaticus, grandson of the divine Pius, great-grandson of the divine Hadrian, great-great-grandson of the divine Traianus Parthicus, great-great-great-grandson of the divine Nerva, Aurelius Commodus Antoninus pious, fortunate Augustus, (with the victory titles) Sarmaticus, Germanicus maximus, Britannicus, High Priest, holding tribunician power for the eleventh time, seven times acclaimed imperator, five times consul, father of the fatherland.

He has granted to the cavalrymen and foot-soldiers who have served in the two cavalry wings, which are named Antiana Gallorum and Thracum and Antiana (=Gallorum et Thracum constantium) and seven cohorts: V Gemella of Roman citizens and I Thracum with one-thousand soldiers and I Sebastenorum with one-thousand soldiers and I Damascenorum and I and II Ulpia Galatarum and IIII Bracaraugustanorum, which are in Syria Palaestina under the legate Iulius Lepidianus, (to soldiers) who have, after service of twenty-five years or more, received an honorable discharge, whose names are written below, (he granted) the Roman citizenship, who did not have it, and the right of legal marriage with the women they had at the time they were granted the citizenship, or with those whom they would later marry, of course only with one woman.

The fifth/eighth day before the calends of December (=24-27 November) in the consulship of Gaius Sabucius Maior, Gaius Valerius Senecio (=186). Issued to ... from the first cohort of Thracians, which is under the command of ...

Copied and checked against the tablet of bronze which is fixed in Rome on the wall behind the temple of the Divine Augustus next to the statue of Minerva.

Comm.: The Latin text is written in capitals, and the reading follows on the whole that of M. Roxan in RMD 1, 69, without referring to the different, but mostly erroneous reading by Lifshitz. The texts on the inner and outer side differ considerably at the beginning of the unit-list. On the whole, however, the text does not present major difficulties.

The imperial constitution for the auxiliary troops in Syria Palaestina was issued between the 24 and 27 November 186; the date is supplied by Commodus' *tribunicia potestas XI* and the consular date: *a(nte) d(iem) V[--] kal(endas) Decembres*. The list of troops contains two mounted units: *ala Antiana Gallorum et Thracum*, and the second should be *ala Gallorum et Thracum constantium*; the engraver obviously mixed up the two units, which are attested in other diplomas (cf. AE 2005, 1730; 2007, 1766; 2008, 175). The seven cohorts are: *V Gemella civium Romanorum*, *I Thracum milliaria*, *I Sebastenorum milliaria*, *I Damascenorum*, *I* and *II Ulpia Galatarum*, *IIII Bracaraugustanorum*. Some units attested as present in the province in diplomas of 160 are missing here – which does not mean that they were no longer part of the provincial army. The governor Iulius Lepidianus, mentioned in the diploma, is not otherwise known. He was of senatorial rank and consul some years before his governorship, as was usual for the governors of Syria Palaestina.

This diploma and CIL 16, 87 are the only diplomas found in the province. All the other diplomas issued to soldiers or veterans who served in the army of Iudaea/Syria Palaestina were found in other provinces; obviously, the greater majority of the veterans did not settle here but returned to their homeland; cf. W. Eck, in: C. Cordoni - G. Langer eds., "Let the Wise Listen and Add to Their Learning" (Prov 1:5), 2016, 127-40.

Bibl.: B. Lifshitz, Latomus 35, 1976, 117-22 (ph.) (ed. pr.). – AE 1976, 690; W. Eck, ZPE 25, 1977, 227-40 at 233ff.; M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, Latomus 36, 1977, 1055f.; RMD 1, 69 (see also 3

p. 248); AE 1979, 632; H. Devijver, ZPE 59, 1985, 205-23 at 219 no. 72bis, 221 no. 265bis. – For the diplomas of Iudaea/Syria Palaestina see W. Eck - A. Pangerl, ZPE 157, 2006, 185-91; iid., ZPE 159, 2007, 283-90; W. Eck - P. Weiß, ZPE 170, 2009, 201-6; W. Eck, SCI 29, 2010, 21-31; W. Eck - H. Cotton, Michmanim 23, 2011, 7-22 (Hebr.); W. Eck - A. Pangerl, SCI 31, 2012, 53-64.

Photo: Courtesy of RMD.

WE

# C. Funerary inscriptions

# 3828. Grave of Petrus and Abraamius

White marble slab; today broken in two pieces; the back was only roughly smoothed. Meas.: h 72.5, w 31, d 6.5 cm; letters 3 (ll.1-6), 3.5-4 cm (ll.7ff.).

Findspot: "Dans une maison juive à Hébron" (Jaussen - Savignac - Vincent); the anonymous editor in ZDPV took the fact that the stone was made of marble as proof of its originating in Beersheba (cf. Lagrange; Leclercq 1935; 1937; Meimaris; DGI; Bagatti; Samama).

Pres. loc.: SBF Museum, Jerusalem. Autopsy: 7 October 2013 and 4 June 2014 (WE/DK).

ΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΑΤΕ ΤΕΘΗΟΜΑΚΑ ΡΙΟΣΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΕΝΜΗΝΙΑΡΤΕ ΜΙΣΙΟΥΑ ΙΝΔΙΤ (cross) ΕΝΤΑΥΟΑΚΕΙΤΓ ΚΟΜΑΚΓΑΒΡΑΑΜΙ ΟΣΙΑΤΡΓΑΝΑΠΑ ΕΙΣΤΗΗΜΗΝΓ ΜΑΙΟΥΑΡΤΕΜΗ ΣΙΟΥΙΉΙΝΔΓΙΒ ΕΤΟΥΣΤΞΕ (cross)



fig. 3828

ἐνθάδε κατε|τέθη ὁ μακά|ριος Πέτρος | ἐν μηνὶ Ἀρτε|μισίου α', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γ'. | ἐνταῦ΄θ᾽α κεῖτ(αι) | κ(αὶ) ὁ μακ(άριος) Ἀβραάμι|ος, ἰατρ(ός), ἀναπα|εὶς τῆ η' μην(ὸς) | Μαίου, Ἀρτεμη|σίου ιη', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιβ', | ἔτους τξε'

The blessed Petrus was laid down at this place, Artemisios 1st, indiction 3. – Here lies, too, the blessed Abraamius, physician, having found rest on May 8th, Artemisios 18th, indiction 12, year 365 (=564 AD).

Comm.: The two inscriptions were made by different masons and at different times. If Petrus died before Abraamius, the date of his death was 555 AD at the earliest (l.6). – ll.8f.: Åβρααμή|ος Samama, but there is no room for an eta. – ll.9f.: ἀν(ε)πά[η] εἶς (=ἐν) Clermont-Ganneau 1904. – l.9: "Perhaps the regimental doctor of the military unit stationed in Beersheba" (DGI). – ll.10-12: This is taken as another proof that Artemisios began on April 21st in this region. The era is that of Eleutheropolis.

Bibl.: C. Clermont-Ganneau, CRAI 1904, 175f.; M.-J. Lagrange, ibid. 299; A. Jaussen - R. Savignac - L. Vincent, RB 14, 1905, 250 nos. 1, 2 pl. 9 (edd. prr.). – E. Schwartz, Nachr. d. kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. Göttingen 4, 1906, 379 no. 6; ZDPV MN 13, 1907, 14 nos. 1, 2; Alt, GIPT no. 22; H. Leclercq, DACL 12, 1935, 1079 no. 1; id., DACL 13, 1937, 866f.; Bagatti, Flagellazione 18 no. 13; P. Figueras, Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas 16, 1980, 155, 159f.; id., Byzantine Inscriptions from Beersheva and the Negev, 1985, 25 no. 17; Meimaris, Chron. Systems 311 no. 6; DGI 668f. no. 252 A+B, fig. 303 A+B; Bagatti, Judaea 76f.; É. Samama, Les médecins dans le monde grec, 2003, 471 no. 388. – Cf. W. Kubitschek, JÖAI 8, 1905, 87ff.; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 206.

Photo: WE.

WA

# 3829. Greek funerary (?) inscription of Zonenus, 527 AD

Inscription in a tabula ansata.

Meas.: h 36, w 50 cm.

Findspot: Cut in the rock at Kh. ed-Duhdah, a site at the northern outskirts of the modern city of Hebron, ca. 4 km from the city center. "The complex consists of several hollows connected to shallow drains, a cistern and an underground cave that was probably used as a storeroom. The depressions are too shallow to have served for soaking skins, and most likely they functioned as sockets to rest movable tubs" (Di Segni, DGI).

(cross) AYTHHKAAYBH KYPZONENOY BYP $\Sigma$ IA $\Sigma$ KAA $\Omega$  $\int$ ETOY $\Sigma$  $\overline{\Lambda}\overline{X}$ MH $\Pi$ A $\int$ E



fig. 3829

αὕτη ἡ καλύβη | κυρ(ίου) Ζονένου | βυρσί, Ἀσκαλω(νίτου). | ἔτους λχ', μη(νὸς) Πα(νήμου) ε'

This (is) the shed of master Zonenus, the tanner, from Ascalon. Year 630 (=527 AD), Panemos 5th.

Comm.: A coin of Justin I was found in the excavations, which corroborates the date and the use of the era of Ascalon. – l.1: Di Segni, DGI argues that part of the tannery was "enclosed in a shed." However,  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\dot{\nu}\beta\eta$  is usually a cell (of a monk); and monks are sometimes recorded with their secular profession, and this should be considered. – l.2: On the name cf. CIIP III 2445 and no. 3825. – l.3:  $\beta\nu\rho\sigma\dot{l}(o\nu)$  SEG 39; 'Askalo( $\nu\dot{l}\tauo\nu$ ) Di Segni apud ESI; 'Askalo( $\nu\dot{l}\tau\ddot{\omega}\nu$ ) ětous Di Segni 1990, for otherwise a reader could have taken this to be the era of Eleutheropolis. While it is true that the era used was sometimes specified, especially in a territory using another era, it is equally true that there is no parallel for 'Askalo( $\nu\dot{l}\tau\ddot{\omega}\nu$ ) ětous in these texts. It is easier to believe that Zonenus when stating his origin used, quite naturally, the calendar of his hometown.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni apud ESI 9, 1989/90, 162 (=HA 95, 67f. [Hebr.]) (ed. pr.). – SEG 39, 1625; L. Di Segni, in: N. Arbel ed., Ascalon 1, 1990, 88f. no. 43 (Hebr.); SEG 41, 1549; DGI 670f. no. 227 figs. 278A, B; L. Di Segni, ARAM 18/19, 2006/7, 113-26. – Cf. Greenberg - Keinan 2009, 129 no. 885; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 176.

Photo: ESI 9, 1989/90, 162 fig. 156 (dr.).

WA

#### D. Instrumentum domesticum

# 3830. Curse inscribed in Greek on lead, 3-5 c. AD

A lead tablet containing a curse against a certain Eusebi(u)s, son of a woman named Megale. Lunate *sigma*. Inscribed on one side only. Meas.: h 9.2, w 7 cm; letters 1-5 mm.

Findspot: At the time of its first publication, the lead tablet was in the possession of M. Sasson, an antiquities dealer in Jerusalem. The person who had sold it to him indicated that it came from the area around Hebron.



fig. 3830.1

ll.1-4 magical signs
ΕΞΟΡΚΙΖΩΥΜΑΣΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΕ[...]
[..]ΚΛΙΝΕΕΠΙΚΑΚΩΣΙΝΚΑΙΑΕ[...]
[...]ΥΣΕΒΙΝΤΟΝΕΤΕΚΕΝΗΕΡΑΜ[.]
[.]ΗΡΜΕΓΑΛΗΒΑΛΕΤΑΙΑΥΤΟΝΕ
[..]ΤΟΠΥΡΕΤΙΟΝΚΑΤΑΚΛΙΝΑΤ[.]
[..]ΤΟΝΕΠΙΚΑΚΩΣΙΚΑΙΘΑΝ[--]
[.]ΑΙΚΕΦΕΛΑΡΓΙΑΣΤΑΧ[.]

[..]XYHΔHHΔH vacat



fig. 3830.2

ll.1-4 magical signs | Ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς, χαρακτῆρε[ς, κα|τα]κλῖνε ἐπὶ κάκωσιν καὶ ἀε[ικί|αν Ε]ὐσέβιν τὸν ἔτεκεν ἡερὰ μ[ή|τ]ηρ Μεγάλη· βάλεται αὐτὸν ἐ|[πὶ] τὸ πυρέτιον· κατακλίνατ[ε | αὐ]τὸν ἐπὶ κάκωσι<ν> καὶ θάν[ατον | κ]αὶ κεφελαργίας· ταχ[ὑ | τα]χύ, ἤδη ἤδη.

ll.5–12: I adjure you, charakteres, to afflict with illness and suffering Eusebis whom the deceased(?) mother Megale bore; cast him into a fever; afflict him with illness and death and headaches; quickly quickly, now now.

Comm.: ll.5f.: ὑμᾶς, χαρακτῆρε[ς, κα|τα]κλῖνε (read κατακλῖναι): the ed. pr. had ὑμᾶς χαρακτῆρα[ς κα|τα|κλῖνε, but a clear *epsilon* at the right edge of l.5 makes vocative χαρακτῆρε[ς] certain. For such direct invocations of magical signs or charakteres, cf. Bonner, Magical Amulets 215 with D 317 and Suppl. Mag. 1, 21 ll.10-12 with comm.

1.7: [Ε]ὐσέβιν=Εὐσέβιον; τὸν read ὃν.

ll.7f.: ἡερὰ (read ἱερὰ) μ[ή|τ]ηρ: possibly the adjective denoting "holy" here means "deceased" (so Lifshitz, followed by J. and L. Robert, BE 1971, 68). Gager thought that it might be a Hebraism, though one might better speak of a possible Aramaicism. So far, however, no parallel has been cited for either one of these suggestions.

1.8: read βάλετε.

l.10: ἐπὶ κάκωσι<ν> καὶ θάν[ατον] Jordan; ἐπὶ κακώσι (read -σει) καὶ θαν[άτω] Lifshitz. The noun κάκωσις also in the curse Suppl. Mag. 2, 53 l.20 (see comm. ad loc., which refers to the present text).

l.11: κεφελαργίας: read κεφαλαργίας, a late form of κεφαλαλγίας (cf. LSJ, s.v.).

ll.11f.:  $\tau \alpha \chi [\dot{\upsilon} \mid \tau \alpha] \chi \dot{\upsilon}$ , ἤδη ἤδη (so also PGM 7, 472-473) inverts the order of ἤδη ἤδη,  $\tau \alpha \chi \dot{\upsilon}$   $\tau \alpha \chi \dot{\upsilon}$ , a ubiquitous concluding phrase in prayers in ancient Greek magical documents.

Bibl.: B. Lifshitz, RB 77, 1970, 76-83 (ed. pr.). – BE 1971, 68; SEG 35, 1545; D. Jordan, GRBS 26, 1985, 151-97 at 191 no. 63; J. Gager, Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World, 1992, 203 no. 106 (transl. and comm.). – Cf. S. Trzcionka, Magic and the Supernatural in Fourth-Century Syria, 2007, 131; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 206.

Photo: B. Lifshitz, RB 77, 1970 pl. 9; RD (dr.).

# 3831. Cross with Greek inscription

Pendant.

Findspot: see comment.

horizontal:  $OP\ThetaO\Sigma$  vertical:  $HE\Theta\ThetaEO\Sigma$ 

horizontal: ὀρθός vertical: ΗΕΘ θεός

horizontal: *righteous* vertical: ... *God* 



fig. 3831

Comm.: Bagatti 233 describes this cross: "un' altra [scil. croce] dei dintorni di Hebron ha 'Cristo re è il giusto di Dio' (3)." This is not what the drawing shows. – Neither HE $\Theta$  nor HE is recorded by Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations.

Bibl.: Bagatti, Chiesa II 233 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Bagatti, Chiesa II 235 fig. 31,3 (dr.).

WA

# 3832. Amulet with single letters

Oval jasper(?) gem; both sides are convex, the reverse is smooth. Meas.: h 2.8, w 2.3 cm.

Findspot: The amulet came, according to the antiquities collectors, from Hebron (Hebr. Univ. Inst. Arch.).

Pres. loc.: Hebr. Univ. Inst. Arch., inv. no. 1724. Autopsy: 8 October 2013 (WE/DK).



fig. 3832.1

Comm.: The amulet shows a large number of magical  $\chi \alpha \rho \alpha \kappa \tau \tilde{\eta} \rho \epsilon \varsigma$ , but some single letters can be identified – which are of magical use too.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

fig. 3832.2 WA

# 3833. Lead weight of the Roman period

Rectangular lead weight with handle at the top. Three-line inscription on one side and beneath the inscription there is a line and a dot. The reverse is decorated with a dot surrounded by a circle inside a rectangle; dots surrounding the rectangle and in each corner of the weight.

Meas.: h (with handle) 5.5, w 3, th 0.5 cm; wt 75 g.

Findspot: "Aus der Gegend von Hebron" (ed. pr.). Pres. loc.: Private collection N. Munster, Jerusalem (ed. pr.).

Δ Ρ ΙΤΛΙ ΟΥ

One fourth of a (Roman) litra.

Bibl.: Lifshitz, Bleigewichte 183 no. 35 (ed. pr.). – SEG 28, 1430; G. Mussies, ANRW II 18.4, 1990, 2412-57 at 2426f. – Cf. DGI 668f.







fig. 3833.2

Photo: Lifshitz, Bleigewichte 183 fig. 35.

# CXL. Kh. Deir Şamit

# 3834. Amulet with Christian Palestinian Aramaic inscription

Six fragments of an amulet made of a very thin sheet of copper. As can be deduced from the folds, it had been folded to a small square of ca. 1.5x1.5 cm after the Christian Palestinian Aramaic inscription had been incised. The folds also helped É. Puech to regroup the fragments. He named them as follows: A is the upper fragment preserving the original top edge of the amulet; B is the main fragment preserving the original left edge of the amulet; the two pieces to the right-hand side of this, probably adjoining each other vertically, are called C and D; the lower fragment preserving the original bottom edge of the amulet is E; the small piece placed between A and B is designated as F. Puech estimates that between fragments A and B three lines of text have been lost accounting for a text of 28 lines in total.

Meas.: Frg. A: h 1.2, w 5.4 cm; frg. B: h 7.1, w 5.4 cm; frgs. C and D together: h 5.8, w 2 cm; frg. E: h 2.8, w 5.3 cm; frg. F: h 1.2, w 1.8 cm. Original size of the amulet ca. 12x9.5 or 10 cm.

Findspot: Probably from a tomb, according to Khalîl Iskandar Shahîn (alias Kando), the antiquities dealer who owned the amulet and entrusted Puech with its reading.

```
[محیک مده لله] معید دیده در محللے دعیم
1
2
     [נמוא ובבו בחבו] סומיא מוג ובבו שהמיא
3
      مانها عند عامه مهم المهم محمد محادما
4
                                       [--]++[--]
                                     [--]++++[--]
5
6
                                   [--]++++[--]
                  ا-- د/ء]محد رعم (۲) معر مهم مهم مهم مهم مهم معمد ر
7
8
      [בומשמט שיבת ז, ]שמש כים יולא: מי, אבול
      المنام والم لحم احد عمد حمة محم محا محا محا
9
         [دده حدل حرایع [معدم] محدل محدم
10
                              [--حة]حف هلكم ٢٥٠١.
11a
      127 - 2700 asho - Kee [ ~ K a] sho 1 [, Kies ]
11
12
           רישעל בי אידוע פידע די שישיש ביליעון
             [cais] of a chara eyon Leavi
13
14
              [لحسيكم] علم 100 [ د]: سياءم الملعلم
            LKIL Kinkler sia Kinas 1 [2 alos]
15
16
     [(r)ufano] se beo et ar , est 101, resibr
          Los rescho sia [x], sas 1[2 alos]
17
           [سیمد] الحده ه[ن] دیم is در عنده
18
19
                [צמט ווע] בא סישיבה שושטר שויין
```

[حعنط]٥٧ مى[هـب] حل دنهم
[גאשאב]כג ממ[11] א נגכה פוֹ,
[طح ١٠٠٤]حة فراعد حدل] عدم حدمد للد وفراه
[המצא בבוד הוחש בני חנפשא] צחנם ובואה
$\omega$ ישרטש העמ $\omega$ ישריש סערין סעריש
(Lain , m a.i.)
בא בו[ת] שמ[שם תובה תנבות ביומשתו]
[iour בידי ספוֹא מ]ג במביל גבמא, בוא
المعلاحديم بمحبه] هاره

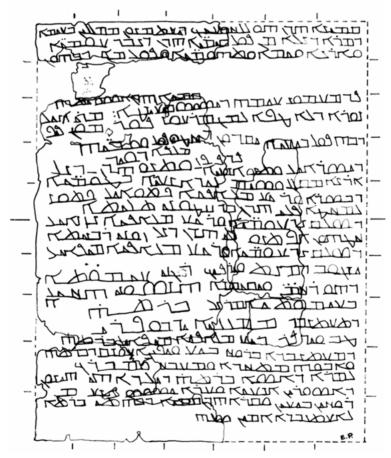


fig. 3834.1

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Translit.: 1
               [qmy' hdw llh]wšyk dyštm'wn mmllyn bšym'
               [dmr' d'l' mn kwl] qymy' hdn d'bd šwmy'
               [w'r' wym' wth]wmy' wkwl m' db[h]wn
         3
         4
               [--]++[--]
               [--]++++[--]
         5
         6
               [--]++++[--]
         7
               [-- b/d]qmy'['] hdn 'sw yth
               [kdmšmw' šymh dy]sws byš ynt': mry ''yl
         8
               [nwr' dl' tp' lmg]mr šw' kwr mwg kyp
         9
               [dbh kwl by]šy' [yqdwn] dḥţw kwl sbyh
         10
         11a [-- kd]kpn mlk' dwyd
               [dysr'y] wt'[w'n] y' - wt'w hdn - d'l
               ['r' mq]ll wsym lyd 'nšy' btwmy'
         12
               [dbsr'] wryš ml'ky' ptw'yl ptw'
         13
               [lmht'] kly hdn [b]d htwny tlyt'
         14
               [dslq ']d šwmy' wryš ml'ky' 'zz'yl
         15
               [(d)hthwn] 'p t'w kly hdn d'l zwzy db'yt'
         16
               [dslq ']d šwmy['] wryš ml'ky' myk'yl
         17
               [yngwb] dm't w[yr]kyk rwgzy šymwt'
         18
         19
               [dhw rh]mn wyqymn' hnswny hhyl'
         20
               [bšym]wt y'[mr] 'l brth
               [dtšt']bd mm[ll]y' ydbw pry
         21
               [tb wyd]kr ry[š ml]'ky' myk'yl brt[h]
         2.2.
         23
               [dmšt'bd' brwh byš wyps'] šwng dbrth
               [w'bwh mthd' wmšbh] wmbrk
         24
         25
               [lmr' d's' brth dy]ld' hy hynn
               [d'swryn 'nšy' wšr' ys]ws [']nš mn
         26
         27
               [rwhyn byšyn wgr' h]dn gmy' dbhty brt'
               [l'št'bd' 'myn] slh
         28
1
     Cette amulette est pour ...tes incantateurs qu'on entendra prononcer au nom du
2
     Seigneur, lui qui est au-dessus de tous les êtres, celui qui a fait les cieux
3
     et la terre et la mer et les abîmes et tout ce qu'ils contiennent.
4
5
6
7
     ... avec les paroles(?) de cette amulette, ils l'ont guéri(e).
8
     Dès qu'il entend le nom de Jésus, un (esprit) maléfique s'incline: Seigneur, apporte
     le feu inextinguible pour consumer la pierre, un creuset de fusion de pierre
9
10
     où tous(?) les mauvais brûleront/se dissoudront, car ont péché tous les anciens
     ... comme lorsque eut faim le roi David,
11a
11
     d'Israël, et ils ont dévoyé les hommes – et ils ont dévoyé celui-ci – qui est sur
     la terre, maudissant, et il est soumis au pouvoir des hommes dans les impuretés
```

12

- de la chair, et du chef des anges Patuel incitant
- 14 à pécher(?). Repousse celui-ci, parce qu'ils m'ont fait pécher, le troisième
- 15 qui est monté(?) jusqu'aux cieux, et le chef des anges 'Azazel
- 16 (qui?) les fit pécher, de même ils ont dévoyé. Repousse celui-ci qui est sur mon bijou(?), le quatrième
- 17 qui est monté(?) jusqu'aux cieux, et le chef des anges, Michel,
- 18 séchera les larmes et il fléchira les colères des Noms,
- 19 parce qu'Il est miséricordieux, et Il nous relèvera/ressuscitera. M'ont-ils tenté? La puissance est-elle
- 20 dans des noms? Il dira (les paroles) sur sa fille
- 21 qui est envoûtée, les paroles donneront un fruit
- bon, et le chef des anges, Michel, se souviendra de sa(?) fille
- 23 qui est envoûtée par un esprit mauvais et il délivrera le tourment de sa fille,
- 24 et (son/le) père se réjouira et rendra gloire et bénira



- 25 le Seigneur qui a guéri sa fille, elle qui est une jeune mère, eux,
- 26 ce sont ceux qui lient les hommes, mais Jésus délie l'homme des
- 27 esprits mauvais. Lis(?) cette amulette parce que la fille a été avilie
- 28 d'être envoûtée(?). Amen, Sélah.

Comm.: The reading text is adapted from Puech's edition where it is given in Hebrew/Aramiac letters, the translation is Puech's. He dates the amulet to the 5-7 c. AD ("comme la plupart des inscriptions en araméen christo-palestinien, l'amulette devrait sans doute dater des ve-viie siècles" [313]). For more detailed information on Puech's readings, cf. his line comment (306ff.). Concerning his reconstruction of the text in general he states: "Cette amulette, unique en son genre parmi les inscriptions en araméen christo-palestinien, méritait une étude paléographique la plus soigneuse possible, compte tenu des difficultés de lecture dues à sa conservation, à une gravure assez irrégulière, et infin aux très nombreux plis. Les restaurations proposées n'ont de but que de montrer la grandeur des espaces lacuneux et de suggérer un sens suivi du texte qui paraisse vraisamblable, même si des obscurités subsistent" (p. 312).

Bibl.: É. Puech, SBF 62, 2012, 303-17 (ed. pr.).

Photo: É. Puech, SBF 62, 2012, 314f., fig. 1 (dr.) and ph. 1.

EDD

# CXLL Beit 'Awwa

# 3835. Baptismal font with Greek inscription

Cylindrical baptismal font tapering towards the bottom; carved from a block of limestone. The basin has the form of a four-leaf clover; a single line Greek inscription running around the outer face close to the upper edge. The inscription occupies ca. two thirds of the circumference.

Meas.: h 1.15, ø 2.15 m; length of inscription 4.09 m; letters 4-9 cm (Puech).

Findspot: According to Conder - Kitchener, the name Beit 'Awwa ('Auwa) applied to a group of ruins among which seemed to be a ruined church – to which a baptismal font described by them may have belonged (Conder - Kitchener, Leclercq, Khatchatrian; outer ø of the font: 5.5 ft.). This font was seen by Bagatti, who adds: "Inoltre nella collina, posta ad ovest e separata da un piccolo wadi, presso la scuola femminile, abbiamo visto una seconda vasca circolare di m. 2,16 di diametro, con quattro lobi posti intorno ad un circolo. Fra essi, nella parte superiore, vi sono quattro incavi rettangoli che servivano per porvi le colonne che coprivano, come ciborio, la vasca stessa. All' esterno, presso l'orlo, vi è un iscrizione mezzo rovinata ..." M. Kochavi took a photograph of a baptismal font at the site (1967/8), which is published by Ben Pechat, L'architecture (pl. 22b), who took it to be the baptismal font published by Conder - Kitchener. An inscription is not visible on this photograph but the "quattro incavi rettangoli" mentioned by Bagatti, which are not to be found on Conder - Kitchener's font. Comparison with the font now located at Tabgha makes it clear that Kochavi photographed the font seen by Bagatti (Ben Pechat 1989 still believes in only one font at the site; Ristow knows Bagatti, but still conflates the two fonts). Magen - Kagan seem to have seen both fonts, but give only a photograph of Conder - Kitchener's font.

Pres. loc.: At the entrance to the Benedictine compound of the Church of the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fish in Tabgha on the northwest shore of the Sea of Galilee.

# (cross) YΠΕΡΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ·ΚΥΝΘΤΙΑΝΟΥ $\int$ ΣΑΩΡΑΠΡΕΣΒ $\int$ ΚΑΙΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑΣ $\int$ ΕΤΩΟ $\overline{X}$ Ο $\overline{Y}$ ΚΑΙΣΩΤΗΡ $\int$ (cross)



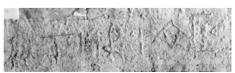
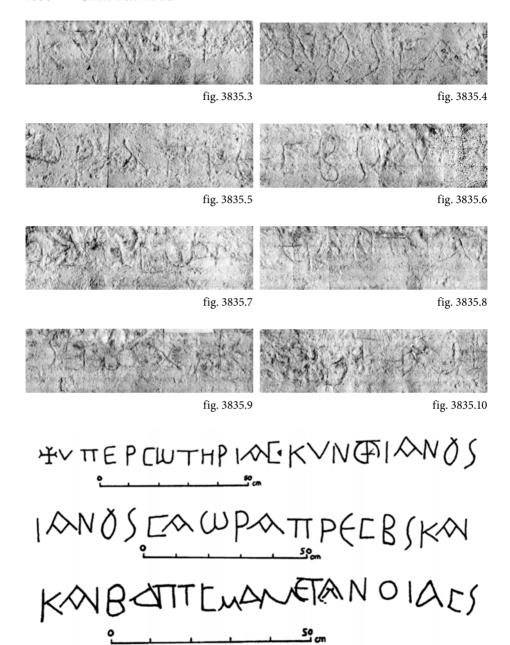


fig. 3835.1 fig. 3835.2



NOIAESEWOXOKAEWTHPJY

fig. 3835.11

ύπὲρ σωτηρίας Κυνθιανοῦ (καὶ) Σαῶρα πρεσβ(υτέρων). καὶ βάπτισμα μετανοίας (καὶ?) ἐ(πὶ) τῷ ὀ(νόματι) (?) Χ(ριστ)οῦ καὶ σωτῆρ(ος)

For the salvation of Quintianus and Saoras, the priests. And baptism of repentance in the name of (?) Christ and Savior.

Comm.: Puech prints Ku(i)ν{θ}<τ>ια-νοῦ as an orthographic variant of Quintianus, which seems probable, since Κύνθιος gives rise only to Κυνθιάδης; not all the brackets are necessary: although Gignac I 225 gives no example of Κυίντος>Κύντος, the contraction of υι>υ is quite common (Gignac I 202; cf. e.g. no. 3479: ἐπὶ Φλ. Κυντιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπρ. κόμ. καὶ δουκός; Noy, JIWE II 189 [Rome]: ἐνθάδε κεῖτε Κυντιανὸς γερουσιάρχης



fig. 3835.12

συναγωγῆς Αὐγουστησίων); a false aspiration is not unknown but one may also follow Puech who argues that the *theta* was not completed, because the mason may have noticed his mistake and adjusted the incompleted *theta* into a *tau*.

Puech's (υἰοῦ) Σαώρα seems not convincing; the  $\int$ -sign as indicator of an abbreviation "stands sometimes for itself for the word καί" (Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations 37), and Puech supplies no example of its use for υἰός (and, moreover, υἰός would have been unnecessary).

For the genitive Σαωρέου, see Meimaris in Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia I a 236, 258, 307; SEG 7, 1138 (Sahwet el-Khidr, said to be found at Oumm el-Khadra) has [--]σαορου[--]. Meimaris on p. 325f. comments on Σαωρέος: "the name ... could be considered as Greek transliteration of Arabic Shahur (PAES III A, p. 173 no. 324) or Sahar (Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 169). Variant spellings of this name have been recorded in inscriptions of the Roman period in Hauran," i.e. Σαούρος, Σαοάρος, Σαυάρος, Σαύρος. "There have been recorded as well two Christian occurrences of the name at 'Ain et-Tabgha in the form Σαούρος ... and at Kh. el-Beiyûdât ... in the spelling Σαόρας." For these last two inscriptions see SEG 8, 6 [μνήσθ(ητ)ι, κ(ύρι)ε, Σαούρου] and this vol. no. 2676: 'Ελισέ[ου] Σαορας Σελαμ(άνου); cf. e.g. SEG 53, 1913 (Seeia, Hauran): Σαουαρος Εβρικανου ἐπόησεν. Puech's proposal "Le patronyme Saôra, étant vraisemblablement une autre graphie ou prononciation locale de Saôla(s)" seems unnecessary.

Puech's solution πρεσβ(υτέρου) is the obvious explanation, but it seems strange that the person with the title should be named after a person without any distinction. Therefore, perhaps, the plural, although a second *beta* would have made that easier.

Puech continues καὶ βαπτίσμα(τος) μ<ε>τανοίας  $\dot{\epsilon}(\pi i)$  τῷ  $\dot{\epsilon}(\nu i)$  Χ(ριστ)οῦ καὶ σωτῆρ(ος), and understands καὶ (ὑπὲρ) βαπτίσματος, "and on behalf of the

baptism." But since there appears no abbreviation mark after βάπτισμα, it seems more appropriate to make a full stop after πρεσβ(--) and to begin a new formula. For βάπτισμα μετανοίας cf. Mk 1,4; Lk 3,3; Acts 13,24 and 19,4 (εἶπεν δὲ Παῦλος, Ἰωάννης ἐβάπτισεν βάπτισμα μετανοίας τῷ λαῷ λέγων εἰς τὸν ἐρχόμενον μετ' αὐτὸν ἵνα πιστεύσωσιν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν); when Christian authors talk about the βάπτισμα μετανοίας, which they do quite often, it is always with reference to John the Baptist (but see Epiphanius, Ancoratus 11f.: πιστεύομεν εἰς μίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ εἰς ἕν βάπτισμα μετανοίας καὶ εἰς ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν καὶ κρίσιν δικαίαν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων καὶ εἰς βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον). The mention of baptism in inscriptions is rare. The abbreviation mark after μετανοίας is not quite intelligible – perhaps it had been used as a word divider?

The letters ETΩO pose difficulties, and the missing abbreviation marks are disturbing; Puech prints  $\mathring{\epsilon}(\pi \mathring{\iota})$   $\tau \widetilde{\omega}$   $\mathring{\delta}(\nu \acute{\nu} \mu \alpha \tau \iota)$  and refers to Acts 2,38:  $\beta \alpha \pi \tau \iota \sigma \theta \acute{\eta} \tau \omega$   $\mathring{\epsilon} \kappa \alpha \sigma \tau \circ \circ \mathring{\nu} \mu \widetilde{\omega} \nu$   $\mathring{\epsilon} \pi \mathring{\iota}$   $\tau \widetilde{\omega}$   $\mathring{\epsilon} \nu \acute{\nu} \iota \mu \alpha \tau \iota$  (Inσοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, but one would prefer at least  $\mathring{\epsilon}(\nu)$   $\tau \widetilde{\omega}$   $\mathring{\delta}(\nu \acute{\nu} \mu \alpha \tau \iota)$  which is the usual form in connection with baptism. Looking for another abbreviation does not produce a better explanation:  $\mathring{\epsilon} \tau (\upsilon \iota \varsigma)$  ωο' does not lead to a possible date and would use an era not attested in Palestinian inscriptions. The phrase Χριστοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος seems to be unparalleled.

Puech dates the inscription to the 5-6 c. AD.

Bibl.: É. Puech, SBF 65, 2015, 483-91 (ed. pr.). – Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 140; id., Judaea 148; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 213f. – Cf. Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea 321; H. Leclercq, DACL 2, 454, 456; A. Khatchatrian, Les baptistères paléochrétiens, 1962, 13, 68; Ben Pechat, L'architecture baptismale II 23ff., III pls. 22f.; ead., SBF 39, 1989, 165-88 fig. 1; S. Ristow, Frühchristliche Baptisterien, 1998, 267 no. 761.

Photo: Pères Bénédictins, in: É. Puech, SBF 65, 2015, 484 ph. 1; M. Dumas, in: ibid., 486ff., ph. 4 (squeezes); É. Puech, ibid., 488 fig. 1 (dr.).

WA

# CXLII. Adora (mod. Dura)

### 3836. Greek invocation of the One God on behalf of Manna

Oval gem of Hematite; inscription on the obverse; on the reverse, a large tree flanked by two smaller ones.

Meas.: h 2.9, w 1.1 cm; letters 1-1.5 mm.

Pres. loc.: Hebr. Univ. Inst. Arch., Jerusalem; inv. no. 729. Autopsy: 8 October 2013 (WE/DK).

 $EI\Sigma\overline{\Theta\Sigma}$   $BOH\Theta$  IMAN NAN

εἷς θ(εό)ς, | βοήθ|ι Μάν|ναν

One God, help Manna!



fig. 3836.1

fig. 3836.2

Comm.: l.3f.: For names of this kind, cf. Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 72 (no connection with the three sons of Mannus). It is difficult to decide whether a man or a woman is meant: for the female name, cf. SB 3, 6089 (Egypt, today in Leiden): ἔνθα κατάκοιτε ἡ μακαρία Μάννα; the name can be found more often in the west: CIL 8, 18370 (Lambaesis); AE 1995, 540 (Ventimiglia); for the male name, cf. SEG 52, 909 (Gela): [Π]ρημιτεῖβα [χ]ρηστή, χαῖρε· Μαννα τέκνον, χαῖρε· Μαννας γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνφ. CIL 7, 1336, 624c (Chesterford); 625 (London).

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

# CXLIII. Kh. Jammama

# 3837. Aramaic inscription mentioning Miriam, 1 c. CE

Limestone fragment inscribed with one line of cursive Jewish script. Meas.: h 29.5, w 20, d 7 cm.

Findspot: Tell Jammama (?). Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 1969-5596.

מריםברתרמ/סו/יןו/י/זך

מרים ברת רמון(?) {ו/י/זך}



fig. 3837

Translit.: mrym brt rmwn(?) {w/y/zk}

Miriam daughter of Ramon(?).

Comm.: This stone was found in the IAA archives with sparse accompanying information. The context is apparently funerary; the dating is based on paleography. The decipherment of the text offered here is highly tentative, esp. the last four letters. The penultimate letter could be *vav*, *yod* or *zayin*, but any of those combined with *kaf* puts a sensible interpretation out of reach. Ramon is a name appearing on a first-century ossuary from Jerusalem, see CIIP I 56. If the name is read here correctly, then it is only the second instance in the Jewish onomasticon.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.

# CXLIV. Ruḥama

# 3838. Greek dedication, mentioning a priest Ioannes, 600 AD

Slab of stone, broken into at least three parts; a hole in the middle of inscription (b) seems to have destroyed at least some of the text and must have been drilled after (b) was incised. Since (b) is an incomplete and somewhat bungled version of (a), (b) would have been written earlier; once (b) was discarded, the stone was rotated and (a) engraved. It is not necessary to assume that the hole in (b) was made in antiquity, therefore we may speculate only whether or not the whole was connected to the function of the slab. The cross in (a) 1.1 stands on a triangular base; arms with apices.

Findspot: On the fields of the Kibbutz Ruḥama, ca. 10 km east of Sderot, 10 km south of Kiryat Gat.



fig. 3838

(a) (cross) ΕΠΙΙΩΑΝΝΟΥΘΕΟΦΠΡΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΤΑΩΔΕΕΝΜΗΝΙΓΟΡΠ∫ΙΝΔ∫Δ ΚΑΤΑΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΩΛ∫ΕΤΟΙΣΑΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥΤΕΧ∫ΓΡΑΦΕ

(b) (cross) Ε[.]ΓΟΡΙΝΔ∫Δ +ΑΤ+[--]ΠΟΛΕΤ∫ΑΥ Ε[--]ΝΟΥΠΡΕΣΒΥΤ∫ ΚΑ[--]Τ∫

- (a) ἐπὶ Ἰωάννου θεοφ(ιλεστάτου) πρ(εσβυτέρου) ἐγένετο | τὰ ὧδε ἐν μηνὶ Γορπ(ιαίω), ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ', | κατὰ Ἐλευθερω(πο)λ(είτας) ἔτοις αυ'. | Στεφάνου τεχ(νίτου) γραφέ (b) ἐ[ν] Γορ(πιαίω), ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ', | κατ' Ἐ[λευθερο]πολ(είτας) ἔτ(ους) αυ', | ἐ[πὶ Ἰωάν]νου πρεσβυτ(έρου) | κα[τ' Ἐλευθεροπολί]τ(ας)
- (a) Under Ioannes, the most God-beloved priest, these here were finished in the month of Gorpiaios, indiction 4, in the year 401 according to the era of the Eleutheropolitans (=1-17 September 600). Writing of the craftsman Stephanus.
  (b) In the month of Gorpiaios, indiction 4, in the year 401 according to the era of the Eleutheropolitans, under the priest Ioannes, according to the era of the Eleutheropolitans.

Comm.: (a) l.1: For a θεοφιλέστατος πρεσβύτερος with similar dating, cf. nos. 2669, 3197, 3311; Meimaris, Sacred Names 189 no. 933 (Beth Sheʾan); 191 no. 953 (Gergesa); 198 no. 994 (Ras Siyagha); no. 998 (Rihab). – l.2: Since this is not a mosaic, τὰ ὧδε may have referred to the whole building (or at least room) to which this stone belonged. Gorpiaios was probably August/September, cf. Meimaris, Chron. Systems 307 n.20. – l.3: For the era of Eleutheropolis, starting with the visit of Septimius Severus in AD 200, see Meimaris, Chron. Systems 305ff.; Di Segni 2006/7. – l.4: The mention of a τεχνίτης or the ἔργον τεχνίτου is quite common in Syria (e.g. IGLS 2, 509; 544 for ἔργον); a bit nearer to the present use is SEG 1, 492 (Brad): κ(ύρι)ε βωέθισον ... (καὶ) Σεργίου τοῦ γράψοτι (καὶ) Συμεώνου τεχνίτου.

(b) l.1: ΓΟΡΠ Di Segni. – l.2: First letter *theta*? – l.4: suppl. Di Segni.

Bibl.: B. Lifshitz, ZPE 7, 1971, 161 no. 20 (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, Chron. Systems 312f. no. 11; DGI 666f. no. 226 fig. 277. – Cf. BE 1971, 700; L. Di Segni, ARAM 18/19, 2006/7, 113ff.

Photo: B. Lifshitz, ZPE 7, 1971 pl. 7 fig. a.

# CXLV. Kh. Birker

# 3839. Latin funerary inscription of a soldier(?)

Limestone fragment, broken on all sides.

Meas.: h 11.5, w 29, d 11 cm.

Findspot: "Kh. Birker near Kibbutz Ruhama," according to the IAA.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 1969-5597.

[--]+CI[--] [--]FER·VIXIT·[--] [--]+AM·FIL·[--]



fig. 3839

[--]+CI[-- mil(es/iti) leg(ionis) VI] Fer(ratae) (?) vixit [ann(os) --]+AM fil(ius/i) [--]

... soldier of the legio VI Ferrata (?), he lived ... years ... son...

Comm.: The word *vixit* implies that the fragment is part of a funerary inscription. Since Latin inscriptions on the whole originated in Roman army circles, the letters FER are likely to be part of the name of the *legio VI Ferrata*, stationed near Caparcotna. If at the end of l.3 FIL is to be understood as *fil(ius/i)*, i.e. (his) son, the latter may well have been responsible for the burial. However, the fragmentary state of the inscription makes it hard to be certain.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.

WE

# CXLVI. Kh. el-Qaşr

# 3840.-3841. Monastery above a subterranean cave

The monastery was built in the mid-5 c. AD around a massive late Roman tower (10.70x10.70 m) with fortifications of the late 4 c. to early 5 c. AD, which in turn had been built above a subterranean cave of the Second Temple period. The monastery had four wings: the tower itself, three rooms south of it including the entrance gate of the monastery, another three rooms attached to the northern fortification wall of the tower and the eastern wing, the largest one. The latter consists of an array of rooms arranged around a courtyard at the northeastern corner of the tower (see plans, sections and reconstruction in Magen - Har-Even - Sharukh figs. 1f., 4f.). The eastern portico of the courtyard served as the narthex of the church, a simple prayer hall with raised chancel inside an internal apse. Considerable parts of the central and eastern wing were paved with mosaic floors showing geometrical as well as figural motifs. The monastery was abandoned in late 7 c. or early 8 c. AD. Two inscriptions were found: one on the sections of the arch of the entrance gate of the monastery (no. 3840), the other at the center of the mosaic floor of the narthex of the church (no. 3841).

Bibl.: Y. Magen - B. Har-Even - I. Sharukh, in: Christians and Christianity IV 247-98.

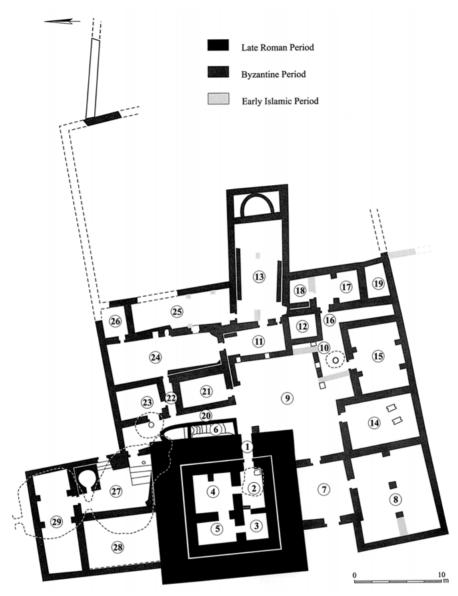


fig. 3840.A Ground plan, Y. Magen - B. Har-Even - I. Sharukh, Christians and Christianity IV 251 fig. 4

#### 3840. Ps 117,20 inscribed above an entrance arch

The entrance is made of two doorposts, while the walls bear the arch; four letter-bearing fragments of this arch have been discovered. The drawing published by Magen - Har-Even - Sharukh has the second fragment from the left upside down, turned around in fig. 3840 below.

Meas.: letters 5-7 cm.

Findspot: Main entrance to the monastery, to the west of Room 7.



fig. 3840

 $[--]+\Upsilon(?)H\Pi[.]\Lambda\dot{H}$  (loop)  $TO\Upsilon K\Upsilon[--]EENA\Upsilon[..]$ 

[αὕτ]η ἡ π[ύ]λη τοῦ κυ[ρίου. δίκαιοι εἰσελεύσοντ]ε ἐν αὐ[τῆ]

This is the gate of the Lord and the righteous shall pass through it.

Comm.: The sense seems secure from  $\tau o \tilde{\upsilon} \times \upsilon [\rho i \sigma \upsilon]$  and  $\dot{\varepsilon} \upsilon \times \upsilon [\tau \tilde{\eta}]$  (and cf. no. 3866 for the use of Ps 117,20), but the traces of letters (as recorded) on the far left side and the small fragment (second to the left) are not completely consistent with this interpretation – not even if one mirrors the small fragment. The "loop" is interpreted as a "decorative element or a word divider," which may be true, although we have some instances without any word-divider too (but cf. the somewhat larger room between the two *epsilons* in the last fragment).

Bibl.: Y. Magen - B. Har-Even - I. Sharukh, Christians and Christianity IV 259f.; L. Di Segni, ibid. 300f. no. 2 (edd. prr.). – Cf. Y. Magen - E. Kagan, ibid. II 224f.

Photo: Y. Magen - B. Har-Even - I. Sharukh, Christians and Christianity IV 260 fig. 21 (ph. and dr.).

#### 3841. Greek mosaic inscription for Father Thomas

Inscription in a tabula ansata, the letters and the ansae are black, the frame and the rows dividing the lines are made of red tesserae.

Meas.: h 0.62, w 1.5 (with ansae), 1.1 m (without ansae); letters: ll.1-4: 10-12 cm, l.5: 6-7 cm.

Findspot: In the mosaic floor of the narthex of the small church of the monastery, in front of the entrance to the nave; to be read when entering the church.

(cross) ΥΠΕΡΣΟΤΕΡΙΑ

- [...]BAOOMAK
- [--]TOYKAM
- [--]ΣΤΟΕΡΓ
- [--]ΥTΩAMIN



fig. 3841.1

ύπὲρ σοτερία|[ς ἀβ]βᾶ Θομᾶ κ(αὶ) | [--] τοῦ καμ|[όντο]ς τὸ ἔργ|[ον το]ῦτω. ἀμίν

For the salvation of Father Thomas and ... the maker of this work. Amen.

Comm.: According to Di Segni, the shape of the letters "points to a date in the second half of the fifth century." – l.2: Abbas – possibly, but not necessarily the abbot of the monastery; cf. Meimaris, Sacred Names 235ff. for the title. – l.3: There is not much space for a non-abbreviated name at the beginning



fig. 3841.2

of the line – four letters at most. On καμ[όντο]ς, cf. e.g. Feissel, Chroniques 203 no. 647 on a Syrian inscription: "les καμόντες doivent être des ouvriers, peut-être spécialement des mosaïstes, comme c'est le cas de façon explicite à Umm Hartayn (SEG 40, 1770) et Umm er-Rasas (SEG 37, 1597)." This seems to be another case where the mosaicist was mentioned by his name.

Bibl.: Y. Magen - B. Har-Even - I. Sharukh, Christians and Christianity IV 263; L. Di Segni, ibid. 299f. no. 1 (dr.) (edd. prr.). – Cf. Y. Magen - E. Kagan, ibid. II 224f.; Madden, Corpus 118 no. 165.

Photo: Y. Magen - B. Har-Even - I. Sharukh, Christians and Christianity IV 263 fig. 25 (ph. and dr.).

# CXLVII. Ḥ. 'Eitun

#### 3842. Greek funerary inscriptions of Ioanes and Eutychius

Painted inscriptions on the western (a) and the eastern vault (b).

Findspot: A burial chamber with five arcosolia (two on each side of the entrance, and one opposite the entrance); "Bogentroggrab des Typs C-V" (Kuhnen).

- (a)  $I\Omega ANH\Sigma KAI[--]$
- (b) EYTYX[--]
- (a) Ἰωάνης καὶ [--]
- (b) Εὐτύχ[ιος]
- (a) Ioanes and ...
- (b) Eutychius



fig. 3842.1 (a)

JANHCKAI

fig. 3842.2 (a)

Comm.: (a) *iota* and *omega* written as one letter. – (b) εὖτυχ[ῶς] might be possible. – Kuhnen remarks that there are many graffiti on the walls which hint at two former gladiators having been buried here too. The "arcosolia are decorated with paintings of kline-beds" and the "walls have graffiti of gladiators, horses and riders, and so on" (Schwartz). Schwartz thinks this Ioanes to have been "evidently Jewish" – which can be accepted only if one a) dates this tomb to the 2 c. or 3 c., and if we assume that b) at least this inscription is contemporary with the building of the tomb. At first sight these two texts do not appear to be necessarily Jewish – and the "graffiti of gladiators" seem to show that this tomb was not always or not only used by Jews.

Bibl.: G. Edelstein - D. Ussishkin - T. Dothan - V. Tzaferis, Qadmoniot 4, 1971, 89f. (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – HA 27, 1968, 8 (Hebr.); IEJ 18, 1968, 195; V. Tzaferis, Atiqot 8, 1982, 5 (Hebr.), 3\* (ES); Kuhnen, Nordwest-Palästina 65; Dauphin, Palestine Byzantine 961 no. 6; Schwartz, Imperialism 149 n.72.

Photo: V. Tzaferis, Atiqot 8, 1982, 25 fig. 3,3 (dr.), pl. 6 fig. 4.

## 3843. Greek and Aramaic panel with drawings in burial cave, 3-4 c. CE (?)

Panel carved into the wall of an excavated tomb, its surface smoothed but badly abraded and scarred; it bears geometric designs, two inscriptions in Greek and three in Jewish script, two of which (the abecedary and the name incised just below it) are in square letters with serifs.

Meas.: h 62.5, w 63.5 cm, letters (a) 1.5-2.2 cm, (b) 4-5 cm, (c) 1.5-2.3 cm, (d) 1.5-2 cm, (e) 1.2-2.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1982-662. Autopsy: 14 October 2013 (WE/DK).



fig. 3843.1 (a)

- (a) ΜΝΗΣΘΗΟΓΡΑΨΑΣ ΚΑΙΟΑΝΑΓΕΙΝΩ[.]ΚΩΝ ΕΓΩ
- (b) אבגדהוזחטיכלמנןסעפצקרשת
- יהוספ (c)
- (d) MNIΣΘH
- (e) שמעונברנריָה
- (a) Μνησθῆ ὁ γράψας | καὶ ὁ ἀναγεινώ[σ]κων | ἐγώ
- (b) אבגדהוזחטיכלמנןסעפצקרשת
- יהוסף (c)
- (d) μνισθη
- (e) (?)שמעון בר נריה

Translit.: (b) 'bgdhwzhtyklmnns'psqršt

- (c) yhwsp
- (e) šm'wn br nryh(?)
- (a) May I be remembered, the one who wrote (or: is writing) and is reading (this).
- (b) (Hebrew alphabet)
- (c) Yehosef.
- (d) Be remembered ...
- (e) Shim'on son of Neriya(?)



fig. 3843.2 (b, c)



fig. 3843.3 (d, e)



fig. 3843.4

Comm.: The panel on which these texts are incised was found in a two-room burial cave, consisting of an entry room and a burial chamber with 12 loculi arranged around the kind of central pit common with caves of this type. The panel had been carved above the low entrance to the burial chamber, broken and then abandoned by thieves trying to remove it, eventually repaired after its discovery by the excavators. The drawings were interpreted by Kloner as either sailing ships, bound sheaves or granaries. The looters had left behind many ossuary fragments and broken jars. The ceramic remains were dated to the 3-4 c. CE, but the Hebrew letters are typical of the Herodian period.

(a) l.1 ἀναγεινώσκων for ἀναγινώσκων, the second *gamma* dropping in later Greek, and ει frequently for ι. – (b) The abecedary is complete: the final *nun* is the only final letter in the string; the *he* is missing a hasta, and *pe* and *tsadi* are in ligature. Given the unusual drawings above this line, and the location of the panel

at the entrance to the burial chamber, the abecedary might have been intended to have a magical function (for other abecedaries from the region, see nos. 2788, 2803, 2828, 3329, 3400, 3736). – The name Yehosef in (c) may have been written by the same hand as the abecedary. – (d)  $\mu\nu\nu\sigma\theta\tilde{l}$ , ed. pr., indeed the eta is not clearly formed on the stone. – (e) This name seems to have been written by a different hand from the other two Hebrew inscriptions. The patronym is not at all clear, esp. the last two letters, and נריה nryh is possible, rendering a Biblical name (Jer 32,12 etc.), rare in this period.

Bibl.: A. Kloner, Qadmoniot 18, 1985, 96-100 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – SEG 35, 1536; A. Kloner, Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies 1985, Division A, 1986, 125-32 (Hebr.); A. de Vaate, in: Early Jewish Epigraphy 148-61 at 148-51.

Photo: WE.

JJP/AY

### CXLVIII. Kh. Tawas

#### 3844.-3846. Church at Kh. Tawas

A Byzantine church of basilical layout (33.80x12.10 m including atrium and narthex, see fig. A) was excavated and dated to the 7 c. AD (Peleg 237; Di Segni). The prayer hall consists of a central nave with external semicircular apse separated by colonnades from lateral aisles. The central nave is paved with a mosaic floor containing two colorful carpets with geometrical designs and three inscriptions. The mosaics belong to the time of the building of the church.

Bibl.: Y. Peleg, Christians and Christianity IV 227-37; Di Segni, ibid. 241.

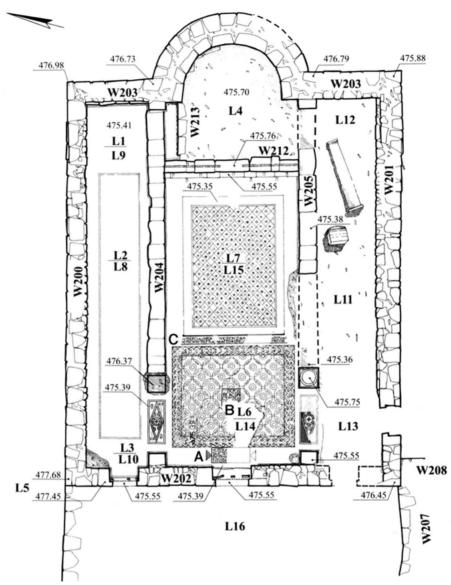


fig. 3844.A Ground plan, Y. Peleg, Christians and Christianity IV 228 fig. 1

#### 3844. Greek mosaic inscription mentioning Stephanus and Petrus

The inscription - black tesserae on a white ground – is in a tabula ansata; most of its right side has been destroyed, but a small part of the right ansa still exists, giving an indication of the original width of the text.

Meas.: h 54, w 53 cm (preserved), 1.32 m with ansae; letters 11 cm.

Findspot: "Right in front of the main entrance to the prayer hall" (Di Segni), attached to the border of the first (western) mosaic carpet in the central nave; see introduction to nos. 3844-3846 fig. A, no. A.

(cross) EΠΙΤΩ[--]  $TA\int\Sigma TE\Phi[--]$  ΠΕΤΡΟΥ[--] ΤΟΤΟΠΑ[--]

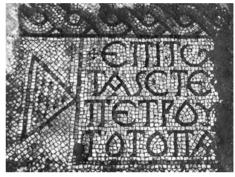


fig. 3844.1 Christianity IV 228 fig. 1

ἐπὶ τῶ[ν --]|τά(των) Στεφ[άνου -- καὶ] | Πέτρου [-- ἐγένε]|το τὸ πᾶ[ν ἔργον --]

*Under ... Stephanus ... and Petrus, the ... all the work was made ...* 

Comm.: The letters belong to a type that began to appear in the late 6 c. AD and continued into the 8 c. AD (Di Segni); the length of the tabula implies that ca. 9 letters are missing in each line. – ll.1f.: The abbreviation mark clearly



fig. 3844.2

implies a superlative, θεοφιλεστάτων, εὐλαβεστάτων, άγιωτάτων, όσιωτάτων, λαμπροτάτων etc. Di Segni dismisses the possibility that any mark of clerical rank is mentioned, for a village church would have only one priest, and deacons are usually named without further qualifications. Therefore, she opts for  $[\lambda \alpha \mu \pi \rho_0] \tau \dot{\alpha}(\tau \omega \nu)$ , to be used to designate "a large group of citizens who held no official position ..., but could claim local status." She refers to a mosaic inscription from Kh. Istabul/ Aristobulias of 701 AD as a parallel (ἐπὴ τοῦ ὡσιωτάτου Γεωργίου δια|κόνου καὶ Σαμουήλου λαμπροτ(άτου) | καὶ Αββεος Ζαχαρίου ἐγένετο τὸ π(ᾶν) | ἔργον τῖς

ψιφώσεως), but it seems unlikely to use the name of people of the community to date a church inscription – not least because a clerical authority is needed for the building of a church.  $[\lambda \alpha \mu \pi \rho o] \tau \dot{\alpha}(\tau \omega \nu)$  seems a bit too short. If no. 3846 is of the same date as the present text, the church was at least important enough to mention (different) bishops. – ll.2f.: Στεφ[άνου καὶ], one of the suggestions of Di Segni, is a bit short too; but one cannot exclude the use of patronymics. – l.3: Di Segni suggests filling the lacuna with  $[\pi \rho \omega \tau o \kappa o \mu \dot{\eta} \tau \omega \nu]$  (suitably abbreviated) or  $\dot{\alpha} \delta \epsilon \lambda \phi \tilde{\omega} \nu$ . – l.4:  $[\dot{\alpha} \mu \dot{\eta} \nu]$  Di Segni.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, Christians and Christianity IV 241f. no. 1 (ed. pr.). – Y. Magen - E. Kagan, ibid. II 217ff., fig. 304,2; Y. Peleg, ibid. IV 228 fig. 1, 230 fig. 5.

Photo: Y. Peleg, Christians and Christianity IV 234 fig. 11 (ph. and dr.).

WA

## 3845. Greek mosaic inscription mentioning Orestes

Inscription framed by red and black tesserae; letters in black. Meas.: h 57 (preserved: 44), w 57 cm; letters 10 cm.

Findspot: The inscription is set in the center of the first (western) mosaic carpet in the central nave; see introduction to nos. 3844-3846 fig. A, no. B.



fig. 3845.1

ΥΠΕΡΣΟ ΤΗΡΙΑΣΟΡΗ ΣΤΟΥΓΕΟ ++[--]+P [--] ύπὲρ σο|τηρίας 'Ορή|στου γεο|ύχ[ου --]+P|[--]

For the salvation of Orestes, the landowner ...

Comm.: On γεοῦχοι, cf. Preisigke, Wörterbuch 289f., 395ff.; Bagnall 159f., 215ff., 227; Laniado 26. Di Segni: "in the sixth century (the term) comes to refer to urban magnates, the wealthy and powerful owners of large rural estates." Di Segni continues that Kh. Tawas might have been "a privately owned village ... with Orestes as its landlord." But, as she herself admits, we do not know whether the linguistic usage of γεοῦχος developed in Palestine in the same way as in Egypt, and we know almost nothing about large latifundia in 6 c. Palestine (Cyril, v. Sabae



fig. 3845.2

54, ed. Schwartz, p. 145f. uses the expression κτήτωρ). – l.4f.: [τδ ἔ]ρ[[γον ἐγένετο] Di Segni; but it seems that*rho*is here, as in l.2, in ligature with another letter.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, Christians and Christianity IV 242f. no. 2 (ed. pr.). – Y. Peleg, ibid. 228; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, ibid. II 219. – Cf. R. Bagnall, Egypt in Late Antiquity, 1993; A. Laniado, Recherches sur les notables municipaux dans l'empire protobyzantin, 2002.

Photo: Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 219 fig. 304,4; Y. Peleg, ibid. IV 236 fig. 14 (dr.).

WA

## 3846. Greek mosaic inscription mentioning the Bishop Zacharias

Two-line Greek inscription of black tesserae on white background, partly damaged. Meas.: h 30, w (l.1) 390, (l.2) 383 cm; letters 11 cm.

Findspot: The inscription is set in the white strip dividing the western and the eastern mosaic carpet in the nave; see introduction to nos. 3844-3846 fig. A, no. C. For photograph see no. 3845 fig. 1.



fig. 3846

 $\begin{array}{l} \text{(cross) } \Upsilon \Pi E P \Sigma \Omega THPIA[..] + \Upsilon E \Pi I \Sigma K \int ZAX[--] \dot{\Delta}O\Upsilon X\Omega \\ P E \Pi I \Sigma K \int K \Upsilon \Pi E P T \Omega NKAP \Pi O \Phi O P H \Sigma A[--] \Upsilon N T O N \end{array}$ 

ύπὲρ σωτηρία[ς τ]οῦ ἐπισκ(όπου) Ζαχ[αρίου κ(αὶ) --]δου χω|ρεπισκ(όπου) κ(αὶ) ὑπὲρ τῶν καρποφορησά[ν(των) κ(αὶ) καρποφορο]ύντον

For the salvation of Bishop Zacharias and ...dus, country-bishop, and the former and present offerers.

Comm.: l.1: One would expect the name of the country bishop to follow his title, not to precede it; Di Segni suggests Zabdus, Zaidus, Ioudas, Iaddus, Herodes, etc. – l.2: The first participle must have been abbreviated: otherwise, the lacuna would be too short.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, Christians and Christianity IV 243f. no. 3 (ed. pr.). – Y. Peleg, in: ibid., 228. – Cf. Y. Magen - E. Kagan, ibid. II 219 fig. 304,4.

Photo: Y. Peleg, Christians and Christianity IV 236 fig. 15 (dr.).

WA

# CXLIX. Ziph (mod. Kh. Zif)

#### Introduction

Ziph is mentioned in the Bible several times: Josh 15,55 in the same context as Maon, Carmel and Juttah. Next it appears as the area where David fled at the time of his conflict with Saul.<sup>1</sup> According to 2 Chron 11,8 it was fortified by Rehoboam.<sup>2</sup>

Eus. Onom. 92,19: Ζείφ (1 Sam 23,14). "ὄρος αὐχμῶδες" τῆς Ζείφ, ἐν ῷ ἐκαθέσθη Δαυίδ, ῷ παράκειται Χερμαλά, ἥτις ἑρμηνεύεται ὁ Κάρμηλος. οὕτως καλουμένη εἰς ἔτι νῦν κώμη Ἰουδαίων, ἔνθα Νάβαλ ὁ Καρμήλιος. Ζεὶφ δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ εἶς τῶν υίῶν Χαλέβ, ὡς ἐν Παραλειπομέναις. "Zeiph (1 Sam 23,14). The 'squalid mountain' of Zeiph, on which David settled, beside which Chermala lies, translated as Karmelos. Thus even until today it is a village of Jews, whence came Nabal the Karmelit. It is called Zeiph after one of the sons of Caleb, as in Chronicles" (1 Chron 2,42).

Eus. Onom. 92,15: Ζίφ (Josh 15,55). φυλῆς Ἰούδα. κώμη νῦν ἐστιν ἐν τῷ Δαρωμᾳ ἐν ὁρίοις Ἐλευθεροπόλεως πλησίον Χεβρὼν ἀπὸ σημείων η' πρὸς ἀνατολάς, ἔνθα ἐκρύπτετο Δαυίδ. "Ziph (Josh 15,55). Tribe of Judah. Now it is a village in Daroma in the territory of Eleutheropolis near Hebron, about 8 miles to the east, where David hid." 3

A cancelled marriage contract, P.XHev/Se 69 (DJD XXVII no. 69), mentions Aristobulias and Ziph, as does Cyril of Scythopolis, Vita Euthymii 12,22.

Ziph lies on the road from Jerusalem, via Hebron to Mampsis in the northern Negev. The road, it should be mentioned, is well-constructed, running along the eastern edge of the Hebron Mountains. It is provided with watch towers, but is not marked with milestones. Ziph is in fact 4 miles (=6 km) southeast from Hebron, a little more along the road. Bagatti describes it as follows: The tell rises on the surrounding plain like a truncated cone and dominates the region named after it: "Desert of Zif."

ΒI

<sup>1 1</sup> Sam 23,14-16, 19-24; 1 Sam 26.

<sup>2</sup> It has been argued that this actually took place in the time of Hezekiah, cf. N. Na'aman, BASOR 262, 1986, 5-21.

<sup>3 &</sup>quot;Daroma" (=the South) is a term encountered in Greek only in Eusebius' Onomasticon and indicates the region south of Hebron, covering the lower hill-country and the mountains, but excluding the desert.

<sup>4</sup> Bagatti, Judaea 89f. Cf. Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea, 312, 315; Guérin, Judée 3, 159-82; TIR 262 s.v. Ziph.

## Inscriptions

#### 3847. Greek and Aramaic ossuary of Cunorus son of Diodotus, 2-3 c. CE

Gabled limestone ossuary lid decorated in low relief on all four sides. On one long side, the four-line Greek inscription (a) (fourth line=one letter) flanked by wreaths. On the second long side, an Aramaic inscription (b), also flanked by wreaths; the missing piece from the lower center of this side seems not to have contained writing. Meas.: h 33, w 112, d 55 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 1969-151.

- (a) ΚΥΝΩΡΟΣΔΙΟ ΔΟΕΙΟΥΠΡΩ ΤΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΗ Σ
- (b) קנרוסברדוטוסרש[.]רו/ים



fig. 3847.1 (a)



fig. 3847.2 (b)

- (a) Κύνωρος Διο|δό[τ]ου πρω|τοπολείτη|ς
- (b) קנרוס בר דוטוס רש [מ?]רו/ים

Translit.: qnrws br dwtws rš [m?]rw/ym

- (a) Cunorus (son) of Diodotus, protopoleites.
- (b) Cunorus son of Dotus, head of (the citizens) of Marom(?).

Comm.: These fragments of an ossuary lid were discovered in the Rockefeller Museum courtyard and glued together some time between 1967 and 1969. Rahmani noted in the ed. pr. (113 n.2) that the same fragments may have been described briefly in the Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan in 1962. The attached information indicated discovery in a tomb to the west of Kh. Zif, near Hebron. The present location of this lid is not known.

Κύνορος has no exact parallel in any of the standard Greek onomastica, although there are similar names, each rare, in LGPN (Κυνάριον, Κύνορτος, Κύνων, Κόναρος, etc.). For names based on κύων, see Pape, WGE 740ff. Lifshitz suggested Κύλλαρος, from κυλλός, crooked/crippled, which is even rarer than κύων-based names. The Aramaic *anrws* is in fact attested in two other ossuaries from Jerusalem and its surroundings (CIIP I 84 and 560). Yadin suggested reading the patronymic in Aramaic as דיטוס dytws, which he rendered Diotos; this is unlikely. The father's name in Greek is restored on the basis of the Aramaic parallel text, even if there seems to be space for more than two letters; thus, although the edge of the gap shows traces of omicron, it could be that the missing letters were omega-tau. The title πρωτοπολίτης is hardly known in Greek and Roman cities, cf. Vattioni; it is probably honorific. There is a Jewish προτοπολίτες who is also πατήρ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῶν 'Ιουδέων in Volubilis, cf. Y. Le Bohec, Ant Afr 17, 1981, 194 no. 79. Outside any Jewish context, a πρωτοπολείτης appears in Styberra (Greece), SEG 49, 804, and another in Thessalonike (Vattioni 25), but see perhaps no. 3436, comm. Compare πρῶτος τῆς πόλεως in Mishmar Ha-Emek, SEG 38, 1586; and in Gerasa, SEG 56, 1921.

The Aramaic title is obviously a translation of the Greek, along the lines of דיש צבורה ryš sbwrh, a unique title on an inscription from the Jordan valley (A. Yardeni - J. Price, SCI 24, 2005, 125-33); the title here, however rendered, is also unique. The first letter of the second word is missing; although Rahmani confidently asserted that "the first mem in מרום seems certain, since it is the only letter which both fits into the space available and agrees with the visible traces," other letters could fit but none makes sense; the third letter is either yod or vav (Kutscher). The interpretation of either מרום mrwm or מרים mrym as "leaders" is unsatisfactory. Yadin suggested attaching an ayin, thus עמרים 'mrym as "residents," rendering a more or less exact parallel to the Greek. Prof. Shlomo Naeh (private communication) has proposed that Marom refers to a place so that Cunorus was "head of [the citizens of] Marom." Similarly, Millar suggested that mrwm could mean "highland," like rš tdmr in Palmyra; he sees the deceased as "a local landowner who was a member of the leading group (sometimes described as *proteuontes*) in the *boule* of Eleutheropolis." This seems to be the right direction. It is not beyond doubt that the deceased was Jewish. Rahmani dates the inscription to the 2-3 c. CE on the basis of the letter-forms.

Bibl.: L. Rahmani, IEJ 22, 1972, 113-6 at 114 (ed. pr.). – E. Kutscher, IEJ 22, 1972, 117; Y. Yadin, IEJ 22, 1972, 235f.; Syria/BES 1973, 149; B. Lifshitz, Euphrosyne 6, 1973/4, 23-48 at 44ff.; id., Epigraphica 36, 1974, 78-100 at 98ff. no. 8; BE 1976, 737; SEG 26, 1668; F. Vattioni, StudPap 16, 1977, 23-9 at 27f.; SEG 27, 1014; MPAT 272f., 302 no. A53; G. Horsley, New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity, 1981, 112f. no. 71; Figueras, Ossuaries 18 no. 599; Beyer, Aramäische Texte 368f. no. yyZI 1; Van der Horst, Ancient Jewish Epitaphs 99ff.; F. Millar, The Roman Near East, 31 BC - AD 337, 1993, 376; SEG 43, 1065; Rahmani, CJO no. 282; Z. Safrai, Cathedra 72, 1994, 23-33 at 31 (Hebr.); DGI 668f.; Belayche, Pagan Cults 62f.; Zugmann, Apostelgeschichte 285f.; Greenberg - Keinan 2009, 133 no. 921; Z. Safrai, EI 31, 2015, 287-98 at 293, 297f. (Hebr.).

Photo: IAA.

# CL. H. Kishor

#### 3848.-3849. Burial cave containing ossuaries

Two ossuaries were recovered from a looted burial cave which was part of a much larger complex of burials dating to the early Roman period. The cave has a single chamber with six arcosolia and 13 loculi; 26 whole or broken ossuaries were identified, in addition to lids. The pottery and glass date to the 3-4 c. CE, when the cave was most likely in use.

#### 3848. Ossuary with Aramaic inscription, 3-4 c. CE

Inscription in square Jewish script incised on the side of a gabled lid from a limestone ossuary, rough-finished. There are other incised lines above and below which do not belong to the inscription.

Meas.: h 26, w 67, d 51 cm (ed. pr.).

יודושאול

יודן שאול

Translit.: ywdn š'wl

Yudan Shaul.



fig. 3848.1

11.74

fig. 3848.2

Comm.: The inscription could refer to one person or two: the family knew.

Bibl.: B. Zissu, ESI 19, 1999, 86 (=HA 107, 124 [Hebr.]) (ed. pr.). – Id., Atiqot 46, 2004, 27-35 (Hebr.), 129\* no. 216 (ES); G. Baltes, Hebräisches Evangelium und synoptische Überlieferung, 2011, 98f.; id. 2014, 42f. n.25.

Photo: B. Zissu, Atiqot 46, 2004, 34 fig. 12 (ph. and dr.).

### 3849. Enigmatic Greek inscription on ossuary, 3-4 c. CE

What appear to be Greek letters are incised on the side of a roughly finished limestone ossuary. The ossuary is broken in two.

Meas.: h 37, w 67, d 50 cm (ed. pr.).







fig. 3849.2

fig. 3849.1

Comm.: It is not certain that the circles on each side of the clear *eta* are letters (*omicron*) or bear some other function or meaning. The clear *eta* could be the initial of the name of the deceased.

Bibl.: B. Zissu, Atiqot 46, 2004, 27-35 (Hebr.), 129\* no. 123 (ES) (ed. pr.). – G. Baltes, Hebräisches Evangelium und synoptische Überlieferung, 2011, 98f.; id. 2014, 42f. n.25.

Photo: B. Zissu, Atiqot 46, 2004, 33 fig. 7 (ph. and dr.).

JJP

# CLI. H. Gomer

## 3850. Greek and Aramaic epitaph of Abba Mari son of Batha, 4 c. CE

Two lines of Jewish script and one word in Greek on a separate line below, incised above the entrance to a tomb; traces of black paint in the incisions of the letters in Jewish script. The inscription was removed from the site and subsequently recovered. Meas.: h 35, w 157 cm; letters (Jewish script) 4, (Greek) 9 cm.

Pres. loc.: Joe Alon Center – The Museum of Bedouin Culture, Kibbutz Lahav. Autopsy: 20 October 2013 (WE/DK).



fig. 3850

אנהאלעזרבראבהמאריעבדתהדה קבורתהלאבהמאריברבתהחשישתהשבועה AAZAP

ן שבועה חשישתה בר בתה מארי קבורתה לאבה קבורתה הדה קבורתה מארי עבדת אלעזר אלעזר אלעזר אלמר אלמגה אלעזר אלמגף  $\Lambda \alpha \zeta \alpha \rho$ 

Translit.: 'nh 'l'zr br 'bh m'ry 'bdt hdh | qbwrth l'bh m'ry br bth ḥšyšth šbw'h

I, Elʿazar, the son of Abba Mari, made this tomb for Abba Mari son of Batha. The fear (of violating) an oath. Lazar.

Comm.: The tomb was discovered in 1973 and excavated in 1974, in which year the inscription was illegally removed, subsequently recovered by the IAA. According to Meehan (quoting J. Landgraf), the incisions of the Aramaic inscription were originally painted black, unlike the letters of the Greek name, and the Aramaic and Greek letters were made with different chisels; he thus concludes that  $\Delta\alpha\zeta\alpha\rho$  was added later, but the differences in fact do not indicate relative chronology. The text was incorrectly transcribed by both Kloner in ed. pr. and Meehan. The correct reading is found in Beyer.

The epitaph recalls the cave inscription from Giv at Ha-Mivtar in Jerusalem, in which the man responsible for burial opens with 'nh and a personal declaration

(CIIP I 55; coincidentally, the author there is named Abba son of El'azar). The name of the deceased here was Abba son of Batha; "Mari" was a title of respect, like the Greek "kyrios." Meehan, followed by subsequent scholars, understood *br bth* to mean "a member of his household," assuming *bth* is in defective spelling, but that word is clearly the personal name of Abba's father.

The last two words of the Aramaic text are unclear grammatically but clear in their intention, warning against tampering with the tomb. The last word, *šbw'h*, indicates that the inscriber made an oath against violation of the tomb, which was a widespread custom, see Billig; such vows and warnings were used on several ossuaries from Jerusalem, see e.g. CIIP I 287 with commentary. The word *ḥšyšth* is less intelligible, but seems to refer to a fear or apprehension, thus serving as a warning against violating the tomb out of fear of the curse in the oath with which the tomb was closed (Naveh). Beyer links that word to the name Batha and translates: "der Bātta der Verkrüppelten."

Bibl.: A. Kloner, in: M. Broshi ed., Between Hermon and Sinai, 1977, 186-96 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – HA 50, 1974, 18 (Hebr.); C. Meehan, ZDPV 96, 1980, 59-66 at 59f.; Beyer, Aramäische Texte 366 no. yyHG 1; A. Kloner, Qadmoniot 18, 1985, 96-100 (Hebr.); SEG 35, 1542; O. Borowski, Biblical Archaeologist 49, 1986, 210-5 at 213; Beyer, Aramäische Texte, Ergänzungsband 235 no. yyHG 1; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 394; Y. Billig, Cathedra 98, 2001, 49-60 (Hebr.); Hachlili, Funerary Customs 506; ead., AASOR 60/61, 2006/7, 243-55 at 252. – Cf. Naveh, Sherd and Papyrus 196 (Hebr.).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

### CLII. Kh. Beit Mirsim

## 3851. Stone with undecipherable letters

#### Limestone.

Findspot: At the northern foot of the hill where the village of Beit Mirsim is located; found during the rescue excavations of 2004, when a late antique church (6/7 c. AD) was discovered in Area C; in Area E there are Roman imperial or late antique buildings and constructions (inter alia a winepress), see Ein Gedy - Golan. Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 2004-2005 (but currently not to be found: "lost" according to catalogue).



fig. 3851

Bibl.: M. Ein Gedy - K. Golan, HA-ESI 119, 2007 (www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\_detail\_eng. aspx?id=465&mag\_id=112, viewed: 11.12.2016).

Photo: IAA.

WA

# CLIII. Caphar Orsa (mod. Kh. Khureisa)

### 3852. Greek quotation of Ps 117,20

Meas.: lintel: w 2.67 m; the fragment seen by Marta had a width of 1.3 m.

Findspot: Kh. Khureisa "seems to have been an important town in the Christian period" (Conder; cf. TIR p. 98). Small, three-nave church with apsis and narthex; the "almost illegible" (Conder) inscription is on a decorated lintel once over the door facing westwards (another decorated lintel without inscription was found too); this is certainly no "contesto monumentale di funzione indefinita" (Felle). In 1895, Marta saw a stone built into a wall in Yatta, with the same text (cf. pres. loc.), and the owner told Mader in 1918 that this stone had come from Kirmil (=Kh. el-Karmil; this is not necessarily true: it was common knowledge at the beginning of the 20 c. that many stones from Yatta had come from Kirmil: the owner may have been confused).

Pres. loc.: The stone was evidently still in Yatta in 1986 (cf. ESI 5, 1986, 111f.).

ΑΥΤΗΗ++ ΛΗΤΟΥΚΥ +ΙΟΥΔΙΚΑΙ ΟΙΕΙΣΕΛΕΥΣ ΟΝΤΕΕΝΑΥ ΤΗ

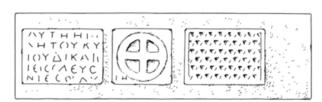


fig. 3852.1 (dr. by Conder - Kitchener)

αὕτη ἡ πύ|λη τοῦ κυ|ρίου. δίκαι|οι εἰσελεύσ|οντε ἐν αὐτῆ

This is the gate of the Lord. The righteous shall enter by it.

Comm.: The different reports (cf. findspot) of the origin of the stones copied by Conder and a Corporal Armstrong and by Marta do not exclude the possibility that they saw the same stone. Since Ps 117,20 is one of the most often quoted biblical texts (see no. 3866 comm.), the content alone does not guarantee that there



fig. 3852.2 (dr. by Marta)

was only one stone: this could only be deduced from the physical appearance of the lintel(s). If it was the same stone copied twice, we have to assume that it was re-cut

for the use in Yatta or that only a part of it was visible to Marta. The drawings of the ornament to the right of the inscription are not completely identical, but this could be attributed to there being different draftsmen. Marta saw evidently some letters clearer than the earlier editors. For him, the stone was not "almost illegible." The general layout of the two copies is almost identical, and especially the layout of the inscribed text suggests that Conder and Marta saw the same stone: the ends of the lines accord perfectly. Of special importance is the fact that 1.5 continues beyond the frame, as Conder's drawing shows: Marta's text ends in 1.5 with AY, leaving no room for the last two letters in the frame, thus corroborating Conder's version. If we accept the identity of Conder's and Marta's stone, the following scenario is to be assumed: a) Conder and Armstrong saw the stone, copied it and made the drawing which was published in Conder - Kitchener; b) the quotation was identified by Finlay; c) Marta copied the text. The text was copied twice, therefore we have two slightly different versions by Conder and Marta. The transcription is, therefore, based on the two available drawings.

Marta's and Mader's hypothesis that there was an inscription with Ps 120,8 on the right side of the stone is unnecessary; it is all but refuted by Conder's drawing. – l.2: [.] HTOYKY Conder, ΛΗΙ[--]ΙΚΥ Marta. – l.3: ΙΟΥΔΙΚΑΙ Conder, ΡΙΟΥΔΙΚΑΙ Marta. – l.4: ΙΕΙΣ[.]ΛΕΥΣ Conder; ΟΙΣΙΣΕΛΕΥΣ Marta. – l.5: ΤΕΝΑΥ[--]ΙΗ Conder; ΣΝΤΕΕ[.]ΙΑΥ Marta. Conder - Kitchener printed: εἰσελεύσο|ντ(αι), and their drawing seems to show εἰσελεύσ[ο]|ντε ἐν. – l.5: "The most valuable part of the inscription ... are the two letters IH, which occur in a corner, not on the tablet bearing the rest, but to the right, parallel with the last line. These are no doubt the date" (Conder 1875); once the quotation is identified, it is much more probable that the mason was not able to squeeze the last two letters of the quotation into the tabula and therefore put them in the next field (the letters were not seen by Marta).

Bibl.: a) Kh. Khureisa: Conder, PEQ 1875, 19 (ed. pr.). – E. Finlay, PEQ 1875, 103; Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea 336f.; Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 89f., fig. 11, 93; Meimaris, Sacred Names 35 no. 170, 137 no. 720; Vriezen, Mosaic Pavements 248ff.; Bagatti, Judaea 92f., figs. 1f.; Felle, Biblia epigraphica 134 no. 232. – Cf. C. Conder, PEQ 17, 1885, 16f. no. 27 (transl.); id., PEQ 26, 1894, 202 no. 25; A. Mader, Altchristliche Basiliken und Lokaltraditionen in Südjudäa, 1918, 178; B. Bagatti, SBF 3, 1952/3, 116 no. 7; Ovadiah, Corpus 120 no. 117 (cf. id., Corpus Suppl. 2, 152 no. 37); Dauphin, Palestine Byzantine 965 no. 36; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 257.

b) Yatta/Kirmil: J. Marta, RB 4, 1895, 66ff. (l.2ff.) (ed. pr.). – M.-J. Lagrange, RB 4, 1895, 626; Keel - Küchler 750f. no. 478 (dr.); ESI 5, 1986, 111 (=HA 89, 51 [Hebr.]); Meimaris, Sacred Names 39 no. 200; Vriezen, Mosaic Pavements 248-51; Felle, Biblia epigraphica 113 no. 167. – Cf. L. Jalabert, DACL 3, 1914, 1736 no. 77; A. Mader, Altchristliche Basiliken und Lokaltraditionen in Südjudäa, 1918, 183; B. Bagatti, SBF 3, 1952/3, 116 no. 7; id., Judaea 96; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 268, 272.

Photo: Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 258 fig. 329,3 (dr. after Conder - Kitchener 1883); J. Marta, RB 4, 1895, 67 (dr.).

# CLIV. 'Ein Gedi (Engaddi)

#### Introduction

See the general introduction to Jericho.

## Inscriptions

#### 3853.-3855. The synagogue

Three seasons of excavations between 1970 and 1972 revealed that a synagogue had stood on the site, and that the building underwent renovations and expansion in three phases over several centuries. The earliest stratum, from the late 2 or early 3 c. CE, had a mosaic without inscriptions. In its last manifestation, finished in the 5 c., the building had become a large complex facing north (towards Jerusalem), the main sanctuary being a trapezoidal structure with side rooms and a long narthex on the western side; the building was 16 m long on its longest side and 12.5 m wide and had a second story, and thus able to hold a large number of people. The new floor was an extensive polychrome mosaic carpet containing geometric shapes, three menorahs, birds and vegetation in the main hall. The synagogue and village were destroyed by fire in the second half of the 6 c. CE.

#### 3853. Hebrew and Aramaic mosaic inscription from the synagogue, 5-6 c. CE

Mosaic floor panel composed of black, white, brown, yellow, pink, red and grayblue tesserae. The panel, which is about 9 m long and 2 m wide, is divided into eight sub-panels, the first two consisting of geometric patterns. Sub-panels three through six contain the present inscription, consisting of eighteen uneven lines of Jewish script; the first and second registers of the text (sub-panels three and four on the entire mosaic panel) as well as the third and fourth registers (sub-panels five and six) are separated by double black lines, the second and third registers (sub-panels four and five) are separated by a single black line; the upper frame of the second register has the addition of red triangles, as do the upper and lower frame-lines of the fourth register. The background in the lower left portion of the second register is composed of mostly pink instead of white tesserae, but this does not necessarily indicate modification of the text. The letter shapes in the fourth register are significantly different from those in the first three, suggesting a later addition. The seventh sub-panel of the entire panel contains geometric shapes, and the eighth contains inscription no. 3854. The entire panel is surrounded by a frame consisting of black lines and a series of red triangles pointing outward.

Meas.: text: h 257, w 61.6 cm; letters 4-9 cm.

Findspot: The long inscribed panel was laid in the western "narthex" as part of the newest construction there.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, IAA inv. no. 1970-1759. Autopsy: September 2014.

אדם שת אנוש קינן מהללאל ירד חנוד מתושלח למד נוח שם חם ויפית טלה שור תאומים סרטן ארי בתולה מאוזנים עקרב קישת גדי ודלי דגים 5 ניסו אייר סיוו תמוז אב אילול תשרי מרחשוז כסליו טבית שבט ואדר אברהם יצחק ויעקב שלום חנניה מישאיל ועזריה שלום על ישראל דכיריז לטב יוסה ועזריז וחזיהיז בנוה דחלפי כל מן דיהיב פלגו בן גבר לחבריה הי אמר 10 לשן ביש על חבריה לעממיה הי גניב צבותיה דחבריה הי מן דגלי רזה דקרתה לעממיה דין דעינוה משוטטן בכל ארעה וחמי סתירתה הוא יתז אפוה בגברה 15 ההו ובזרעיה ויעקור יתיה מן תחות שומיה וימרון כל עמה אמן ואמן סלה רבי יוסה בר חלפי חזקין בר חלפי דכירין לטב דסגי סגי הנון עבדן לשמה דרחמנה שלם



fig. 3853

Translit.: 'dm št 'nwš qynn mhll'l yrd
ḥnwk mtwšlḥ lmk nwḥ šm ḥm wypyt
ṭlh šwr t'wmym srṭn 'ry btwlh
m'wznym 'arh avšt ady wdly daym

m'wznym 'qrb qyšt gdy wdly dgym 5 nysn 'yyr sywn tmwz 'b 'ylwl tšry mrḥšwn kslyw ṭbyt šbṭ

w'dr. 'brhm yṣḥq wy'qb. šlwm ḥnnyh myš'yl w'zryh. šlwm 'l yšr'l dkyryn lṭb ywsh w'zryn whzyqyn bnwh dḥlpy

10 kl mn dyhyb plgw bn gbr lhbryh, hy 'mr lšn byš 'l hbryh l'mmyh, hy gnyb sbwtyh dhbryh, hy mn dgly rzh dqrth l'mmyh – dyn d'ynwh mšwttn bkl 'r'h whmy styrth, hw' ytn 'pwh bgbrh

15 hhw wbzr'yh wy'qwr ytyh mn thwt šwmyh wymrwn kl 'mh 'mn w'mn slh rby ywsh br hlpy hzqyn br hlpy dkyryn ltb dsgy sgy hnwn 'bdn lšmh drhmnh šlm

Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan, Mehalalel, Yared Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech, Noah, Shem, Ham and Yaphet.

Ram (Aries), Bull (Taurus), Twins (Gemini), Crab (Cancer), Lion (Leo), Virgin (Virgo), Scales (Libra), Scorpion (Scorpio), Archer (Sagittarius), Goat (Capricorn), and Bucket (Aquarius), Fish (Pisces). (5) Nissan, Iyyar, Sivan, Tammuz, Av, Elul, Tishri, Marḥešvan, Kislev, Ṭevet, Shevat, and Adar. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Peace! Ḥananiah, Misha'el and Azariah. Peace be upon Israel!

Be remembered for the good Yose and Azarian and Ḥizqian, the sons of Ḥalfi. (10) Whoever causes a dispute between a man and his fellow, or says evil words about his fellow to the Gentiles, or steals his fellow's things, or whoever reveals the secret of the village to the Gentiles – He whose eyes roam the entire earth and (who) sees the mysteries, He will set his face against (=punish) that man (15) and his descendants, and uproot him from under the heaven. And all the people will say Amen and Amen, Selah! Rabbi Yose son of Ḥalfi, Ḥizqian son of Ḥalfi, (may they be) remembered for the good, for they did/donated(?) very much for (the exaltation of?) the name of The Merciful One. Peace!

Comm.: It is not entirely certain whether the donors mentioned were responsible for the entire new mosaic carpet or just that part. Although the narthex was entered from the west, the inscriptions were meant to be read by a person facing north, i.e. aligned with the orientation of the entire building. The first two registers are in Hebrew, the second two in Aramaic.

First register, ll.1-2: These two lines contain the names of the 13 biblical ancestors of mankind, quoting 1 Chron 1,1-4; the quotation is unique in synagogue inscriptions. There are minor differences from the biblical text in the vocalization of the names, i.e., *vav* in Noah and the second *yod* in Yaphet; see Kalimi.

Second register, ll.3-8: ll.3-4 list the signs of the zodiac and ll.5-7 the names of the months. The Hebrew words take the place of figurative representations of zodiacs and seasons in other synagogue floors of the period in this region (e.g. Beth Alfa, Ḥamat Tiberias, Sepphoris, Naʿaran). The order of the signs, beginning with Aries, is parallel to the order of the months, beginning with *Nissan*; such parallel lists were a feature of poetry recited in the synagogue (*piyyutim*) from this period (cf. Levine). Plene spellings are witnessed in *qyšt*, *'ylwl* and *tbyt*; see Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 12-6 and the comparative chart of these names on p. 153. The problem of *vav*-consecutive in *wdly* has been explained by Mirsky, first, as a corrective of a tradition which put Aquarius before Capricorn (and the same *vav*-consecutive is seen with both *dly* Aquarius and *dgym* Pisces in the synagogue floor at Beth Alfa, cf. Naveh, Stone and Mosaic, no. 45); and second, as reflecting the habit in rabbinic texts of marking the penultimate member of a series with this conjunction; by contrast, *w'dr* in l.7 marks the last in the list of months.

ll.7-8: After the signs and months come the names of the three patriarchs with a concluding *shalom*, and names of Daniel's three companions (Dan 1,6-7, etc.; note *Myš'yl* in plene spelling) with a concluding *shalom 'al Yisra'el*. Midrashim name the

three patriarchs or, alternatively, Daniel's three companions, as "the pillars of the world" (Shir Ha-Shirim Rabba 7:5; Midrash Tehilim 1:15; cited by Mazar in ed. pr. and Levine). The blessing "Peace be on Israel" appears in the synagogues at Jericho, Susiya, Huseifa and Migrash, and acts inter alia as a closing formula, see no. 2808 comm.

Third register, ll.9-16: The three brothers mentioned in l.9 were the main benefactors of this large panel, or of the entire building, or of the community in general (compare the fourth register). The reading of their names here departs from that originally suggested by Mazar (מירון וחזקין) w'yrwn whzqyn) and reflects Naveh's corrections (1989, 308). Azarian and Ḥizqian are late variants of the biblical names Azariah and Ḥizqiah, the final nun reflecting the phonetic phenomenon of the occasional nasalization of the long vowel in the final open syllable, attested in epigraphic texts dating from about the mid-1 c. on. The spelling of bnwh ("his sons"), omitting the final yod, is rare in synagogue inscriptions (cf. 'ynwh [l.13], 'pwh [l.14] as well as drgwh [Naveh, Stone and Mosaic, no. 17,3]), where the spelling is bnwy, bnwyy, both deriving from the earlier bnwhy (see Naveh 108).

ll.10-16 record a solemn decision taken by the whole community, confirmed in l.16, "and all the people will say Amen and Amen, Selah!"; the verb wymrwn is in the future tense, apparently, if taken literally, reflecting the people's approval of the punishment that any transgressor will suffer; but this phrase is a quotation of 1 Chron 16,36, thus perhaps used as a formulaic confirmation. The nature and circumstances of this decision, and esp. the identity of the community's "secret," have evoked many interpretations. Mazar thought that action was taken in response to the actual theft of community property or divulgence of a secret, in specific political circumstances of the 7 c. Urbach saw a standard, solemn, pre-emptive community oath paralleled in Graeco-Roman societies and among the Essenes; Lieberman, in a suggestion which has gained wide appeal, proposed that the "secret" had to do with production of balsam; A. Dothan thought the secret was the hiding-place of the Torah scroll; now Magness has proposed an apocalyptic meaning (the reference to such a "secret" has a parallel in the Damascus Document, 4Q270 Frag. 2 col. II 12-14, but this document predates the 'Ein Gedi inscription by centuries); and there have been other theories as well. The true facts were known by members of the 'Ein Gedi community but will forever elude us.

l.10: if dyhyb is present tense, as it seems to be, the second yod serves as a vocalic letter for the long  $\bar{\mathbf{e}}$ . In the phrase dyhyb plgw ("whoever causes a dispute") it is an auxiliary verb with a causative meaning. bn is a defective spelling of byn.

ll.10-12: hy ... hy ("either ... or") has been identified by M. Sokoloff (Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic 161, cf. Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 108) with the Greek  $\mathring{\eta}$  ...  $\mathring{\eta}$  which corresponds to אי in Christian Palestinian Aramaic, or a short variant of the Aramaic הין ... הין < הין ... הין "whether ... or"; cf. אי in Babylonian Aramaic.

l.11: *lšn byš* "evil words, slander," lit. "evil tongue."

l.12: *sbwtyh dhbryh*, "his fellow's things": the feminine noun *sbw* has two basic meanings, one abstract, i.e., "will," and the other concrete, i.e. "thing, object." Fe-

lix interpreted the word as referring to certain plant-fibers called  $\mathfrak{s}bt$  which were used in the production of balsam, but Rosenthal showed that in the Aramaic of the Talmudic rabbis, the word means simply "thing," and this best fits the context of the inscription. – mn dgly rzh dqrth "whoever reveals the secret of the village": "whoever" is repeated, emphasizing the gravity of the offense; in spite of its ending with yod rather than he or alef, the form gly expresses the present tense (cf. Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 108); the text recalls  $\mathfrak{s}dh$   $\mathfrak{s}dh$   $\mathfrak{s}ddw$  in Amos 3,7. The word  $\mathfrak{g}dth$  refers to 'Ein Gedi, called  $\mathfrak{k}\omega\mu\eta$   $\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{e}\gamma l\sigma\tau\eta$  ໄουδαίων by Eusebius (On. 86,18); in synagogue inscriptions the word  $\mathfrak{g}dth$  appears also at Huseifa (Naveh, Stone and Mosaic, no. 39) and Susiya (no. 3882 this vol.).

ll.13-15: dyn d'ynwh mšwttn bkl 'r'h | whmy styrth "He whose eyes roam the entire earth and (who) sees the mysteries": as in almost all Hebrew and Aramaic Jewish inscriptions, God is not specifically named (cf. comm. to no. 2807, from Jericho), but here the circumlocutions have a point which would have been implicitly understood by members of the community: "He whose eyes roam the entire earth" quotes Zech 4,10 עיני יהוָה, הַמָּה מְשׁוֹטְטִים בְּכַל-הַאָּרֵץ "The eyes of the Lord which roam the entire earth," a messianic vision of the rebuilt Temple; and that God's eyes roam the entire earth stresses the inevitability of divine punishment; according to Fine 1999, 204f., the text "resonates with liturgical formulae of the sort that may have been pronounced within the synagogue hall itself by the prayer leader of the Ein Gedi synagogue"; two much earlier epitaphs with curses from Rheneia invoke Κύριε ὁ πάντα ἐφορῶν, Noy, IJO I, Ach70-71. The second divine attribute, "who sees the mysteries," echoes Deut 29,29 and is also an apocalyptic reference, alluding obliquely as well to the secret of the community. The promised punishment in ll.14-15 is that God "will set his face against that man and his descendants, and uproot him from under the heaven," recalling the language of Lev 20,3, 5 and Jer 10,11; this seems to indicate only divine punishment, not by human hands. As Magness points out, the inscription threatens death "for transgressions which are not capital offenses according to biblical law or rabbinic legislation" (128\*), although certain Dead Sea scrolls did mark out the same violations for punishment by death. The Biblical promise of capital punishment is for violation of Torah commandments, of which, among the four offenses mentioned in the inscription, only theft and possibly slander may be included.

l.14: *whmy styrth* "and (who) sees the mysteries," the root *hmy* is used in the western Aramaic dialect while in other dialects *hzy* is used (cf. Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 109).

Fourth register, ll.17-18: These two lines, written in a different and much less clear script, were probably added after the first three sections were laid, perhaps because the two brothers (as opposed to the three in register three) made further donations for the construction of the synagogue or general benefit of the community. The word *br*, "son of" (*bn* in ed. pr.) is written in ligature, the *resh* dropping below the line. The addition of "rabbi" to Yose's name does not mean he did not use the title already when the previous inscription was set; nor does it connect him to any known Talmudic sage (see now Magness, with all previous

bibl.). A third name for God is used here, "the merciful one," taken from synagogue liturgy; the same expression, with perhaps a different purpose, is used in the synagogue inscription from Kochav Ha-Yarden (Naveh, Stone and Mosaic, no. 42). To say that the brothers "did very much for the name of The Merciful One" (dsgy sgy hnwn 'bdn lšmh drḥmnh) seems to mean that they acted to exalt the holy name.

l.18: *dsgy sgy*, not *drgy sgy* as in ed. pr.: the reading of *samekh* in the first word is quite certain despite the omission of its left down-stroke; the relative pronoun functions as a causative particle, and the repetition intensifies the activity. *hnwn* "they" (*hnwn* in ed. pr.), the first letter could be a cursive *alef* rather than *he*. '*bdn*, "doing, donating," the final letter is *nun* (not *vav*), thus the present tense rather than the past: apparently the brothers Yose and Hizqian were supporting the synagogue constantly.

Bibl.: B. Mazar, Tarbiz 40, 1970/1, 18-23 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). - S. Lieberman, ibid. 24ff. (Hebr.); E. Urbach, ibid. 27-30 (Hebr.); E. Rosenthal, ibid. 31f. (Hebr.); J. Felix, ibid. 256f. (Hebr.); M. Lerner, ibid. 257 (Hebr.); A. Mirsky, ibid. 376-84 (Hebr.); Y. Braund, ibid. 510f. (Hebr.); D. Barag - J. Porath, Qadmoniot 3, 1970, 97-100 nos. 2ff. (Hebr.); HA 34/35, 1970, 20 (Hebr.); A. Dothan, Leshonenu 35, 1971, 211-7 (Hebr.); Y. Komlosh, Beit Migra 16, 1971, 569f. (Hebr.); G. Sarfatti, Tarbiz 41, 1971/2, 125, 255 (Hebr.); D. Barag, ibid. 453f. (Hebr.); D. Barag - J. Porath - E. Netzer, Qadmoniot 5, 1972, 52ff. (Hebr.); IMC no. 185; RB 79, 1972, 581ff., pl. 51; R. Reich - H. Geva, HA 41/42, 1972, 36 (Hebr.); Saller, Catalogue 32f. no. 33; B. Lifshitz, Studies in the History of the Jewish People 3, 1975, 107ff. (Hebr.); G. Stemberger, Kairos 17, 1975, 23-56 at 24, 53ff.; D. Barag, EAEHL 2, 1976, 370-80 at 379; G. Foerster, Immanuel 6, 1976, 50-4 at 51f.; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 110-4 nos. 1-4; B. Lifshitz, ANRW II 8, 1977, 262-94 at 292f.; MPAT 260f., 288f. no. A22; M. Sokoloff, Maarav 1-1, 1978, 79-84 at 82 no. 70; Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 107ff. no. 70 (Hebr.); Shanks, Judaism in Stone 133f.; J. Yahalom, Immanuel 10, 1980, 47-56 at 54f.; G. Foerster, Cathedra 19, 1981, 12-40 (Hebr.); L. Levine, in: id. ed., Ancient Synagogues Revealed, 1981, 140-5 at 140f.; S. Cohen, JOR 72, 1981/2, 1-17 at 6 no. 54; Chiat, Handbook 223f.; Keel -Küchler 442ff. no. 319; M. Dothan, Hammath Tiberias, 1983, 53; D. Barag, in: E. Lipinski ed., Recherches Archéologiques en Israel/Archeologisch Onderzoek in Israel, 1984, 232-7; Beyer, Aramäische Texte 363ff. nos. yyEN 2-4; A. Ovadiah, Gerión 4, 1986, 111-27 at 118-27; Meimaris, Sacred Names 88 no. 553, 114 no. 619; B. Binyamin, Immanuel 21, 1987, 68-71 at 68f. no. 5; Ovadiah, MPI 55 no. 73; Hachlili, Jewish Art 225ff., 296, 304 pls. 64, 67, 71, 73, 74; J. Naveh, EI 20, 1989, 302-10 (Hebr.); J. Patrich, BAR 15, 1989, 23-42 at 35; H. Gundel, Zodiakos, 1992, 308ff. no. 383; Naveh, On Sherd and Papyrus 121f., 126, 140f., 156, 158 (Hebr.); D. Barag, NEAEHL 2, 1993, 405-9 at 407f.; Beyer, Aramäische Texte, Ergänzungsband 234f. no. yyEN; R. Hachlili, in: S. Fine ed., Sacred Realm, 1996, 96-129 at 114f., fig. 5,12; Varia, in: ibid. 155-75 at 175 no. 81; S. Fine, OEANE 5, 1997, 114-8 at 115; R. Hachlili, ZDPV 113, 1997, 92-122 at 99, 104ff.; L. Roussin, in: Edwards - McCollough 83-96 at 87-90; Fine, Holy Place 123f., 220f.; I. Kalimi, RB 105, 1998, 5-41 at 31ff.; Vriezen, Mosaic Pavements 260; K. Dunbabin, Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World, 1999, 192; S. Fine, in: id. ed., Jews, Christians, and Polytheists in the Ancient Synagogue, 1999, 198-214 at 204f.; id., in: L. Levine - Z. Weiss eds., From Dura to Sepphoris, 2000, 183-94 at 188; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 403, 408, 411f.; M. Metzger, in: B. Huwyler - H.-P. Mathys -B. Weber eds., Prophetie und Psalmen, 2001, 261-79; Schwartz, Imperialism 261ff.; R. Hachlili, JSQ 9, 2002, 219-58 at 220, 235, 246; A. Ovadiah, Assaph 8, 2003, 1-12 at 9f.; S. Miller, JQR 94, 2004, 27-76 at 49f.; Y. Hirschfeld, SBF 55, 2005, 327-54 at 344f.; D. Barag, in: Y. Hirschfeld ed., Ein Gedi, 2006, 17\*-20\* (Engl.), 21-6 (Hebr.); Y. Hirschfeld, in: id. ed., En-Gedi Excavations II 2007, 1-22 at 11, 15f., 19f. and 619-25 at 625; B. Rosen - S. Ben-Yehoshua, ibid. 626-40; Milson, Art and Architecture 55f., 356f.; J. Murphy-O'Connor, RB 114, 2007, 454-63; Ribak, Religious Communities 158f.; G. Hadas, RB 114, 2007, 161-73 at 168; Sivan, Palestine 36, 61f.; Murphy-O'Connor, Holy Land 279; Hachlili, AMP 216, 233f.; A. Ovadiah, SBF 60, 2010, 307-17 at 313; G. Hadas - J. Zangenberg, in: J. Zangenberg ed., Das Tote Meer, 91-100 at 99f.; Sorek 71, 95f.; F. Millar, JSJ 42, 2011, 253-77 at 264f.; Figueras, Pagan Image 48 fig. 258; Hachlili, Ancient Synagogues 10-3, 520-3 fig. XI,4, 532f., 536; E. Eshel, in: Herodium I 471; F. Vitto, IMSA 7, 2015, 2-13 at 9; J. Magness, EI 31, 2015, 123\*-31\*; Werlin, Synagogues 114-9, 121-7 fig. 53.

Photo: IAA.

AY/JJP

### 3854. Aramaic mosaic inscription from the synagogue, 5-6 c. CE

Three lines of Jewish script in black tesserae against a tan, red and yellow background, in the eighth and bottommost register of the synagogue floor (see no. 3853). The style of the letters is like that in the first three registers. Inscription surrounded by black frame, underneath the text are five rows of interlaced half-circles with flowers. Meas.: h 65, w 161 cm.

Findspot: See description.

Pres. loc.: Hecht Museum, Haifa, IAA inv. no. 1970-1759. Autopsy: 10 October 2013 (WE/DK).



fig. 3854

דכירין לטב כל בני קרתה דיהב גרמהון וחקין כנישתה דכיר לטב יונתן חזנה דיהב גרמיה בתקונה דכנישתה שלם

דכירין לטב כל בני קרתה דיהב גרמהון | וח<ז>קין כנישתה. דכיר לטב יונתן חזנה | דיהב גרמיה שלם במקונה דכנישתה. שלם

Translit.: dkyryn lţb kl bny qrth dyhb grmhwn | wḥ<z>qyn knyšth. dkyr lţb ywntn ḥznh | dyhb grmyh btqwnh dknyšth. šlm

Be remembered for the good all the residents of the town who gave from their own property [or: devoted themselves to] and support the synagogue. Be remembered for the good Yonatan the hazan who gave from his own property in [or: devoted himself to] the repair of the synagogue. Peace.

Comm.: l.1: The word *qrth* is repeated from l.12 of no. 3853, meaning the village of 'Ein Gedi. The substantive *grm* referring reflexively to the subject, as in the rabbinic expression *nksy grmyh* "his own possessions" (M. Sokoloff, Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic 136), appears in Jewish synagogue inscriptions here for the first time (pace Werlin, the word *grmyn* at Ḥamat Gader [Naveh, Stone and Mosaic, no. 33] has an entirely different function and meaning).

The combination of anonymous and named benefactors in the same inscription is found at Ḥamat Gader, Beth Alfa and Ḥuseifa, see Naveh, Stone and Mosaic, nos. 33, 34, 43.

Bibl.: D. Barag, Tarbiz 41, 1971/2, 453f. (Hebr.); D. Barag - Y. Porat, Qadmoniot 5, 1972, 52ff. (Hebr.) (first five words and paraphrase of the remaining content); Werlin, Synagogues 119f., fig. 54 (edd. prr.). – Beyer, Aramäische Texte 365 no. yyEN 5; L. Levine, in: Raban - Holum, Caesarea 1996, 392-400 at 395; see bibl. to no. 3853.

Photo: IAA.

JJP

## 3855. Wall plaster from the synagogue with letters in Jewish script, 5-6 c. CE

Fragment of wall plaster bearing four letters in Jewish script in red paint, with traces of letters above and below.

Meas.: h 6, w 9.5, d 1.7 cm; letters 1.5-3 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 2006-421. Autopsy: September 2014.



fig. 3855

Translit.: [--]+n | [--]'byh | [--]+++

Comm.: l.2: D. Barag in ed. pr. reads גביה[--]; F. Vitto (2015) followed Barag. – Since it is not known whether the legible letters are a full word or part of one, translation is uncertain. The existence of this small fragment indicates that the walls of the 'Ein Gedi synagogue bore painted inscriptions, perhaps, like the walls of the synagogue at Reḥov, quite extensive; but this cannot be known.

Bibl.: D. Barag, in: Y. Hirschfeld ed., Ein Gedi, 2006, 17\*-20\* (Engl.), 21-26 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 114 no. 6; F. Vitto, in: XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Wien, 4.-9. Oktober 1981. Akten II/5, 1982, 361-70 at 368f.; ead. IMSA 7, 2015, 2-13 at 9; Werlin, Synagogues 120f.

Photo: IAA.

JJP

# CLV. Iutta (mod. Yatta)

#### Introduction

Josh 15,55; 21,16.

Eus. Onom. 108,7: Ἰεττάν (Josh 15,55). φυλῆς Ἰούδα, πόλις ἱερατική. ἔστι νῦν κώμη μεγίστη Ἰουδαίων, Ἐλευθεροπόλεως ἀπὸ σημείων ιη' πρὸς νότον ἐν τῷ Δαρωμᾳ̃. "Iettan (Josh 15,55). Tribe of Judah, a priestly city. It is now a very large village of Jews about 18 miles south of Eleutheropolis in Daroma." <sup>1</sup>

Iutta of the Bible is identified with Yatta. The distance given by Eusebius is approximately right. It lies 10 km south of Hebron, possibly within the territory of Eleutheropolis. There are remains of a church, burial caves, buildings and cisterns.<sup>2</sup>

ΒI

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;Daroma" (=the South) is a term encountered in Greek only in Eusebius' Onomasticon and indicates the region south of Hebron, covering the lower hill-country and the mountains, but excluding the desert.

<sup>2</sup> Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea 380; Guérin, Judée 3, 206; F.-M. Abel, Géographie de la Paléstine 2, 3rd ed. 1967, 366f.; TIR 155.

## **Inscriptions**

### 3856. Amulet with inscriptions in Greek and Christian Palestinian Aramaic

Silver amulet with case. The larger part of the lower half is left blank. – (b) l.1: the final *alef* is written below the *tav* due to lack of space at the end of the line. Meas.: h 11.7, w 3.1-3.4, d 0.05 cm; case: w 4.7,  $\emptyset$  0.8 cm.

Findspot: Seen in the antiquities market, Jerusalem. "L'objet est dit provenir de Yatta mais, quoique possible, rien ne le garantit" (Puech 299).

(a) [--]ΗΛ ΑΔΑΡΜΑΛΗΛ ΑΒΡΑΣΑΞ ΟΥΕΙΘΙΗΛ ΟΥΚΟΥΘΙΗΛ ΣΑΒΑΣΧΑΣ ΡΑΒΑΤΗΛ

cyw حددی (q) مهم حد مهم مهم رهام



fig. 3856.1

- (a) [--]ηλ, | Αδαρμαληλ, | Άβρασαξ, | Ουειθιηλ, | Ουκουθιηλ, | Σαβασχας, | 'Ραβατηλ
- (b) wis | 4 as ask | Khäsuz John

Translit.: (b) 'twn šymẅt' | 'sw mwgyn | brh

- (a) ...el, Adarmalel, Abrasax, Oueithiel, Oukouthiel, Sabaschas, Rhabatel.
- (b) Vous, les Noms, guérrissez Mawgîn, son fils. (Puech)

Comm.: The Christian Palestinian Aramaic text and its translation are given according to Puech. He (302) dates the amulet according to the letter forms to the end of the Byzantine or the beginning of the Islamic time. He believes that the owner was a Christian speaking Aramaic, but familiar with the Greek liturgy as well. Perhaps the Greek part of the amulet with the names of the mighty spirits was pre-fabricated, and the second part (in this case: Christian Palestinian Aramaic - as it happened) was added later to meet the customer's wishes. - 1.2: Adarmalel: J. Naveh -S. Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, 1985, nos. 1,9, 2,3, 12,2, etc. - l.4: "Il n'apparait pas, autant qu'on ait pu le repérer, dans les listes des paypri magiques grecs à notre disposition, grécisation probablement de 'wyty'l," for which Puech quotes J. Naveh - S. Shaked, Magic Spells and Formulae, 1993, no. 20,3. - 1.5: Oukouthiel "dérive de l'anthroponyme biblique yqwty'l, Χετιηλ (LXX), Ιεκθιιηλ (Aquila) et Ιεφθιηλ (LXX Luc)"; cf. Naveh - Shaked 1985, 134 bowl 2. – l.6: "Le nom de l'ange de la ligne 6 ...

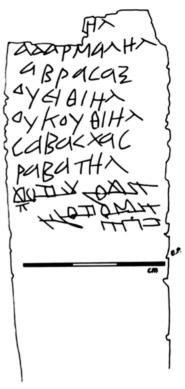


fig. 3856.2

dérivé peut-être de šb'šḥṣ, 'l'ancien est digne'''; but cf. Σαβασαζ, Michel 519. – l.7: Rabatel "est dérivé de rb(b)t'l." It is worth pointing out that, most of these names have no parallels in the corpus of magical gems. For philological comments on the Christian Palestinian Aramaic text, see Puech 301f.

Bibl.: É. Puech, in: H. Gasche - B. Hrouda eds., Collectanea orientalia, 1996, 299-302 no. 1 (ed. pr.).

Photo: É. Puech, in: H. Gasche - B. Hrouda eds., Collectanea orientalia, 1996, 302 fig. 1 (ph. and dr.).

# CLVI. Kh. Khallet el-Meiya

# 3857. Fragment of a chancel screen with Greek inscription

Upper left corner of a chancel screen; the inscription makes it clear that at least one similar element must have stood at its left.

Findspot: East of the village. "Among the ruins are stone fences built on top of earlier foundations, rock-cut habitation and storage caves and cisterns. The cave openings are set into masonry walls, which incorporate ancient ashlars and various architectural elements. The upper left-hand corner of a decorated chancel screen was found among the building stones around the entrance to one of the caves" (Amit).

[--]OPIANŢΩNΔ[--]



fig. 3857

[-- πρόσδεξε τὴν καρποφ]ορίαν τῶν δ[ούλων σου --]

... receive the offering of your servants ...

Bibl.: D. Amit, ESI 9, 1989/90, 174 (=HA 95, 77 [Hebr.]) (ed. pr.). – SEG 39, 1628. – Cf. Greenberg - Keinan 2009, 135 no. 933.

Photo: D. Amit, ESI 9, 1989/90, 174 fig. 173.

WA

# CLVII. Kh. Kafr Jul (Kafr Jor)

## 3858. Greek invocation

A lintel; inscription in a tabula ansata.

Findspot: The main structure of the site is a ruin of a church on a hilltop; a baptismal font was found in the vicinity. This stone was found south of the church.

ΙΣ[--] ΟΒΟΗΘ[.]N Η+[.]ΣΙΣΧΣ



fig. 3858.1

 $\tilde{l}$ ς [θεὸς] |  $\delta$  βοηθ[ $\tilde{\omega}$ ]ν |  $\tilde{\eta}$ μ[ $\tilde{\alpha}$ ]ς,  $\tilde{l}$ (ησο $\tilde{\upsilon}$ )ς  $\tilde{X}$ (ριστό)ς

One God who helps us, Jesus Christ!

Comm.: l.1: Either a lunar letter before the *iota* was carefully obliterated or we have here the traces of an ornament. Cf. IGLS 2, 394, 544; SEG 1, 519: εἶς θεὸς ὁ βοηθῶν ἡμᾶς.



fig. 3858.2

Bibl.: Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 244 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 244 fig. 322,1 (ph. and dr.).

WA

# CLVIII. Chermela (Chermula, Chermala, Carmel, mod. el-Kirmil)

## Introduction

Carmel (Chermela [Chermala, Chermula], modern el-Kirmil), located about 12 km southeast of Hebron, is first mentioned among the cities in the hill-country in Joshua (15,55). It is situated on a crossroads of the road from Beit Guvrin (Eleutheropolis) onward to 'Ein Gedi on the Dead Sea and the eastern road along the edge of the Desert, from Jerusalem to the northeastern Negev, via Hebron, Malatha, and Mampsis. The latter was eventually constructed as a Roman road, but without milestones. Other places along the North-South road are Ziph, Aristobulias and Maon. As so often, modern scholars have confused what was in fact a road facilitating movement from one point to another with a presumed line of defence and as such it has been interpreted frequently. The site has a large reservoir, which is important in this area at the edge of the desert. Occupation in early periods is well-attested, notably a large Middle Bronze Age cemetery (850 shaft-tombs) has been found there.

Eus. Onom. 92,19 Ζείφ (1 Sam 23,14). "ὄρος αὐχμῶδες" τῆς Ζείφ, ἐν ῷ ἐκαθέσθη Δαυίδ, ῷ παράκειται Χερμαλά, ἥτις ἑρμηνεύεται ὁ Κάρμηλος. οὕτως καλουμένη εἰς ἔτι νῦν κώμη Ἰουδαίων, ἔνθα Νάβαλ ὁ Καρμήλιος. Ζεὶφ δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ εἶς τῶν υἱῶν Χαλέβ, ὡς ἐν Παραλειπομέναις.

"Zeiph (1 Sam 23,14). The 'squalid mountain' of Zeiph, on which David settled, beside which Chermala lies, which is translated as Karmelos. Thus even until today it is a village of Jews, whence came Nabal the Karmelit. It is called Zeiph after one of the sons of Caleb, as in Chronicles" (1 Chron 2,42).

Onom. 118,5: Κάρμηλος (1 Sam 25,2). ἔνθα ἦν Νάβαλ. κώμη ἐστὶν εἰς ἔτι νῦν Χερμαλὰ ὀνομαζομένη, ἥτις ἑρμηνεύεται Κάρμηλος, ἀπὸ δεκάτου σημείου Χεβρὼν πρὸς ἀνατολάς, ἔνθα φρούριον ἐγκάθηται.

"Karmelos (1 Sam 25,2). Where Nabal was. Even until today it is the village called Chermala, which is translated Karmelos, ten miles from Hebron to the east, where a garrison is stationed."

<sup>1</sup> Carmel is mentioned further in 1 Sam 1,12: the location of a monument set up for himself by Saul; 1 Sam 25: Nabal, "a man at Carmel in Maon"; home of Abigail, first Nabal's then David's wife: 1 Sam 27,3; 30,5. Also: 2 Sam 23,35; 1 Chron 11,37.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., the entry on Carmel in the Anchor Bible Dictionary 1, 1992, 873, citing M. Harel, Biblical Archaeologist 44, 1981, 8-19. The latter, however, has in fact a more sophisticated view of the function of the road system.

<sup>3</sup> It was fully functional at the time of the visit by the SWP surveyors: Conder - Kitchener SWP 3 Judaea, 372.

<sup>4</sup> W. Dever, EI 12, 1975, 18\*-33\*.

Onom. 172,20: Χερμέλ (Josh 15,55). φυλῆς Ἰούδα, κώμη μεγίστη Χερμὲλ ἐν τῷ Δαρωμᾳ, ὅθεν ἦν Ναβάλ, πλησίον Χεβρὼν πρὸς νότον. ἔνθα φρούρια κάθηται στρατιωτῶν. κεῖται καὶ ἀνωτέρω.

"Chermela (Josh 15,55). Tribe of Judah, the very large village of Chermel in Daroma, where Nabal was, near Hebron, to the south. A military garrison is stationed there."

According to Eusebius Karmelos is also named Chermala, which was in his days a very large village of Jews, identified with Nabal's village, mentioned in the Bible. It was located 10 miles south or, respectively, east of Hebron, and a garrison was stationed there, one of five mentioned for the area between Jerusalem and Aela, the others being Thamara (Onom. 8,8),<sup>5</sup> Maledomnei (Adomim, 24,9; Hier. On. 25,9), an abandoned village on the Aelia-Jericho road,<sup>6</sup> Zoar (42,1),<sup>7</sup> Beer Sheva (50,1).<sup>8</sup> Aela (6,20) was the base of the Tenth Legion. The Notitia specifies the unit based at Chermela as the Equites scutarii Illyriciani.<sup>9</sup> We should note further that this is the only garrison between Hebron and the various units in the Northern Negev.

P.Ness. III contains an account of allotments imposed on villages, probably dating from the mid-6 c. AD. Chermela is assessed there for a high amount as compared with other military stations (2337 solidi), which may suggest that the unit there was a strong one. <sup>10</sup> Compare this with other locations: Birsamis, 1899; Nessana, 1414; Mampsis, 1375; Elusa, 792, Malatha, 524. This is also proof that there still was a unit based at Carmel in the 6 c.

The remains of what may have been a Roman fort have been described by A. Alt.<sup>11</sup> A burial cave of the Roman period has been excavated at the edge of the site.<sup>12</sup>

A. Negev has repeatedly published a hypothesis according to which Eusebius refers to two separate, but nearby villages called Karmelos, one being the site of el Kirmil (Onom. 118,5; 172,20), the other tentatively identified by him with Kh.

<sup>5</sup> Not. Dig. Or. 34,46; Beer Sheva edicts: Alt, GIPT 8ff. no. 2; C. Clermont-Ganneau, RB 15, 1906, 414 no. 17; cf. Isaac, Limits 193ff.

<sup>6</sup> This undoubtedly is the garrison described in Not. Dig. Or. 34,48 as *Cohors prima salutaria*, inter Aeliam et Hierichunta.

<sup>7</sup> Not. Dig. Or. 34,26: *Equites sagittarii indigenae, Zoarae*; Beer Sheva edicts: Alt, GIPT 4-8 no. 1; F.-M. Abel, RB 18, 1909, 91.

<sup>8</sup> Note that Eusebius states unambiguously that the garrison was based in the village. Not. Dig. Or. 34,18.

<sup>9</sup> Not. Dig. Or. 34,20: Equites scutarii Illyriciani, Chermulae.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Isaac, Near East 455f., discussion of C. Kraemer, Excavations at Nessana 3, 1958, 121-5 no. 39.

<sup>11</sup> A. Alt, Pjb 26, 1930, 43-82 at 48; 27, 1931, 75-84 at 75. For the crusader fort, see M. Benvenisti, The crusaders in the Holy Land, 1970, 305ff. The first to record a visit to the site was Guérin, Judée 3, 159f., 166-70; also: Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea, 372: "the largest ruin on the Sheet, evidently at one time a very important town."

<sup>12</sup> Y. Baruch, Atiqot 32, 1997, 91-5 (Hebr.), 42\* (ES).

Susiya, the ancient name of which is unknown, he claims (Onom. 92,19).<sup>13</sup> He suggests that the Jews living in Carmel (el-Kirmil) moved to the site of Susiya when the Roman army established itself on the site of el-Kirmil, calling their new village also Carmel. This is unacceptable for various reasons. First, where Eusebius refers to two villages with the same name he says so unequivocally, as in the case of Jewish Anaia (Onom. 26,9) and Christian Anaia (26,13). Second, in the three passages in which Eusebius mentions Karmelos or related names he clearly refers to one and the same site: thus the biblical site is "even today" a Jewish village (92,19). The biblical village is "even today called Chermala" and there is a garrison there (118,5). The very large village of Chermel, mentioned in the Bible, has a garrison. Eusebius adds that "it is mentioned also above" (173,20). This leaves no room for the construction of a second village of that name, if we rely on the evidence in Eusebius' and Jerome's text. The fact that there are three Byzantine churches at el-Kirmil (unexcavated) does not exclude the possibility that it was a Jewish village in Eusebius' time. 14 Eusebius gives the situation as it was in his time. Christians may have moved to Carmel any time afterward, from the 4-6 c., living side by side with the Jews, replacing them, or converting them. The theory has been rejected for other and additional reasons by D. Amit, who proposes identifying Jewish Carmel with Tel Maon, a site near Carmel where an ancient synagogue has been discovered. 15 Amit pointed out that Susiva is not a recent or modern name, as has been claimed, but is attested in at least one document of the 12 c.16

Reports of remains of a synagogue believed to have been transported from el-Kirmil to Yatta are unfounded.<sup>17</sup>

ΒI

<sup>13</sup> A. Negev, EI 18, 1985, 331-4 (Hebr.); id., IEJ 35, 1985, 231-52 at 249-52; Anchor Bible Dictionary 6, 247-50 s.v. Susiya, Khirbet; NEAEHL 4, 1993, 1415f.; additional bibliography: 5, 2008, 2113.

<sup>14</sup> Ovadiah, Corpus 61ff. nos. 50-2.

<sup>15</sup> D. Amit, in: L. Di Segni – Y. Hirschfeld – J. Patrich – R. Talgam eds., Man Near a Roman Arch, 2009, 57-63 (Hebr.); repr. in D. Amit, Carved in Stone, eds. G. Stiebel - E. Reiner, 2013, 295-306 (Hebr.).

<sup>16</sup> J. Delaville le Roulx, Cartulaire général de l'order des hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1300), 1894 (repr. 1980), 21f. no. 20. The document, dated 28 September 1110, mentions a *casale quod ... vocatur sussia*. See also M. Ehrlich, Cathedra 82, 1996, 173f. (Hebr.).

<sup>17</sup> Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 253.

# **Inscriptions**

## 3859. Greek donor's inscription in mosaic floor

Tabula ansata, made of one row of tesserae; roses in the ansae; "Umriss, Schrift und ornamentale Füllung sind mit zumeist schiefergrauen, vereinzelt ins Hellgraue und bei den Rosettenblättern ins Rötliche spielenden Steinen ausgelegt" (Mittmann). Meas.: tabula: h 46-45 cm (from left to right), w 109-110 cm; ansae: h 24.5, w 33 cm (left); h 28, w 37 cm (right); letters l.1: 10-14 cm; l.2: 11-16 cm; l.3: 5.5-6 cm.

Findspot: From a basilica, "und zwar derjenigen, deren Grundriss sich östlich unterhalb der erwähnten Kreuzfahrerruine abzeichnet" (Mittmann), cf. Ovadiah, Corpus 61f. no. 50; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 268. A mosaic was found "dem schmalen Eingang eines südlichen (?) Nebenraumes vorgelagert."

(cross)  $\overline{KEIYXE}T\Omega N$  $\Sigma\Omega N\Sigma OI\Pi PO\Sigma HNEK$ KA



fig. 3859

κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)έ, τῶν | σῶν σοὶ προσήνεκ|κα

Lord Jesus Christ, from your own I have made you an offering.

Comm.: Variation on the common, also liturgically used formula τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοι προσφέροντες. – l.2f.: γκ > κκ: Gignac I 171f.

Bibl.: S. Mittmann, ADAJ 16, 1971, 87ff. (dr.) (ed. pr.). – Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 91; id., Judaea 95 fig. 13,3; Felle, Biblia epigraphica 606 no. A1035.

Photo: Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 94 fig. 13,3.

WA

# 3860. Greek funerary epigram for Iustinianus and his family

Slab of white marble, found by grave robbers, broken into nine pieces, but reassembled; ll.1-4 and 5-8 are set beside each other and are divided by a vertical line. Meas.: h 28.8, w 200 (1x7 Roman ft, Meimaris), d 3.5 cm; letters 3-5 cm. Pres. loc.: Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum (according to Meimaris, not found).



fig. 3860.1

ΟΖΩΗΝΑΡΕΤΑΙΣΙΝΕΗΝΠΑΣΑΙΣΙΠΕΤΑΣΣΑΣ ΤΥΜΒΟΝΙΟΥΣΤΙΝΙΑΝΟΣΕΧΕΦΡΟΝΙΤΕΥΞΕΜΕΝΟΙΝΗ ΗΙΔΕΕΓΑΡΒΡΟΤΕΗΣΒΙΟΤΗΣΠΕΡΑΣΑΛΛΑΓΕΝΕΘΛΗΣ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥΣΠΡΩ[...]ΤΑΤΑΦΟΣΔΕΞΑΙΤΟΘΑΝΟΝΤΑΣ ΠΑΓΧΑΡΙΑΝΜΕΛΨΩΜΕΝΕΠΗΡΑΤΟΝΑΛΛΑΚΑΙΑΥΤΗΝ ΜΟΥΣΩΝΟΥΝΔΟΙΑΣΓΑΡΕΧΕΙΤΑΦΟΣΑΜΦΩΕΟΥΣΑΣ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΑΣΑΜΦΩΘΕΟΤ[..]+++++ΤΑΛΑΧΟΥΣΑΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΣΠΡΙΣΚΙΑΝΗΣΚΑΙΠ[..]ΡΟΣΙ[--]ΙΝΙΑΝΟΥ

ό ζωὴν ἀρεταῖσιν ἑὴν πάσαισι πετάσσας | τύμβον Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐχέφρονι τεῦξε μενοινῆ, | ἤιδεε γὰρ βροτέης βιοτῆς πέρας, ἀλλὰ γενέθλης | πρεσβυτέρους πρώ[τισ]-τα τάφος δέξαιτο θανόντας. | Παγχαρίαν μέλψωμεν ἐπήρατον ἀλλὰ καὶ Αὔ γην. | Μουσῶν συνδοιὰς γὰρ ἔχει τάφος, ἄμφω ἐούσας | παρθενικάς, ἄμφω θεοτ[ερ]πέα πάντα λαχούσας. | μητρὸς Πρισκιανῆς καὶ π[ατ]ρὸς Ἰ[ουστ]ινιανοῦ

Iustinianus, the one who spread out his life with every kind of virtue, built this grave monument with prudent desire, for he knew the boundary of mortal life. May this grave receive at first the ones older than the offspring dying. Let us sing the lovely Pancharia, and Auge, too. This grave holds two Muses together, both of them virgins, both of them having obtained everything pleasing to God. (They came) of the mother Prisciane and the father Iustinianus.



fig. 3860.2

Comm.: Meimaris 228 puts this epigram in the 3 c. or 4 c. AD (Merkelbach - Stauber concur): "The lack of Christian elements, lack of abbreviations, the restrained sorrow expressed in the epigram, characteristic to the ancient Greek world in facing death, the type of letters and the hypothesis that this certain Justinianus belonged to the garrison of the 'equites scutarii Illyriaci', who settled in the area after the reforms of Diocletian" – everything points to a relatively early date (Merkelbach thought it possible that the epigram was Jewish or Christian), the personal names Iustinianus and Prisciana are known since the 3 c. AD. Meimaris quotes Solin 122, 130. For the unit of the equites scutarii in the vicinity, see Kraemer 119ff. The mistakes (see below) led Meimaris to the view that the engraver did not understand the text.

v.1: ΤΕΥΞΕΝΕΝΟΙΝΗ, i.e. τεύξεν ἐν οἴνη was at first intended, but the mason changed the nu into a mu. SEG 4, 425 (Milet): χαρὰν [αἰ]ῷσι πετάσσας. – v.3: cf. M. Sayar, Perinthos-Herakleia (Marmara Ereğlisi) und Umgebung, 1998, 339f. no. 183: ὡς μὲν ἄπασι βροτοῖς βίος ἐπὶ πέρας ἥκει. – v.5: ΑΥΤΗΝ lapis, corr. Meimaris. – v.6: ΟΥΝΔΟΙΑΣ lapis, corr. Meimaris. συνδοιός seems to be a hapax legomenon, but δοιός, "twofold, double," is known as a poetic word. – v.6f.: ἐούσας παρθενικάς: If the dating of the inscription is roughly correct, this relates to the age of the two daughters, not to a Christian lifestyle. θεοτέρπης, then, is not meant spiritually (cf. Anth. Pal. 9,197: βιοτὴν θεοτερπέα).

Bibl.: Y. Meimaris, Archaiognosia 3, 1982/4, 223-8 (Greek with ES 228) (ed. pr.). – SEG 37, 1488; Merkelbach - Stauber, Steinepigramme 4, 326 no. 21/08/01 (ph. and dr.); Y. Meimaris - N. Makrigiannis, Ἔρνος Κύδιμον Παλαιστινῆς Γαίης, 2008, 136ff. no. 60, pl. 20 fig. 60 (Greek) – Cf. C. Kraemer, Excavations at Nessana III 1958; H. Solin, in: N. Duval ed., L'onomastique latine, 1977, 103ff.

Photo: Y. Meimaris, Archaiognosia 3, 1982/4 pl. 38 a and b (ph. and dr.).

WA

# CLIX. ed-Daheriye

## 3861. Funerary (?) inscription of a Roman legionary

Fragment of an ashlar block with a tabula ansata; the left ansa is lost.

Findspot: Built into the wall of a Byzantine church "in ed-Daheriya, a village on a hill 2.5 km south of Duma" (Magen - Kagan).

CLONGINIVS +++++++ VETEXĻĒĢ+ [--]++++A++R



fig. 3861

G(aius) Longinius |++++++++| vet(eranus) ex leg(ione) +|[--]++++A++R

Gaius Longinius ... veteran from the legion ...

Comm.: The text is very likely the funerary inscription of a legionary veteran. It is written in Latin and not in Greek as claimed by Magen - Kagan. The cognomen in l.2 cannot be deciphered; in l.4 one would expect the number and name of the legion as well as a funerary formula. However in the absence of a good photograph, no more can be read. The nomen gentile Longinius is derived from the cognomen Longinus; to create new gentilicia derived from cognomina is very usual in the Gallic-German area. If the reading LEG after *ex* is correct, *veteranus ex legione* should be read here – a very common formula in funerary inscriptions of soldiers on the Rhine and the Danube. Nevertheless, reading *vet(eranus) ex* followed by the last rank of the soldier, e.g. *ex b(ene)f(iciario)*, *ex optione* etc. is also possible. But what remains of the letters makes *ex leg(ione)* more likely.

Bibl.: Unpublished. – Mentioned by Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 274ff. Photo: Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 275 fig. 340,3.

# CLX. Anab (mod. Kh. 'Anab)

## 3862.-3867. Church with Greek and Christian Palestinian Aramaic inscriptions

The church is of basilical form. It consists of an atrium, a narthex, a prayer hall and a semicircular external apse. Two small pastophoria are attached to the sides of the chancel. An additional wing with several auxiliary rooms in a row including a baptistery flanks the north side of the church, the whole complex measuring 38x20 m. The prayer hall was divided into a central nave and two narrower aisles by two rows of five columns. Mosaic floors were observed throughout the building complex.

The excavators identified four construction phases: in a first phase, dated to the 6 c., the prayer hall and the narthex were erected; the second phase, dated to the late 6 c., is marked by the addition of the atrium and the northern auxiliary wing, as well as alterations to the narthex. In the early Islamic period (8 c.) iconoclastic defacement was inflicted upon the mosaic pavements, and alterations made in the atrium. In a fourth phase, dated to the Mamluk period in the 13 c. and 14 c., the rooms of the complex were used for habitation, see Y. Magen - Y. Peleg - I. Sharukh, Christians and Christianity IV 331ff.

There were nine inscriptions in the church, eight in Greek and a single Christian Palestinian Aramaic text. All but one of them (no. 3867) are embedded in the mosaic floors. While the mosaics of the first phase in the prayer hall (including nos. 3862, 3863 and 3864) are made of small tesserae and display zoomorphic depictions, the mosaics laid in the second phase in the atrium (with no. 3865) and the narthex (with no. 3866) show larger tesserae and simple geometric motifs.

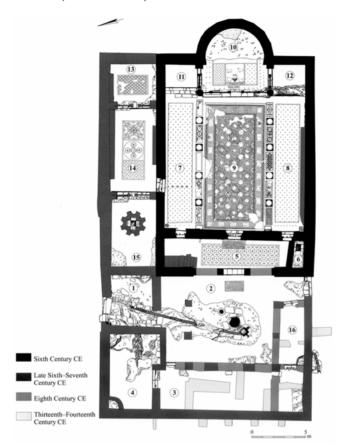


fig. 3862.A Ground plan, Y. Magen - Y. Peleg - I. Sharukh, Christians and Christianity IV 335 fig. 4

# 3862. Greek mosaic building inscription mentioning several church officials, 6 c. AD (?)

Inscription in three lines, partially destroyed; the letters are in red tesserae, the frame is in black ones. The inscription extends along the whole side of the carpet. See also no. 3863.

Meas.: h 0.45, w 3.64 m (frame); letters 12 cm.

Findspot: Eastern end of the central pavement of the nave; see introduction to nos. 3862-3867 fig. A, no. 9.

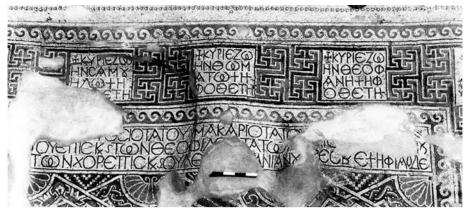


fig. 3862.1

[--]+ΩΣΙΟΤΑΤΟΥ∫ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΤΑΤΟΥ[--] +ΟΥΕΠΙΣΚ∫ΤΩΝΘΕΟΦΙΛ+[.]ΤΑΤΩ+[...]+++[--]+ΟΥ ΤΩΝΧΟΡΕΠΙΣΚ∫ΟΥΛΘ[--]+ΝΙΑΝΟΥ[.]ΡΕΣΒΕΨΗΦΤΑΟΔΕ

[ἐπὶ το]ῦ ὁσιοτάτου (καὶ) μακαριοτάτου [--] | τοῦ ἐπισκ(όπου) (καὶ) τῶν θεοφιλε[σ]τάτων [...]ΑΙΟ(?)[-- (καὶ) --]+ου, | τῶν χορεπισκ(όπων), (καὶ) ΟΥΛΘ[-- (καὶ)] ἀνιανοῦ, [π]ρεσβ(υτέρων), ἐψηφ(ώθη) τὰ ὁδε

Under ..., the most pious and blessed bishop, and ... and ..., the most God-loving chorepiscopi, and Ulth...(?) and Anianus, the priests, these here were paved with mosaics.









fig. 3862.2

Comm.: Di Segni dates the letter forms and abbreviation marks to the 6 c. AD. – l.1f.: Bishops are usually δσιώτατοι vel sim., and Meimaris, Sacred Names has no example of a living bishop designated μακαριώτατος. However, Di Segni quotes P.-L. Gatier, Syria 62, 1985, 299f. (Gerasa), and from Transjordan SEG 30, 1711, 1713; 35, 1571; 37, 1596; IGLS 13,1, 9128, 9131f. The bishop's name has to be rather long, and Di Segni proposes [Γρηγορίου or ἀναστασίου, | τ]οῦ ἐπισκ(όπου) ('Anab belonged to the Diocese of Eleutheropolis, and Di Segni reminds us of Gregorius, Bishop

of Eleutheropolis in 518, and Anastasius, bishop in 536). – 1.2: ['H]λίο[υ (καὶ) Σεργ]ίου? Di Segni, who looks for short names. Two chorepiscopi in the same diocese are otherwise unheard of, but Eleutheropolis was a large diocese. – 1.3: Οὐλέ[φου] Di Segni; the fourth letter is said to be either *epsilon* or *theta*. Ολεφος, Ολεπιος are known Semitic names, Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 88; Di Segni thinks that Ουλεφος could be explained as a variant of the Semitic HLF (Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 16ff., 141). However, the loop of the letter is too far closed for an *epsilon*. Anianus=Hanina (Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 22f.); on him cf. no. 3866. – Cf. Di Segni's note on no. 3864 ("Arabic names were not only transcribed, but were often Hellenized or Latinized ... It therefore seems probable that the priest Oulefos was one and the same as Abba Olpianus or Ulpianus: the very uncertainty of the spelling betrays the Semitic origin of the man") and commentary there.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, Christians and Christianity IV 386f. no. 2 (dr.) (ed. pr.). – Y. Magen - Y. Peleg - I. Sharukh, NEAEHL 5, 2008, 1566ff.; iid., Christians and Christianity IV 344f.; Madden, Corpus 16f. no. 12.

Photo: Y. Magen - Y. Peleg - I. Sharukh, Christians and Christianity IV 345 fig. 19 (ph. and dr.).

WA

# 3863. Three Greek mosaicists' inscriptions in front of the altar

Three inscriptions with an almost identical layout, each in a rectangle in the meandering border of the carpet, and all of them in front of the bema and directly above no. 3862, see photograph and drawing there.

Meas.: h 49, w 60 cm (frame); letters 9-10 cm.

Findspot: Middle mosaic carpet in front of the altar; see introduction to nos. 3862-3867 fig. A, no. 9.

- (a) (cross) ΚΥΡΙΕΖΩ ΗΝΣΑΜΟΥ ΗΛΩΨΗ [...]ΕΤΗ
- (b) (cross) KΥΡΙΕΖΩ ΗΝΘΩΜ ΑΤΩΨΗ ΦΟΘΕΤΗ
- (c) (cross) ΚΥΡΙΕΖΩ ΗΝΘΕΟΦ ΑΝΗΨΗΦ ΟΘΕΤΗ

- (a) κύριε, ζω|ὴν Σαμου|ήλω ψη|[φοθ]έτη
- (b) κύριε, ζω|ὴν Θωμ|ᾶ τῷ ψη|Φοθέτη
- (c) κύριε, ζω|ὴν Θεοφ|άνη ψηφ|οθέτη
- (a) Lord, (give) life to Samuel, the mosaicist.
- (b) Lord, (give) life to Thomas, the mosaicist.
- (c) Lord, (give) life to Theophanes, the mosaicist.

Comm.: Intended is something like (δὸς) ζωήν, cf. IGLS 21,2, 142 (Madaba): κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θ(εὸ)ς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, δὸς ζωὴν ἀναστασίω καὶ Θωμῷ καὶ Θεοδώρα κ(αὶ) Σαλαμανίου ψηφ(οθέτου) with Gatier 299f.: "L'hypothèse ψηφ(οθετῶν), en admettant trois mosaistes masculins et la femme de l'un d'entre eux, parait difficile à envisager." – (b) The article was added in order to fill the gap made by the very short name "Thomas." – Amir: "Typically, two or three artisans were employed in each mosaic workshop in the Byzantine period."

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, Christians and Christianity IV 387f. nos. 4-6 (dr.) (ed. pr.). – P. Gatier, Syria 62, 1985, 299f.; Y. Magen - Y. Peleg - I. Sharukh, NEAEHL 5, 2008, 1566ff.; R. Amir, Christians and Christianity III 484ff.; Y. Magen - Y. Peleg - I. Sharukh, ibid. IV 344f.; Madden, Corpus 16f. no. 12.

WA

# 3864. Bilingual Greek and Christian Palestinian Aramaic mosaic inscription of Father Ulpianus, and the priests Haninah and Girgun, 6 c. AD

The mosaic panel shows an amphora in the middle, flanked by two – intentionally destroyed – animals (lions?). The base of the amphora reaches into the first line of the two-line Greek text (a). Letters in black tesserae, a horizontal row of red tesserae divides the text. The second line starts with a small flower in red and black. The Christian Palestinian Aramaic inscription (b) is below the panel with the figurative representation and the Greek inscription in a smaller frame attached to it.

Meas.: (a) w 1.80 m (frame); letters 6-10 cm. (b) h 27-28, w 102-103 cm (frame); letters 5-8 cm.

Findspot: A mosaic on a bema. The upper part once covering the floor in the apse is destroyed, the lower part towards the nave consists of three panels. The inscription is at the bottom of the central panel; see introduction to nos. 3862-3867 fig. A, no. 10.

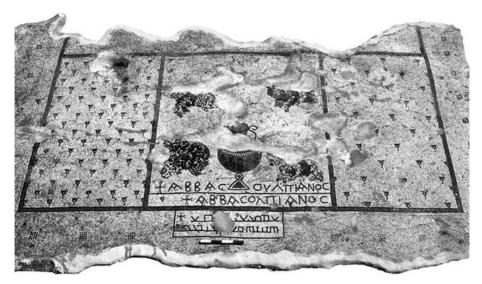


fig. 3864.1

- (a) (cross) ΑΒΒΑΣ ΟΥΛΠΙΑΝΟΣ (cross) ΑΒΒΑΣΟΛΠΙΑΝΟΣ
- (b) (cross) **y**n[..] **y**2 (37**y**
- (a) ἀββᾶς Οὐλπιανός. | ἀββᾶς Ὀλπιανός
- $(b) \underbrace{\sim i}_{\text{loc}} [--] \underbrace{\text{re}}_{\text{mum}} \underbrace{\text{loc}}_{\text{loc}} \underbrace{\text{loc}} \underbrace{\text{loc}}_{\text{loc}} \underbrace{\text{loc}}_{\text{loc}} \underbrace{\text{loc}}_{\text{lo$

Translit.: (b) šmw šy[lt] qš | hnynh qš [--] gyrgwn

- (a) Father Ulpianus. Father Olpianus.
- (b) Hear the request of the priest Haninah and the priest  $\dots$  Girgun.

Comm.: Meimaris, Sacred Names 235f. on  $\dot{\alpha}\beta\beta\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$ : "it was used as a title of respect for all members of the clergy and as a title of dignity for monks and superiors of monasteries who ... were the oldest,



fig. 3864.2

most respected and spiritual among the monks ... The term ... was less (used) in Palestine where the Greek form  $\pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho$  was used more often." – Di Segni 386: "It seems likely that this purely Latin name was in fact a Semitic name that was transcribed in Greek: in the inscription at the foot of the bema ... the almost certainly same man is called Oulefos" (referring to no. 3862). She has, in fact, two arguments: a) the

superficial similarity of "Ulefus" and "Ulpianus" (this argument could hold, even if we do not read Oůλέ[φου], but OΥΛΘ[--] in no. 3862): "Arabic names were not only transcribed, but were often Hellenized or Latinized ... It therefore seems probable that the priest Oulefus was one and the same as Abba Olpianus or Ulpianus" (Di Segni 387); the numerous Ulpiani in Arabia (PHI has 13 instances in Arabia, but only one in Samaria, SEG 8, 101) are in favour of her argument. One may therefore assume that the name Ulpianus has somehow a relation to an indigenous Arabian name. Cf. IGLS 14,2, 591 a (Jebab) for an  $^{\prime\prime}$ Oλπιος (Ταυρίσκο[ς]); b) the "very uncertainty of the spelling" in the present text, which "betrays the Semitic origin of the man." This, of course, presupposes that only one person is meant, not two "Fathers," distinguished by a different spelling. If it is the same man, one has to explain why he is named twice in exactly the same form and context. The spelling is perhaps not uncertain, but the pronunciation was, cf. Gignac I 211f. for ou > o, even in accented positions.

The Christian Palestinian Aramaic text is separated from the Greek text and the main panel, and enclosed in its own frame. It is neatly and clearly written and presents no problems except for a small damaged area at the center, which obscures the *lamed* and *tav* of *šylt* in the first line, and possibly a cross in the second line. The word for priest is given in an abbreviated form:  $q\check{s}$  for  $q\check{s}y\check{s}$ . The name Haninah is written with a *he* rather than a *ḥet*, probably influenced by the Greek form with initial A, Ananius; the form Girgun, as opposed to Syriac Girgis, probably reflects a local spelling of Georgius. Note that the priests Anianus and Georgius also appear in Greek in an inscription in the narthex of the church, see no. 3866. The construction of the church was dated to the 6 c. AD by the excavators and the editors of the Greek inscriptions, and the script of the Christian Palestinian Aramaic text is consistent with that date.

Bibl.: (a) L. Di Segni, Christians and Christianity IV 385f. no. 1 (ed. pr.).

(b) M. Bar-Asher, Tarbiz 72, 2002, 615ff. (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – R. Hoyland, in: M. Macdonald ed., The Development of Arabic as a Written Language, 2010, 29-45 at 37ff. no. 12; L. Di Segni, Christians and Christianity IV 386 no. 2; M. Bar-Asher, ibid. 393-6. – Cf. C. Müller-Kessler, Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen 1, 1991, 12.

On both see in addition: Y. Magen - Y. Peleg - I. Sharukh, NEAEHL 5, 2008, 1566ff.; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 281f., fig. 345,5; R. Amir, ibid. III 449ff.; Y. Magen - Y. Peleg - I. Sharukh, ibid. IV 346, 348, 358, 360; Madden, Corpus 16f. no. 12.

Photo: R. Amir, Christians and Christianity III 451 fig. 9 (ph.); Y. Magen - Y. Peleg - I. Sharukh, Christians and Christianity IV 348 fig. 22 (dr.).

WA/RH

#### 3865. Greek mosaic building inscription in the atrium

The atrium is paved with a coarse white mosaic; inscription in six lines, made of red tesserae, the frame made of gray and red tesserae.

Meas.: h 0.93, w 1.68 m (frame); letters 8-9 cm.

Findspot: In the center of the atrium; see introduction to nos. 3862-3867 fig. A, no. 2.



fig. 3865.1

(cross) Ε+++ΟΥΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥΗΜΩΝΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥΚΑΙΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΛΒΑΡΑΧΕΟΥΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡ ΚΑΙΣΑΒΙΝΟΥΔΙΑΚ∫ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝ∫ΕΓΕ ΝΕΤΟΤΟΕΡΓ∫ΤΟΥΤΟΜΗΙΟΥΝΙΟΙΝΔΩΠΡΟΝΎ ΣΙ[.]ΟΥ[.]ΝΟΥΥΠΕΡΣΟΤΕΡΤ[ΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡ

έπὶ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Ἰωάννου, | τοῦ ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπου, καὶ τοῦ | θεοφιλ(εστάτον)
Βαραχέου πρεσβυτέρ(ου) | καὶ Σαβίνου διακ(όνου) (καὶ) ἡγουμέν(ου) ἐγέ|νετο τὸ ἔργ(ον) τοῦτο μη(νὶ) Ἰουνίρ, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ', προνύ(ᾳ) | Σι[λ]ου[α]νοῦ. ὑπὲρ σοτερ(ίας) τ(ον) καρποφορ(ησάντον)

Under the most holy Ioannes, our bishop, and the most God-loving (people), (namely) Baracheus, the priest, and Sabinus, the deacon and abbot, this work was done in the month of June, 4th indiction, under the care of Silvanus. For the salvation of the benefactors.

Comm.: Di Segni dates the inscription to the 2nd half of the 6 c. AD; it is quite possible that this inscription was finished only a month after no. 3866 (see l.5). – ll.1f.: The bishop is otherwise unknown. – l.3: Double *lambda* to indicate the plural. "Perhaps Barachios was a parish priest, responsible for the eucharistic liturgy in the

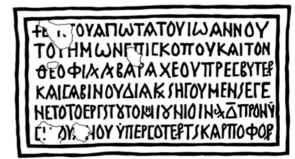


fig. 3865.2

church, while the hegumen had the custody and maintenance of the sacred building, the care of the daily service (except of the Eucharist ...), and the reception of pilgrims"

(Di Segni). – l.4: Cf. Meimaris, Sacred Names 240: "The office of superior was given to a monk and it was only from the fifth century on that it became customary for the superiors to be presbyters, although a monk or a deacon were never excluded from being a superior." – l.6: On Silvanus, evidently not a cleric, but a donor (and overseer of the work), see also no. 3866. In the present case, the benefactors are not named.  $\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\sigma\phi\rho\rho(ούν\tau\omega\nu)$  may be possible as well.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, Christians and Christianity IV 390f. no. 8 (dr.) (ed. pr.). – Y. Magen - Y. Peleg - I. Sharukh, NEAEHL 5, 2008, 1566ff.; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 281f.; Y. Magen - Y. Peleg - I. Sharukh, ibid. IV 338f.; Madden, Corpus 16f. no. 12.

Photo: Y. Magen - Y. Peleg - I. Sharukh, Christians and Christianity IV 339 fig. 9 (ph. and dr.).

WA

## 3866. Greek mosaic inscription in the narthex quoting Ps 117,20

White mosaic with large tesserae; inscription in six lines, made of red tesserae, the frame made of black and red tesserae.

Meas.: h 77, w 208 cm (frame); letters 9-11 cm.

Findspot: In the narthex, facing the central entrance; see introduction to nos. 3862-3867 fig. A, no. 5.



fig. 3866

(cross) ΑΥΤΙΗΠΥΛΗΤΟΥΚΥΔΙΚΕΟΙΕΙΣΕΛΕΥ ΣΟΝΤΕΕΝΑΥΤΗΕΓΕΝΕΤΟΤΟΕΡΓΟΝΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΠΙΤΟΝΘΕΟΦΙΛΕΣΤΑΤΟΝΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥΚΑΙ ΑΝΙΑΝΟΥΠΡΕΣΒ $\int$ ENMHMΑΙΩΙΝ $\Delta$  $\int$  $\bar{\Delta}$  (cross) (cross) ΥΠΕΡΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣΤΟΝΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΙΣΑΝ Τ $\int$ ΣΙΛΟΥΑΝΟΥ $\int$ ZΑΧΑΡΙΑ $\overline{KE}$ ΣΟΣ $\int$ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΝ

αὕτι ἡ πύλη τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ. δίκεοι εἰσελεύ|σοντε ἐν αὐτῆ. ἐγένετο τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο | ἐπὶ τον θεοφιλεστάτον Γεωργίου καὶ | ἀνιανοῦ πρεσβ(υτέρον) ἐν μη(νὶ) Μαίω, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ' | ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τον καρποφορισάν|τ(ον) Σιλουανοῦ (καὶ) Ζαχαρία. κ(ὑρι)ε, σοσ(ον) Στέφανον

This is the gate of the Lord, the righteous shall enter through it. This work was done under the most God-loving Georgius and Anianus, priests, in the month of May, 4th indiction. For the salvation of the benefactors, Silvanus and Zacharias. Lord, save Stephanus.

Comm.: According to Di Segni 388, omicrons and thetas with pointed tops were used only in the middle of the 6 c. AD, hence the indiction is said to be 556 or 571. On the other hand, she argues that this panel does not represent the first phase of the narthex, but a second one, "for it is not symmetrical on both sides of the narthex axis and stops short of the first step of the staircase." Since Georgius and Ananias (see on l.1f.) were already present in the earliest phase of the church, she argues that this mosaic was laid later, but that the wording of the inscription was retained (although the spelling was evidently not, which is somewhat intriguing). However, this mosaic or the original was probably completed a month before no. 3865. - l.1: Ps 117,20 at church entrances belongs to Vriezen's category I: "inscriptions quoting OTtexts and showing a relation between the contents of the inscription and its location"; this verse, usually alone and not connected with 117,19, can be found at entrances to churches and synagogues – and was used during processions and services. Felle, Biblia Epigraphica 75f. no. 74 (Arabia) comments: "Sal 117, 20 ricorre in altri cinquanta documenti, nella quasi totalità pertinenti all'ambito orientale"; several examples in this volume: nos. 3229, 3325, 3840, 3852 (for the Palestinian quotations of this psalm, cf. Feissel). - 1.3f.: On Anianus cf. nos. 3862, 3864 (b); on Georgius, see no. 3864 (b). -1.6: Silvanus is mentioned in no. 3865 too. The last invocation looks as though it was added only in a later stage of composition, namely after Stephanus' death.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, Christians and Christianity IV 388f. no. 7 (dr.) (ed. pr.). – Y. Magen - Y. Peleg - I. Sharukh, NEAEHL 5, 2008, 1566ff.; iid., Christians and Christianity IV 341ff.; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 281f.; Madden, Corpus 16f. no. 12. – Cf. D. Feissel, in: C. Mondésert ed., Le monde ancien et la Bible, 1984, 225f.; Vriezen, Mosaic Pavaments 248ff.

Photo: Y. Magen - Y. Peleg - I. Sharukh, Christians and Christianity IV 342 fig. 15.

WA

#### 3867. Greek letters on a small marble column

Letters on the bottom of the plinth of a small marble column, and therefore perhaps mason's marks.

Meas.: w 32, d 32 cm (plinth); letters 6-12 cm.

Findspot: "In the excavation" (ed. pr.).

A+ OYB

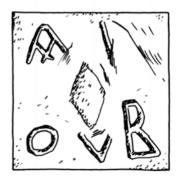
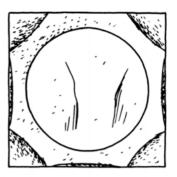


fig. 3867.1

Comm.: Di Segni on the second letter in l.1: "either a slightly slanting *iota* or part of a broken *lambda* or *hypsilon* ... Perhaps we can read  $Aloi\beta$ , a Greek transcription of the Arabic form of the Hebrew name Job." Different interpretations are possible, and since the inscription was not made to be read, it is reasonable to connect the letters with the building and its workmen, e.g.  $\alpha$ =row 1, etc.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, Christians and Christianity IV 391 no. 9 (ed. pr.).

Photo: L. Di Segni, Christians and Christianity IV 391 (dr.).



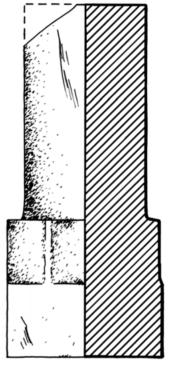


fig. 3867.2

WA

# CLXI. Eshthemoa (mod. es-Samu'a)

## Introduction

Onom. 26,11: Άσθεμώ (Josh 15,50). φυλῆς Ἰούδα. κώμη ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτὴ ἐν τῷ Δαρωμᾳ ἐν βορείοις ἀνεῶν. Hier. On. 27,12: Asthemoe in tribu Iudae, vicus et ipse Judaeorum in Daroma ad aquilonem loci Anen. "Asthemo (Josh 15,50). Tribe of Judah. This is also a village of Jews in Daroma, north of Anaea." <sup>1</sup>

Eus. Onom. 86,20: Ἐσθεμώ (Josh 15,50). πόλις ἱερατική. καὶ νῦν ἐστι κώμη μεγίστη Ἰουδαίων ἐν τῷ Δαρωμᾳ, ὁρίου Ἐλευθεροπόλεως. "Esthemo (Josh 15,50). A priestly city. Now it is a very large village of Jews in Daroma, in the territory of Eleutheropolis."

A fourth-century synagogue with an inscribed mosaic has been excavated on the site of Eshthemoa (es-Samuʿa).<sup>2</sup> Earlier remains (9-8 c. BC) have been found on the spot, including a large silver hoard.

ΒI

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;Daroma" (=the South) is a term encountered in Greek only in Eusebius' Onomasticon and indicates the region south of Hebron, covering the lower hill-country and the mountains, but excluding the desert.

<sup>2</sup> For the site, see already Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea 403; full references: Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 117-21; NEAEHL 2, 1993, 423-6.

# Inscriptions

## 3868.-3869. The synagogue

A synagogue was discovered by L. Mayer and A. Reifenberg in 1934 and partly excavated by them in 1936; they recorded inscription no. 3869, in the northern wall to the west of a large niche which served as the Torah shrine. The site was systematically excavated and partly restored in 1969 by Z. Yeivin, who discovered no. 3868 in the mosaic floor in the narthex of the building. The synagogue, which is of the "broadhouse" type, consisted of one main hall without columns and measures approximately 21.3x13.3 m. The building was oriented east-west with the only entrance on the east side, and the Torah shrine in the northern wall, facing Jerusalem;

a stone bema stood before it. The floor of the main hall and the narthex was covered by a mosaic, of which only fragments remain, some polychrome, containing traces of floral and geometric patterns; other dedicatory inscriptions have probably been lost. The structure is dated to the 4 c. CE; it was used as a mosque from the 7 c.

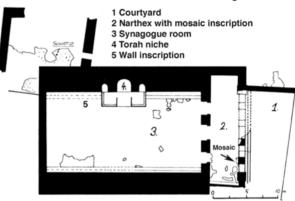


fig. 3868.A Ground plan of the synagogue, Keel - Küchler 764 fig. 483

## 3868. Aramaic mosaic inscription mentioning La zar the priest, 4 c. CE

Three-line Aramaic inscription in mosaic, letters in black tesserae against a white, yellowish and tan background. Near the inscription was a polychrome date palm. Meas.: l.1: 46 cm; letters 3-4.4 cm; height of three lines: 13 cm.

Findspot: Floor of the narthex; see introduction to nos. 3868-3869 fig A. Pres. loc.: Good Samaritan Museum, Maʿale Adumim. Autopsy: 22 October 2013 (WE/DK).

דכיר לטב לעזר כהג+ ובנוי דיהב חד טר[.] [.]יסין מן פעל[.]



דכיר לטב לעזר כהנא | ובנוי דיהב חד טר[י|מ]יסין מן פעל[ה]

Translit.: dkyr ltb l'zr khn' | wbnwy dyhb ḥd ṭr[y|m]ysyn mn p'l[h]

May La'zar the priest be remembered for the good, together with his sons, (he) who gave one tremissis from his own property.

Comm.: The restoration of the definite article *alef* at the end of the first line is certain. Both La´zar and his sons are mentioned, but the verb is singular, indicating that the father himself made the contribution in all their names. On the minimal role played by priests in the late antique synagogue, see now Weiss 100-2; Weiss contradicts the prevailing, but poorly documented theory, that priests became more important in this period. The tremissis was one-third of the gold solidus, weighing about 1.5 gram.

The words in the inscription are not contiguous but separated by at least two tesserae each. The suggested restoration by Fitzmyer and Harrington in MPAT, which has the entire word טרימיטין trymysyn at the end of l.2 and then an unknown, lost word at the beginning of l.3 ending in ypyw, neither fits the space of the inscription nor matches the more accurate reading from the mosaic itself.

Bibl.: HA 33, 1970, 7f. (Hebr.); RB 77, 1970, 401f. (edd. prr.). – Z. Yeivin, Qadmoniot 5, 1972, 43ff. (Hebr.); Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 121 no. 2; MPAT 274f., 303 no. A56; Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 114f. no. 74 (Hebr.); Z. Yeivin, in: L. Levine ed., Ancient Synagogues Revealed, 1981, 120ff.; Chiat, Handbook 227f.; Keel - Küchler 764f.; Beyer, Aramäische Texte 365 no. yyES 1; Ovadiah, MPI 58f. no. 78; Z. Yeivin, NEAEHL 2, 1993, 423-6 at 424f.; Baumann, Spätantike Stifter 327; Z. Yeivin, Atiqot 48, 2004, 59\*-98\* at 64\*f. (Hebr.), 155-8 (ES); A. Faust - E. Baruch, Cathedra 116, 2005, 49-66 at 52 (Hebr.); Z. Weiss, in: D. Schwartz - Z. Weiss eds., Was 70 CE a Watershed in Jewish History?, 2012, 91-111 at 100ff.; Werlin, Synagogues 186f. – Cf. Saller, Catalogue 77ff. no. 114; Ribak, Religious Communities 162; Milson, Art and Architecture 358f. Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

JJP

# 3869. Lost Aramaic inscription from the north wall of the synagogue, 4. c. CE

Two-line Aramaic inscription incised on the north wall to the west of the niche serving as the Torah shrine.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 3868-3869 fig A.

[--]תה אמן [--] אל אסיי [--] אתו



fig. 3869.1

Translit.: [--]th 'mn | [--] 'l 'syy [--] 'tn

... Amen ... Isai ...

Comm.: The photograph first published by Mayer - Reifenberg 1939/40 is the only remaining trace of this inscription, which was already very worn when recorded; complete decipherment is impossible. The transcription offered here is by Naveh. The name 'ysy appears in the synagogue inscriptions at Susiya, see nos. 3870 and 3876. Instead

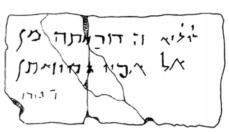


fig. 3869.2

of a name, Naveh tentatively suggested restoring the word [אסיי[ה], "doctor." Klein thought that the stone was one of several contiguous inscribed stones containing a prayer, and believed that he could read words from the prayer for healing from the 18 benedictions, in which case the inscription would have been in liturgical Hebrew. Beyer suggests: ור[ב] אל [ו] אסי ו[א]בי ונאתן [--] "[...] Amen. [...]el und Essai und Abbai und Natan." Werlin suggests: עבד לוליא הדן כעלה -- שמו]אל אסיי אמן ואמן -- עבד (פעלה -- שמו]אל אסיי אמן ואמן (?) Isai. Amen and Amen."

Bibl.: Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 113 no. 73 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – L. Mayer - A. Reifenberg, JPOS 19, 1939/40, 314-26 at 319 pl. 27; iid., BIES 9, 1941/2, 41-4 at 44 pl. 2,1 (Hebr.); S. Klein, Toledot ha-Yishuv, 1950, 302 (Hebr.); D. Barag, EAEHL 2, 1976, 386-9 at 387; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 121 no. 1; Z. Yeivin, in: L. Levine ed., Ancient Synagogues Revealed, 1981, 120ff.; Beyer, Aramäische Texte 365 no. yyES 2; Z. Yeivin, Atiqot 48, 2004, 59\*-98\* at 62\*, 71\*ff. (Hebr.), 155-8 (ES); Werlin, Synagogues 193f.

Photo: Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 113 fig. 73; Werlin, Synagogues, fig. 114 (dr.).

# CLXII. Susiya

## Introduction

See general introduction to Chermela.

# Inscriptions

## 3870.-3887. The synagogue

The synagogue was first noticed in Survey of Western Palestine (Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea 414), and then again during the first reports of excavations of nearby Eshtemoa (cf. nos. 3868-3869; AJA 41, 1937, 150; QDAP 6, 1938, 222), but it was not excavated until 1969-1972 under Israeli military authority, and then fully published. The synagogue served a substantial Jewish community ([qh]lh qdyšh, no. 3880) for a period of four centuries or more, but neither the building nor even the settlement (qrth in no. 3882) is mentioned in any contemporary literary source.

The synagogue building went through several phases of construction, repair and renovation. The main layout was established in the first phase, in (probably) the 4 c. CE, consisting of a courtyard, a narthex, a main hall and the first of two auxiliary rooms; an upper gallery was added later. The building faces north, towards Jerusalem; an ark for the Torah was presumably built into the thicker northern wall, which also contains traces of two niches. The first mosaic floor was all white, without any trace of writing. In the second phase, a polychrome floor was laid and was subsequently modified and repaired in multiple phases. The carpet in the main hall eventually had three panels containing geometric designs, a zodiac, a Torah shrine with ark and two menoroth, and apparently a depiction of Daniel in the lion's den; the images were replaced by geometric designs in a late (8 c.), iconoclastic phase of the building's use. The absolute or even the relative chronology of the mosaic renovations and inscriptions is difficult to establish; the complete date in the fragment no. 3874 would have provided an anchor. As it is, excavators recovered five Hebrew and Aramaic inscriptions in the mosaic in the main hall, narthex and courtyard, and many marble fragments containing words or letters, pieced together here as 12 partial inscriptions; these fragments came from chancel screens, a sculpted menorah and other elements from the bema in the period in which the building flourished, perhaps the 5 c. CE. The building was converted to a mosque in the 8-9 c.; an Arabic inscription from the southern part of the courtyard contains the date 905 CE.

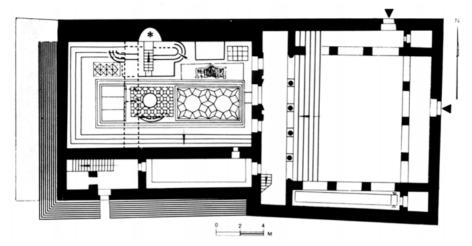


fig. 3870.A Ground plan, Ovadiah, MPI, pl. 106

In the following the mosaic inscriptions are presented first (in spatial order, from courtyard to main hall) followed by the inscriptions on fragments of furniture from the main hall.

# 3870. Mosaic floor with Hebrew inscription of Rabbi Isi/Isai and Rabbi Yoḥanan, 4-8 c. CE

In the mosaic floor of the synagogue, six lines of Hebrew square letters set inside a tabula ansata composed of red tesserae.

Meas.: tabula: h 55.5, w 127.3 cm; letters 3.6-6.7 cm.

Findspot: Mosaic floor in the southeastern end of the southern portico of the outer courtyard.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. K-38910. Replica in Good Samaritan Museum, Maʿale Adumim. Autopsy: 22 October 2013 (WE/DK).

זכור לטובה קדושת מרי רבי איסי הכהן המכובד בירבי שעשה הפסיפוס הזה וטח את כותליו בסיד מה שנתנדב במשתה רבי יוחנן הכהן הסופר בירבי בנו שלום על ישראל אמן



fig. 3870

Translit.: zkwr lṭwbh qdwšt mry rby | 'ysy hkhn hmkwbd byrby š'śh | hpsypws hzh wṭḥ 't kwtlyw | bsyd mh šntndb bmšth | rby ywḥnn hkhn hswpr byrby | bnw šlwm 'l yśr'l 'mn

Be remembered for the good the sanctity of my master, Rabbi Isi/Isai, the priest, the honorable, Berebbi (byrby), who made this mosaic and plastered its walls with lime – in accordance with his donation pledge at the feast of Rabbi Yoḥanan the priest (and) scribe Berebbi (byrby) his son. Peace be on Israel. Amen.

Comm.: ll.1-2: The opening formula zkwr ltwbh is a Hebrew translation of the common Aramaic formula dkyr ltb, but recalls also Nehemiah 5,19; 13,31, זברה לי אלהי לטובה, zkrh ly 'lhy ltwbh; and for further Hebrew textual parallels, see Naveh 116. The pronunciation and derivation of the donor's name are uncertain; it could have been a form of the biblical name ישי, yšy or Yose (from Yosef=Joseph), as in rabbinic literature (Ilan, Lexicon I 151f.; III 114-7); Mussies suggests it could come from Ἰσίδωρος; the Rabbi 'ysy here cannot be certainly identifed with any character in rabbinic literature (Cohen, Miller). Five different words of honor are attached to the name of the donor: 1) "the sanctity of ...," which was used as a reverent term of address in letters, much like "his holiness," as in yNed. 40a, ySan. 19a (cf. Safrai; Amit; Rosenfeld); 2) and 3) "my master" and "Rabbi," literally, "my more and my rav." In fact both words signify both "teacher" and "master" and are formulaically combined; it could be that in this inscription, "my master" is personal whereas "rabbi" is general, as translated, but this is not necessarily so; i.e., mori could also be a general designation, like rabbi, rendering something like "Master Rabbi Isi" (Cohen) or even "venerable Rabbi." Werlin suggests that מרי mry could translate κύριος; 4) hmkwbd "the honorable"; and 5) בירבי *byrby*, a general title of respect and honor (see no. 3890 and comm. to CIIP III 2233, to which add a contemporary papyrus letter from Egypt, Sirat 60 fig. 18bis. and pl. 35; Mishor). The son, who like his father was a rabbi and priest and honored with the title byrby, was by profession a scribe, on which see Schams and Levine, Ancient Synagogue 434f., 442-5; and in this volume, no. 2682.

l.3: The form of *hpsypws*, with *vav*, reflects its Greek origin ψηρος. The term "its walls" can refer to the courtyard or the entire synagogue.

l.4: The nitpa'el form of *ndb* is used here as an active verb for the third person in the past, meaning "promised a donation," compare Ezra 3,5 and cf. Naveh 116. The feast in which R. Isi/Isai vowed the mosaic is widely understood to have been the wedding banquet of his son; this interpretation is attractive but not the only possibility.

The blessing, "peace be on Israel," is found on synagogue floors in Jericho and 'Ein Gedi (nos. 2808, 3853), as well as Ḥuseifa and Gerasa (Naveh, nos. 38 and 50).

Bibl.: HA 39, 1971, 24 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – S. Gutman - Z. Yeivin - E. Netzer, Qadmoniot 5, 1972, 47-52 (Hebr.); IMC 100, 186; S. Safrai, Immanuel 3, 1973/4, 44-50 at 48; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 427f. no. 4; B. Lifshitz, ANRW 2,8, 1977, 262-94 at 292f.; G. Sarfatti, IEJ 27, 1977, 204ff.; Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 115f. no. 75 (Hebr.); Shanks, Judaism in Stone 98f.; S. Gutman - Z. Yeivin - E. Netzer, in: L. Levine ed., Ancient Synagogues Revealed, 1981, 123-8 no. 4;

G. Foerster, Cathedra 19, 1981, 12-40 (Hebr.); S. Cohen, JQR 72, 1981/2, 1-17 at 6 nos. 55f.; Keel -Küchler 760; Z. Baras, Eretz-Israel from the Destruction of the Second Temple to the Muslim Conquest 1, 1982, 197 (Hebr.); Chiat, Handbook 233ff.; Ovadiah, MPI no. 170; Hachlili, Jewish Art 224; L. Levine, Cathedra 60, 1991, 36-84 at 68 (Hebr.); Z. Yeivin, NEAEHL 4, 1993, 1417-21 at 1418f.; G. Mussies, in: Early Jewish Epigraphy 242-76 at 253; Baumann, Spätantike Stifter 327f.; H. Lapin, in: E. Meyers ed., Galilee through the centuries, 1999, 239-68 at 265; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 404f., 408; Schwartz, Imperialism 287ff.; S. Miller, JQR 94, 2004, 27-76 at 44-7, 49f.; B. Rosenfeld, Judea and Samaria Research Studies 14, 2005, 167-82 (Hebr.); Milson, Art and Architecture 57f., 213, 467f.; G. Stemberger, Juden und Christen im spätantiken Palästina, 2007, 56f.; Magen, Good Samaritan 110-3; Sorek 96f., 142f.; F. Millar, JSJ 42, 2011, 253-77 at 259f., 265f.; Z. Weiss, in: D. Schwartz - Z. Weiss eds., Was 70 CE a Watershed in Jewish History?, 2012, 91-111 at 100ff.; Hachlili, Ancient Synagogues 517ff. fig. 11,1d; S. Miller, in: S. Fine - A. Koller eds., Talmuda De-Eretz Israel, 2014, 239-273 at 253f.; Werlin, Synagogues 142-6 fig. 61. - Cf. C. Sirat, Les papyrus en charactères hébraïques trouvés en Égypte, 1985; M. Mishor, Leshonenu 55, 1992, 286f. [Hebr.]; C. Schams, Jewish Scribes in the Second Temple Period, 1998; D. Amit, The Synagogues of Hurbat Ma'on and Hurbat 'Anim and the Jewish Settlement in Southern Hebron Hills, Ph.D., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2003 [Hebr.].

Photo: Courtesy of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

AY/JJP

#### 3871. Mosaic with Aramaic donation of Yoshu'a Yudan, 4-8 c. CE

In mosaic, the first three lines of a longer inscription, about two lines missing; hexagonal frame composed of a single line of black tesserae.

Meas.: surviving text: h 20, w 35 cm.

Findspot: In the floor of the narthex. Pres. loc.: In situ.

```
דכיר
יושוע יודן
[--] דיהב
[--]
```

```
[--] | דיהב | דכיר | יושוע יודן
```



fig. 3871

Translit.: dkyr | ywšw' ywdn | [--] dyhb | [--]

Be remembered Yoshu'a Yudan ... who gave ...

Comm.: This commemorated a single donation, as indicated by *dkyr* and the singular verb.

Bibl.: HA 36, 1970, 17 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – S. Gutman - Z. Yeivin - E. Netzer, Qadmoniot 5, 1972, 47-52 (Hebr.); Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 427 no. 3; B. Lifshitz, ANRW 2,8, 1977, 262-94

at 292f.; Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 119f. no. 78 (Hebr.); MPAT 272f., 302f. no. A54; S. Gutman - Z. Yeivin - E. Netzer, in: L. Levine ed., Ancient Synagogues Revealed, 1981, 123-8 no. 1; Chiat, Handbook 233ff.; Keel - Küchler 761; Beyer, Aramäische Texte 367f. no. yySU 2; Ovadiah, MPI no. 170; Z. Yeivin, NEAEHL 4, 1993, 1417-21 at 1419; D. Urman, in: id. – P. Flesher eds., Ancient Synagogues 2, 1995, 373-617 at 447ff.; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 403; Milson, Art and Architecture 57f., 213, 467f.; Werlin, Synagogues 147f. figs. 63, 65.

Photo: Werlin, Synagogues, fig. 63.

AY/JJP

# 3872. Aramaic mosaic inscription mentioning Yeshu'a the "witness," 4-8 c. CE

A single line of letters formed by black tesserae in the top margin of a hederae design.

Meas.: w 135 cm.

Findspot: In the narthex, near the north wall.

Pres. loc.: In situ.



fig. 3872.1

דַכירן לטב מנחמה ישוע שהדה ומנחמה ש+[--]

Translit.: dkyrn lţb mnḥmh yšw' śhdh wmnḥmh š+[--]

May they be remembered for the good, the advocate Yeshu'a the "witness" (=notary) and the advocate Sh...

Comm.: dkyrn clearly lacks a yod of the masculine plural, as also in no. 2807; it is not possible that a feminine plural was intended. The text is rendered in a single line,



fig. 3872.2

which may have continued around the left margin; if not, then the inscription is complete with a blessing of two people without any reference to their deeds, unless their titles indicate a certain role these people had concerning the building of the synagogue. The repeated word  $\alpha$  mn $\mu$ mh has caused difficulty. Naveh has correctly understood it as a title or profession and not a personal name, as the excavators thought; his suggestion, tentatively adopted here, is to understand it as a translated loan-word from the Greek  $\pi$ αράκλητος= advocatus; it is found in Syriac,

Jewish Aramaic and Hebrew as פרקליט prqlyt. παράκλητος is rendered in 4 c. Latin translations of the New Testament as consolator, and occasionally as mnhmn' in the Palestinian Syriac translation; and see Naveh's further arguments, pp. 118ff., explaining that  $\acute{s}hdh$  is to be understood as "witness" i.e. a notary who witnessed contracts.

Bibl.: HA 36, 1970, 17 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – S. Gutman – Z. Yeivin – E. Netzer, Qadmoniot 5, 1972, 47-52 (Hebr.); Hüttenmeister – Reeg, Synagogen 426f. no. 2; B. Lifshitz, ANRW 2,8, 1977, 262-94 at 292f.; Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 118f. no. 77 (Hebr.); MPAT 272f., 302f. no. A55; S. Gutman – E. Netzer – Z. Yeivin, EAEHL 4, 1978, 1124-8 at 1123; iid., in: L. Levine ed., Ancient Synagogues Revealed, 1981, 123-8 no. 2; Keel – Küchler 760f.; Chiat, Handbook 244ff.; Beyer, Aramäische Texte 367f. no. yySU 1; Ovadiah, MPI no. 170; Z. Yeivin, NEAEHL 4, 1993, 1417-21 at 1419; D. Urman, in: id. – P. Flesher eds., Ancient Synagogues 2, 1995, 373-617 at 447ff.; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 404f.; Milson, Art and Architecture 57f., 213, 467f.; Magen, Good Samaritan 110-3; Sorek 145; Werlin, Synagogues 146f.

Photo: S. Gutman - E. Netzer - Z. Yeivin, EAEHL 4, 1978, 1123; Keel - Küchler 760 fig. 481a (dr.).

AY/JJP

## 3873. Fragmentary Aramaic mosaic inscription, 4-8 c. CE

Four letters in square Hebrew script formed by black tesserae, at the end of a one-line inscription in the margin of an artistic design, like in no. 3872.

Findspot: In the mosaic in the narthex, about 50 cm north of no. 3871. Pres. loc.: In situ.

[--]חומה

Translit.: [--]ḥwmh



fig. 3873

Comm.: Based on no. 3872, Naveh conjectured [mn]hymh. Another possiblity is the name [Tn]hwmh, which, however, is attested only with final alef rather than he.

Bibl.: HA 36, 1970, 17 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – S. Gutman - Z. Yeivin - E. Netzer, Qadmoniot 5, 1972, 47-52 (Hebr.); Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 120 no. 79 (Hebr.); Hachlili, AMP 233; Werlin, Synagogues 148 fig. 63.

Photo: Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 120.

### 3874. Hebrew mosaic inscription, 4-8 c. CE

Six-line inscription in square Hebrew letters, within a black frame; the left side and part of the right side are missing, the damaged left side filled in with tiles in modern times; single-tessera lines separate the lines of text.

Meas.: inscription: ll. h 8-9 cm, letters 2-6 cm.

Findspot: In the mosaic floor between the main door in the eastern wall and the mosaic in the central hall.

Pres. loc.: In situ. Replica in Good Samaritan Museum, Ma'ale Adumim. Autopsy: 22 October 2013 (WE/DK).

זכורין לטובה ולב[--] שהחזיקו ועשו [--] הש[..]ה שלשבוע [--] [.]אָרבעת אלפי[--] [.]שנברה העול[--]



fig. 3874.1

זכורין לטובה ולב[רכה --] | שהחזיקו ועשו [את ה-- הזה בשנה] | הש[ני]ה שלשבוע [--| ב]ארבעת אלפי[ן -- מאות ו-- שנה | מ]שנברה העול[ם --|--]לי בו יהי של[ום --]

Translit.: zkwryn lṭwbh wlb[rkh --] | šhḥzyqw wʿśw [ʾt h-- hzh bšnh] | hš[ny]h šlšbwʿ [--| b]ʾrbʿt ʾlpy[n -- mʾwt w-- šnh | m]šnbrh hʾwl[m --|--]ly bw yhy šl[wm --]

May they be remembered for the good and for a blessing, ... who maintained/supported and made (i.e., donated) ..., in the second year of the Sabbatical cycle, in the year four thousand ... from the creation of the world, ... in it. May there be peace ...

Comm.: l.1: The opening formula in Hebrew reflects the Aramaic formula [דכי] [dky]ryn ltb wlb[rkh] in Tiberias, cf. Naveh, Stone and Mosaic, no. 24. The plural suffix with nun is usual in Mishnaic



fig. 3874.2 (Replica, l.1 partly missing)

Hebrew (Naveh, p. 117); at least two names were mentioned in the missing part of this line.

l.2: The word *hḥzyqw* can mean "supported" or "maintained"; the combination of this with 'św, "made" in the sense of "had made, i.e., donated," is found also in a synagogue inscription from 'Iblin (Naveh, no. 21).

l.4: The missing part of the line contained the full date, broken down in decimal units expressed in words.

1.5: [m]šnbrh is a compound form containing the (restored) particle m ("from"), the relative pronoun § ("which" or "that" with a temporal meaning) and the verb nbrh ("has been created," the nif al form of br'), ending with he rather than alef, reflecting the weakening of the guttural consonants. This is the only surviving synagogue inscription employing the date according to Creation, although that system was used in Greek church texts from this region, see Di Segni; on later rabbinical use of anno Mundi in eschatological calculations, see O. Irshai, in: A. Baumgarten, ed., Apocalyptic Time, 2000, 113-53. The other dated synagogues in Iudaea/Palaestina use different systems: the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE, in Kefar Nevoraiah (Aramaic, cf. Naveh, no. 13) and Deir Aziz, (Greek, cf. Di Segni 123f.); the reign of the Roman emperor, in Beth Alfa (Aramaic, Naveh, no. 43); and the local era, in Gaza and Ascalon (Greek, CIIP III 2321, 2460, and cf. 2468). A fragmentary donor inscription from Asaliya (Golan) contains part of a date, J. Naveh, EI 20, 1989, 305 no. 3 (Hebr.). The use of the era of the Temple's destruction, accompanied by the year in the sabbatical cycle, was used by Jews in nearby Zoar, on the southeastern shore of the Dead Sea, see J. Naveh, Tarbiz 64, 1995, 477-98 and 69, 2000, 619-36 (Hebr.); Y. Stern - H. Misgay, Tarbiz 74, 2004, 137-52 (Hebr.); and H. Cotton - J. Price, Michmanim, 15, 2001, 10ff. (Hebr.).

l.6: The words "May there be peace" could have stood alone, followed by "Amen"; or it could have been part of a longer formulaic phrase, e.g. "may there be peace in this place" vel sim., and compare "Peace on Israel" in no. 3870.

Bibl.: HA 38, 1971, 22 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – S. Gutman - Z. Yeivin - E. Netzer, Qadmoniot 5, 1972, 47-52 (Hebr.); RB 79, 1972, 421ff.; E. Kimron, Qadmoniot 9, 1976, 82f. (Hebr.); Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 425f. no. 1; B. Lifshitz, ANRW 2,8, 1977, 262-94 at 292f.; Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 116ff. no. 76 (Hebr.); id., IOS 9, 1979, 17-31; S. Gutman - Z. Yeivin - E. Netzer, in: L. Levine ed., Ancient Synagogues Revealed, 1981, 123-8 no. 3; G. Foerster, Cathedra 19, 1981, 12-40 (Hebr.); Chiat, Handbook 233ff.; Keel - Küchler 762; Ovadiah, MPI no. 170; Z. Yeivin, NE-AEHL 4, 1993, 1417-21 at 1419f.; Y. Tsafrir, in: D. Urman - P. Flesher eds., Ancient Synagogues 1, 1995, 70-86 at 72f.; Baumann, Spätantike Stifter 325; L. Di Segni, ARAM 18/19, 2006/7, 113-26 at 122ff.; Milson, Art and Architecture 57f., 213, 467f.; G. Stemberger, Juden und Christen im spätantiken Palästina, 2007, 56f.; Magen, Good Samaritan 110-3; Sorek 127-30; Hachlili, Ancient Synagogues 118; B. Zissu - B. Langford - A. Ecker - E. Eshel, in: Epigraphy and Daily Life 123-42 at 134; Werlin, Synagogues 149ff., fig. 56.

Photo: S. Gutman - Z. Yeivin, EAEHL 4, 1978, 1127; A. and N. Graicer.

### 3875. Fragmentary Hebrew mosaic inscription mentioning Daniel, 4-8 c. CE

Two Hebrew letters set in black tesserae in mosaic floor, once part of a longer inscription, next to a deliberately defaced image.

Findspot: Main hall, western mosaic panel, central section.

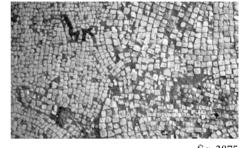
Pres. loc.: In situ.

[--]אל

[דני]אל

Translit.: [dny]'l

Daniel



11g. 38/5

Comm.: The last two letters of Daniel's name are all that survives from the deliberately effaced image, obviously of Daniel, as at Na'aran and elsewhere, see comm. to no. 2733.

Bibl.: Werlin, Synagogues 155 (ed. pr.). – Z. Yeivin, NEAEHL 4, 1993, 1419; Hachlili, Ancient Synagogues 278f., fig. 5,46c, 418ff., fig. 8,16; E. Meyers, in: S. Fine ed., Sacred Realm, 1996, 38.

Photo: Werlin, Synagogues, fig. 81.

IIP

# 3876. Marble chancel screen with Aramaic inscription of Laʿzar and Isi/Isai, 4-8 c. CE

Single-line inscription on a fragment of an ornamented marble chancel screen; the text is incised just below a double-strand guilloche border; large gap between the first two words.

Meas.: w 110 cm.

Findspot: Among the ruins in the synagogue.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. K-9820. Autopsy: 3 June 2014 (WE).



fig. 3876.1

דכרין לטב לעזר ואיסי בנויי דשמעון בר לעזר

Translit.: dkryn ltb l'zr w'ysy bnwyy dšm'wn br l'zr

May they be remembered for the good, La'zar and Isi/Isai, sons of Shim'on son of La'zar.

Comm.: The original editor was confident that this inscription is complete, which is not at all certain: while the space after the last word indicates that it is the end of a line, more lines may have existed, or it could have continued on an adjacent part of the

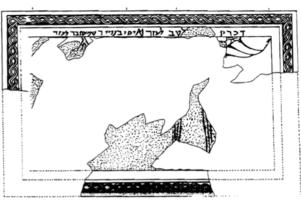


fig. 3876.2

screen. The gap between the first and second words indicates something like an ornament which was once there (and not a word, contra ed. pr.), since the inscription was written around it.

dkryn is spelled defectively, without the yod which regularly marks the passive participle. bnwyy "his sons" represents one of various spellings of this word, its standard, historical spelling being bnwhy (Naveh). For the name 'ysy, see comm. to no. 3870, where a respected rabbi by that name is mentioned. The name La'zar is too common to identify this La'zar with the one mentioned in no. 3877; a priest by that name is found at nearby Eshtemoa, no. 3868.



fig. 3876.3

Bibl.: Z. Yeivin, IEJ 24, 1974, 201-9 at 207 no. 18 (ed. pr.). – Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 432 no. 17; Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 121 no. 81 (Hebr.); Shanks, Judaism in Stone 118ff., 126; Chiat, Handbook 233ff.; Beyer, Aramäische Texte 367f. no. yySU 4; G. Foerster, in: Archéologie Chrétienne 1809-20 at 1816-9; Z. Yeivin, NEAEHL 4, 1993, 1417-21 at 1420f.; S. Fine, OEANE 5, 1997, 110f.; Werlin, Synagogues 162-5.

Photo: WE; Werlin, Synagogues fig. 91 (dr.).

# 3877. Marble stone pillar with fragmentary Aramaic inscription mentioning La zar, 4-8 c. CE

Fragments of an inscription engraved in two uneven lines, on two faces of a small marble stone pillar.

Findspot: Among the ruins in the synagogue. Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. K-9820. Autopsy: 3 June 2014 (WE).

[--] ולעזר בנוי [--] [--] נידבת [--]

Translit.: [--] wl'zr bnwy [--|--] nydbt [--]

... and La'zar his sons ... the donation of ...



fig. 3877.2

Comm.: The length and content of the original inscription, which extended across more than one pillar of a chancel screen, cannot be known, and the original order of words on this small fragment is uncertain, since wl'zr and bnwy are incised on opposite faces of the pillar; Yeivin in the ed. pr. suggested wl'zr nydbt bnwy, which makes less sense if La'zar was one of the sons of the donor (as w- indicates). bnwy "his sons" is one of the various spellings of the earlier form bnwhy.



fig. 3877.1



fig. 3877.3

Bibl.: Z. Yeivin, IEJ 24, 1974, 201-9 at 207 no. 19 (ed. pr.). – Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 431 no. 15; Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 123f. no. 85 (Hebr.); Shanks, Judaism in Stone 118ff., 126;

Beyer, Aramäische Texte 367f. no. yySU 9; Z. Yeivin, NEAEHL 4, 1993, 1417-21 at 1420f.; S. Fine, OEANE 5, 1997, 110f.; Werlin, Synagogues 162 fig. 90.

Photo: Courtesy of the Israel Museum; WE.

AY/JJP

### 3878. Marble slab with Hebrew inscription of Yudan the Levite, 4-8 c. CE

Marble slab inscribed in square Hebrew letters on one side (plain and smoothed) and ornamented on the other.

Meas.: w 50 cm.

Findspot: Among the ruins in the synagogue.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. K-2866/1. Autopsy: 3 June 2014 (WE).

יודן הלוי בר שמעון עשה את הַ[--]

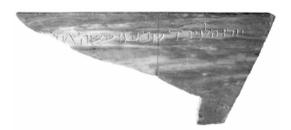


fig. 3878.1

Translit.: ywdn hlwy br šm'wn 'śh 't h[--]

Yudan the Levite son of Shim'on made the ...

Comm.: The exacavators supposed this to be "part of the banister belonging to the central steps of the bamah, leading up to the Ark of the Law." The same name appears on the chancel screen in no. 3881, engraved apparently by the same hand; in



fig. 3878.2

that inscription, the language is Aramaic and the title Rabbi is added; but the donor Yoshuʿa Yudan in the mosaic inscription no. 3871 was someone else. The use here of Aramaic *br* instead of Hebrew *bn* means that the patronymic in that form was his fixed name, as often in Hebrew nomenclature, see J. Yahalom, Immanuel 10, 1980, 49. Furthermore, the custom of putting a person's title between his personal name and patronymic is attested in other public inscriptions in Iudaea/Palaestina,

e.g. at Naʿaran (nos. 2730 and 2734), and Barʿam and Ḥamat Gader (Naveh, nos. 1, 33), and is found already in the Bible (e.g., 2 Kgs 19,2).

Bibl.: Z. Yeivin, IEJ 24, 1974, 201-9 at 206f. no. 17 (ed. pr.). – Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 431 no. 16; Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 120f. no. 80 (Hebr.); Chiat, Handbook 233ff.; Z. Yeivin, in: R. Hachlili ed., Ancient Synagogues in Israel, 1989, 93-7 at 94 no. 4; id., NEAEHL 4, 1993, 1417-21 at 1420f.; S. Fine, OEANE 5, 1997, 110f.; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 403ff.; Werlin, Synagogues 160.

Photo: WE; Z. Yeivin, in: R. Hachlili ed., Ancient Synagogues in Israel, 1989 pl. 57 fig. 10.

AY/JJP

### 3879. Marble fragment with Aramaic(?) inscription, 4-8 c. CE

Marble fragment containing two partial lines of inscribed Jewish script. Meas.: h 8, w 4 cm.

Findspot: Among the ruins in the synagogue.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Autopsy: 3 June 2014 (WE).

[--]נָה הָושיעה



Translit.: [--]nh | hwšyʻh

... save! ...

fig. 3879.1

Comm.: The possible word  $hw\dot{s}y\dot{h}$  is a poetical lengthened form of the  $hif\dot{i}l$  imperative of  $y\dot{s}\dot{i}$  "to save," but the leap from that to an imagined prayer as the content of the text is rather great. The inscription may have been part of the stone menorah of which several fragments were found.

Bibl.: Z. Yeivin, IEJ 24, 1974, 201-9 at 209 no. 20 (ed. pr.). – Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 432 no. 18; Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 124f. no. 86 (Hebr.); Z. Yeivin, NEAEHL 4, 1993, 1417-21 at 1420f.; S. Fine, OEANE 5, 1997, 110f.; Werlin, Synagogues 158f.

Photo: WE.



fig. 3879.2

AY/JJP

# 3880. Five fragments of a marble chancel screen with Aramaic inscriptions, 4-8 c. CE

Five fragments pieced together from an ornamented marble chancel screen; the inscription seems to have been in a single line, incised on a narrow curved panel and framed by simple lines above and below.

Findspot: Among the ruins in the synagogue.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. K-9820. Autopsy: 3 June 2014 (WE).

[--]לה קדישה דאתחזק[--]מן דהָ[--]



fig. 3880.1

[-- קה]לה קדישה דאתחזק[-- ו]מן דה[בון

 $Translit.: [-- qh]lh \ qdy \\ šh \ d't \\ hzq [-- w]mn \ dh [bwn --]$ 

... the holy congregation who supported ... and who gave ...



fig. 3880.2





fig. 3880.4 (right-hand arch=no. 3880, central arch=no. 3881, left-hand arch=no. 3882)

Comm.: It is uncertain whether there was more than one chancel screen to which the fragments of this inscription and nos. 3881 and 3882 belong. The elegant letters in this inscription have a central axis and sloping "walls," and are adorned with serifs, revealing a professional, trained craftsman. Despite minor variations in the forms of certain letters, this inscription exhibits a similar hand as that of the other two.

There are local parallels for "holy congregation" in Jericho (no. 2807) and Beth She'an (Naveh, no. 46). Since both קרתה and קהלה qhlh appear in these inscriptions, they probably both signify the community of the synagogue rather than different kinds of entities (i.e., exclusively Jewish vs. mixed), as Barag thought, although there may be a subtle distinction, קרתה qrth indicating the town where the

members of the קהלה qhlh, congregation, resided. On synagogues being referred to as holy communities in Late Antiquity, see Levine, Ancient Synagogue 236-9. The restoration of [w]mn dh[bwn] "and who gave" is based on the mosaic inscriptions from Ḥammat Gader (Naveh, nos. 32-34), where the yod of yhb has also been omitted.

Bibl.: HA 36, 1970, 17 (Hebr.); Z. Yeivin, IEJ 24, 1974, 201-9 at 205 nos. 10, 11 (edd. prr.). – D. Barag, Tarbiz 41, 1972, 453f. (Hebr.); Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 430 no. 9; Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 123 no. 84 (Hebr.); M. Weinfeld, Shenatôn 4, 1980, 288-95 (Hebr.); G. Foerster, Cathedra 19, 1981, 12-40 (Hebr.); Beyer, Aramäische Texte 367f. no. yySU 7; G. Foerster, in: Archéologie Chrétienne 1809-1820 at 1814; Z. Yeivin, NEAEHL 4, 1993, 1417-21 at 1420f.; S. Fine, OEANE 5, 1997, 110f.; G. Stemberger, in: A. Kofsky – G. Stroumsa eds., Sharing the Sacred, 1998, 131-46 at 139; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 402f.; Sorek 106-10; Hachlili, Ancient Synagogues 10-3; Werlin, Synagogues 161f.

Photo: Courtesy of the Israel Museum; WE.

AY/JJP

# 3881. Marble chancel screen with Aramaic inscription of Rabbi Yudan the Levite, 4-8 c. CE

Partial single line of square Hebrew letters on four fragments assembled and joined from a broken marble ornamented chancel screen; the text is incised on a narrow curved panel and is framed by simple lines above and below. Cf. no. 3880 fig. 4.

Meas: letters 2 cm

Findspot: Among the ruins in the synagogue.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. K-2866; Autopsy: 3 June 2014 (WE).



fig. 3881.1

[--]י יודן ליויא בר שמע[--]+יי+[--] עלמה ית[--]

[-- רב]י יודן ליויא בר שמע[וז --- +יי+ --- מל]ד עלמה ית[ן ברכתה בעמלה]

Translit.: [-- rb]y ywdn lywy' br šm'[wn --]+yy+[-- ml]k 'lmh yt[n brkth b'mlh]

Rabbi Yudan the Levite son of Shim'on ... may the king of the universe give his blessing for his deeds ...



fig. 3881.2 fig. 3881.3



Comm.: The inscription is reconstructed from fragments in the logical manner suggested by Naveh. The Hebrew inscription no. 3878 (rendered apparently by the same hand) mentions this donor but not his title of rabbi (if the restoration is correct). *lywy* "the Levite": note the final *alef* representing the definite article in Aramaic; the spelling of the word with *yod* after *lamed* is attested in Jewish literary sources (Naveh 122). The suggested restoration [ml]k 'lmh yt[n brkth b 'mlh] is modeled on the formula used three times at Ḥammat Gader (Naveh, nos. 32-34). Jewish inscriptions in Hebrew and Aramaic almost always use circumlocutions to refer to God.

Bibl.: Z. Yeivin, IEJ 24, 1974, 201-9 nos. 1-3 (ed. pr.). – Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 428f. nos. 5-7; Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 121f. no. 82 (Hebr.); M. Weinfeld, Shenatôn 4, 1980, 288-95

(Hebr.); S. Cohen, JQR 72, 1981/2, 1-17 at 6 no. 57; Beyer, Aramäische Texte 367f. no. yySU 5; G. Foerster, in: Archéologie Chrétienne 1809-1820 at 1813; Z. Yeivin, NEAEHL 4, 1993, 1417-21 at 1420f.; S. Fine, OEANE 5, 1997, 110f.; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 403ff.; S. Miller, JQR 94, 2004, 27-76 at 49f.; Z. Weiss, in: D. Schwartz - Z. Weiss eds., Was 70 CE a Watershed in Jewish History?, 2012, 91-111 at 100ff.; Werlin, Synagogues 160f.

Photo: Courtesy of the Israel Museum; WE.

AY/IIP

### 3882. Eight fragments of a marble chancel screen with Aramaic inscriptions, 4-8 c. CE

Eight fragments pieced together from an ornamented marble chancel screen; the inscription seems to have been in a single line, incised on a narrow curved panel and framed by simple lines above and below. Cf. no. 3880 fig. 4.

Meas.: letters 2 cm.

Findspot: Among the ruins in the synagogue.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. K 2866. Autopsy: 3 June 2014 (WE).



fig. 3882.1

[.-]ין לטב [.]לְ בני קרתה [.]מתחזק[--] מֵלד [--]מן א[..] שָלום

[דכיר]ין לטב [כ]ל בני קרתה [ד]מתחזק[ין --]. מלך [עלמה יתן ברכתה בעמלהון, א]מן א[מז] שלום

Translit.: [dkyr]yn lţb [k]l bny qrth [d]mtḥzq[yn --]. mlk ['lmh ytn brkth b'mlhwn, ']mn '[mn] šlwm

May they be remembered for the good, all the members of the town who support ... May the king of the universe give his blessing on their deeds. Amen, Amen, peace.



fig. 3882.3



Comm.: The inscription is reconstructed from eight fragments as suggested by Naveh. For the formula denoting members of the town or community, cf. no. 3853 ('Ein Gedi), Naveh nos. 39 (Huseifa) and 43 (Beth Alfa): it was an expression used locally. Note that the verb [d]mthzq[yn] is in the present tense: individuals from the community support the synagogue through their monetary contributions. For anonymous donation inscriptions, see comm. to no. 2734, Naʿaran.

Bibl.: Z. Yeivin, IEJ 24, 1974, 201-9 at 204f. nos. 4-9 (ed. pr.). – Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 429 no. 8; Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 122f. no. 83 (Hebr.); M. Weinfeld, Shenatôn 4, 1980, 288-95 (Hebr.); G. Foerster, Cathedra 19, 1981, 12-40 (Hebr.); Beyer, Aramäische Texte 367f. no. yySU 6; Z. Yeivin, NEAEHL 4, 1993, 1417-21 at 1420f.; S. Fine, OEANE 5, 1997, 110f.; G. Stemberger, in: A. Kofsky – G. Stroumsa eds., Sharing the Sacred, 1998, 131-46 at 139; Schwartz, Imperialism

275; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 402f.; G. Bohak, Ancient Jewish Magic, 2008, 319 n.58; Sorek 106-10, 119-23; Hachlili, Ancient Synagogues 536; Werlin, Synagogues 161.

Photo: WE.

AY/JJP

### 3883. Fragment with "shalom," 4-8 c. CE

Marble fragment inscribed with the word "shalom."

Findspot: Among the ruins in the synagogue.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. K-2866/1. Autopsy: 3 June 2014 (WE).

[--] שלום [--]

Translit.: [--] šlwm [--]

Peace.

Comm.: Probably the end of one of the dedicatory texts in the synagogue.

Bibl.: Z. Yeivin, IEJ 24, 1974, 201-9 at 206 no. 13 (ed. pr.). – Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 430 no. 11; Z. Yeivin, NEAEHL 4, 1993, 1417-21 at 1420f.; S. Fine, OEANE 5, 1997, 110f.

Photo: WE.



fig. 3883 AY/JJP

### 3884. Fragment of marble chancel screen, beginning of a dedication, 4-8 c. CE

Fragment of marble chancel screen with two inscribed letters.

Findspot: Among the ruins in the synagogue.

דכ[--]

דכ[ירין לטב --]

Translit.: dk[yryn lțb --]

Remembered for the good ...

Comm.: This is obviously the beginning of a dedication, and may go with no. 3880 or no. 3881.



fig. 3884

Bibl.: Z. Yeivin, IEJ 24, 1974, 201-9 at 206 no. 12 (ed. pr.). – Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 430 no. 10; Z. Yeivin, NEAEHL 4, 1993, 1417-21 at 1420f.; S. Fine, OEANE 5, 1997, 110f.

Photo: Z. Yeivin, IEJ 24, 1974 pl. 43C.

AY/IIP

### 3885. Marble fragment with Hebrew or Aramaic inscription 4-8 c. CE

Marble fragment inscribed with four letters.

[--]אורהָ

Translit.: [--] wrh[--]

Comm.: The fourth letter could also be a tav.

Bibl.: Z. Yeivin, IEJ 24, 1974, 201-9 at 206 no. 14 (ed. pr.). – Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 430 no. 12; Z. Yeivin, NEAEHL 4, 1993, 1417-21 at 1420f.; S. Fine, OEANE 5, 1997, 110f.

Photo: Z. Yeivin, IEJ 24, 1974 pl. 43E.



fig. 3885

AY/JJP

### 3886. Marble fragment with Hebrew or Aramaic inscription, 4-8 c. CE

Marble fragment with three inscribed letters.

[--]+ייד

Translit.: [--]+yyd[--]

Comm.: The last letter is possibly a *he*.



fig. 3886

Bibl.: Z. Yeivin, IEJ 24, 1974, 201-9 at 206 no. 16 (ed. pr.). – Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 431 no. 14; Z. Yeivin, NEAEHL 4, 1993, 1417-21 at 1420f.; S. Fine, OEANE 5, 1997, 110f.

Photo: Z. Yeivin, IEJ 24, 1974 pl. 43E.

AY/JJP

### 3887. Marble fragment with Hebrew or Aramaic inscription, 4-8 c. CE

Marble fragment with one letter.

[--]ה

Translit.: [--]h[--]

Bibl.: Z. Yeivin, IEJ 24, 1974, 201-9 at 206 no. 15 (ed. pr.). – Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 431 no. 13; Z. Yeivin, NEAEHL 4, 1993, 1417-21 at 1420f.; S. Fine, OEANE 5, 1997, 110f.

Photo: Z. Yeivin, IEJ 24, 1974 pl. 43E.



fig. 3887

AY/JJP

## CLXIII. Kh. 'Useiliyye

### 3888. Very fragmentary Greek mosaic inscription

The chapel floor is decorated with two mosaic carpets; the northern one is only partially preserved. It included an inscription with letters of red tesserae on a white background. Only the last letters of (the first?) four lines are preserved.

Findspot: Monastery of Rujm Jureida, chapel mosaic floor (see Magen - Peleg - Sharukh 398 fig. 1, 401 fig. 5 for a plan).

[--]+

[--]+O

[--]+I

[--]BI

[--]A

Comm.: "The mosaics might possibly be ascribed to Justinian's reign by dint of the coin found in its bedding" (Amir 449; no Justinianic coin is mentioned by Magen - Peleg - Sharukh 422, who nevertheless date the establishment of the chapel to the 6 c. AD). – l.1: Lunar epsilon? – l.2: The trace of the first letter most probably belongs to a tau, but gamma or even a lunar sigma cannot be excluded. – l.3: First letter gamma or tau.

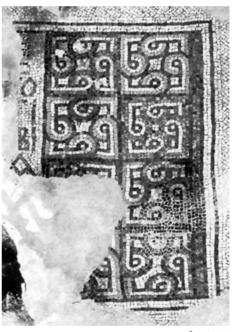


fig. 3888

Bibl.: R. Amir, Christians and Christianity III 450; Y. Magen - Y. Peleg - I. Sharukh, ibid. IV 397ff., esp. 419ff. (edd. prr.). – Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 284.

Photo: Y. Magen - Y. Peleg - I. Sharukh, Christians and Christianity IV 421 fig. 32.

# CLXIV. 'En-Rimmon (mod. Kh. Umm er-Rumamin, H. Rimmon)

#### Introduction

The site of 'En Rimmon/Eremmon, (Khirbet Umm er-Rumamin, Ḥorvat Rimmon [?]) lies 26 km SSW of Eleutheropolis/Beit Guvrin in the Southwest of an area called "Daroma" (=the South) by Eusebius. This is a term that is encountered in Greek only in his Onomasticon, and indicates the region south of Hebron, covering the lower hill-country and the mountains, but excluding the desert. En Rimmon is located in a less elevated area (460 m above sea level) on fertile land.

Eus. Onom. 88,17: Ἐρεμμών (Josh 19,7). κώμη Ἰουδαίων μεγίστη ἀπὸ ις σημείων Ἐλευθεροπόλεως <πρὸς νότον ἐν τῷ Δαρωμῷ>. "Eremmon (Josh 19,7). A very large village of Jews, sixteen miles south of Eleutheropolis, in Daroma."  $^2$ 

The identification is disputed. Neighbouring Tel Halif/Tell Khuweleife also has been proposed for Rimmon. At Khirbet Umm er-Rumamin/Ḥorvat Rimmon remains of occupation from the late 2-early 1 c. BC until the mid-2 c. AD have been found. Subsequently a synagogue and settlement of the 3 c. and 4 c. are attested here. The site continued to be occupied in the Byzantine period, well into the 7 c. The synagogue was rebuilt several times.<sup>3</sup>

ΒI

<sup>1</sup> Onom. 68,19: Gadda (ʿEin Gedi) is "ἐν ἐσχάτοις τοῦ Δαρωμᾶ."

<sup>2</sup> The latter specification is based on the Latin translation of Jerome: *contra meridiem in Daroma*. (Onom. 89,17).

<sup>3</sup> NEAEHL 4, 1993, 1284f.; additional bibliography in 5, 2008, 2109.

### **Inscriptions**

### 3889. Ossuary inscribed "Shalom" in Hebrew/Aramaic, 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE

Hebrew letters incised on the upper left corner of one of the long sides of a plain limestone ossuary, which has been partly reconstructed from pieces.

Meas.: h 40, w 66, d 36.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Joe Alon Center – The Museum of Bedouin Culture, Kibbutz Lahav, IAA inv. no. 1979-514.

שלום

Translit.: šlwm

Shalom.



fig. 3889.1

Comm.: No data are available on the circumstances of the discovery of this broken ossuary. The reading of all letters but the first is uncertain; the inscription could also have been שולם šwlm Shallum, a male name as in CIIP I 53. As Shalom, it is probably a female name, less likely the greeting "peace."



fig. 3889.2

Bibl.: Rahmani, CJO no. 682 (ed. pr.). – J. Park, Conceptions of Afterlife in Jewish Inscriptions, 2000, 88; Evans 119.

Photo: IAA; Rahmani, CJO fig. 682 (dr.).

IJΡ

# 3890. Ossuary of Yaʻakov Birebbi with Hebrew/Aramaic inscription, 1 c. BCE - 1 c. CE

Inscription in square Hebrew script on one of the long sides of an undecorated limestone ossuary with gabled lid. The last letter is chipped but traces are still legible.

Meas.: h 52, w 68, d 36.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1983-568.

יעקב בירבי

Translit.: y qb byrby

Yaʻakov Berebbi.



fig. 3890.1

Comm.: The ossuary was found in a single-chambered burial cave in 1983 and was first published by Rahmani. The title, בירבי byrby is an informal title,

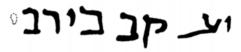


fig. 3890.2

a sign of respect; full citation of parallels in epigraphy and rabbinic literature, with discussion and bibliography, in the commentary to CIIP III 2233, and see the instance at Susiya, no. 3870. This is the only occurrence so far of the title on an ossuary. The correct pronunciation is uncertain, but note the only Greek instance,  $\beta\eta\rho\epsilon\beta\iota$  on an epitaph from Jaffa, CIIP II 2233.

Bibl.: Rahmani, CJO no. 865 (ed. pr.). - Evans 119; Hachlili, Funerary Customs 223ff.

Photo: IAA; Hachlili, Funerary Customs 224 pl. 5,23b (dr. ).

JJP

### 3891. Ossuary of Ya'akov with Hebrew/Aramaic inscription, 1 c. BCE - 1 c. CE

Hebrew letters with a fine line on one of the long sides of a plain limestone ossuary. Meas.: h 34, w 70, d 28 cm.

Findspot: Near Kibbutz Lahav.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1979-510.

יעקוב

Translit.: y'qwb

Yaʻakov.



fig. 3891.1

Comm.: Nothing is known of the provenance of this ossuary.

Bibl.: Rahmani, CJO no. 678 (ed. pr.). – Beyer, Aramäische Texte II 301 no. \*yyRI 2.

Photo: IAA; Rahmani, CJO fig. 678 (dr.).



fig. 3891.2

JJP

### CLXV. Kh. Umm Deimine (Kh. Umm Deimnah)

### 3892. Greek mosaic inscription

The inscription is too fragmentary to give any indication of its length or its form (tabula ansata?). Amir dates the mosaics – based on their style – to the 6 c. AD, most probably its first half, but the second half of the 5 c. is not excluded (Magen - Batz - Sharukh). The letters are in black; the lines are divided by rows of red tesserae.

Meas.: letters 7.5 cm.

Findspot: Room 10 of the complex – which is taken to be a monastery – was made into a chapel (for a plan, see Magen - Batz - Sharukh 439 fig. 4); the chapel itself was lavishly decorated with mosaics; below the mosaic carpet of its raised bema, traces of an inscription were found.



fig. 3892.1

Comm.: l.1: The trace of the last letter could well belong to an *alpha*; [--] ασθα[--] is most common in infinitives, cf., e.g., IGLS 13,1, 9040 (Bostra): καὶ προδέξασθαι τὴν προσφορὸν Πέτρου.

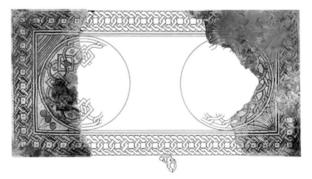


fig. 3892.2

Bibl.: R. Amir, Christians and Christianity III 447f.; Y. Magen - S. Batz - I. Sharukh, ibid. IV 435ff., esp. 454 fig. 24 (edd. prr.). – Y. Magen - S. Batz, NEAEHL 5, 2008, 2058f.

Photo: R. Amir, Christians and Christianity III 448 fig. 4 (ph. and dr.).

### CLXVI. Kh. Zanuta

### 3893. Fragment of Greek inscription

A Christian church, transformed into a mosque; "zwei ... Quadern, rechts und links von der Türe, (tragen) Reste einer griechischen Inschrift" (Mader); letters "de forme très allongée" (Guerin).

Comm.: The reports do not tell us whether or not these letters were in one line; Mader implies that the letters are on two different blocks, but believes them to belong to a single inscription (as do Bagatti and Ovadiah, adding that the stones belonged to the bema).

Bibl.: Guérin, Judée III 200; A. Mader, Altchristliche Basiliken und Lokaltraditionen in Südjudäa, 1918, 223 no. 6 (edd. prr.). – Bagatti, Giudea e Neghev 96f.; Ovadiah, Corpus Suppl. 3, 145 no. 46; Bagatti, Judaea 101; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 294.

WA

### CLXVII. Naḥal Peḥar

### 3894. Greek mosaic inscription mentioning the Deacon Selamon

Mosaic carpet in a church, inscription above a depiction of the tree of life coming from a crater; a bird (peacock?) on each side of the vase.

Meas.: carpet: 2x2 m.

Findspot: A walled monastery with a main building and side wings, perhaps including a wine press, was unearthed at Naḥal Pehar. One of the rooms of the main building, R1/L166, was a chapel paved with mosaic. "The finds at the monastery were meager and included a small quantity of potsherds from the end of the Byzantine period (sixth–seventh centuries CE)" (ESI-HA). The place most probably fell into disuse during the first half of the 7 c. AD.



fig. 3894

(cross) ΣΕΛΑΜΩΝΔΙΚ (cross) ΚΑΙΟΙΠΙΣΓ ΦΙΔΟΣΚΕΣΕΛΑΜΩΝ(?)ΚΕΖΑΝΙΟΥΑΠΟΚΓΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΣΕΥΛΟΓΗΣΕΒΗΤΟΜΟΡΣΥΚΩΝΑΜΗΝ

Σελαμων δι(ά)κ(ονος) καὶ οἱ πισ(τοὶ) | Φῖδος κὲ Σελαμων(?) κὲ Ζανιου ἀποκ(ρισιάριο)ς. | κύριος, εὐλόγησε ΒΗΤΟΜΟΡΣΥΚΩΝ ἀμήν

Selamon, the deacon, and the faithful Fidus and Selamon(?) and of Zanys, the messenger. Lord, bless ... Amen.

Comm.: The inscription seems to date to the 6 c. AD at the earliest. Paran notes: "Above this medallion is an inscription that mentions Selamon, the deacon and dioiketes (here in the sense of head of the monastery) and a series of names: Fidus, Selamon and Zanys, the latter of which also has a religious title, apocrisiarios. The third row says 'May the Lord bless the coenobium of Beth-mor [or Beth Morsy?]. Amen'."

l.1: Σελανων seems possible too. Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 107 with examples of Σελαμ, Σελαμανους (gen.). – There is no *alpha* after *iota*, not even in ligature, and Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations has no example of  $\delta\iota(\acute{\alpha})\kappa(ονος)$ , which (nevertheless) seems more probable than, e.g.,  $\delta\iota\kappa(αστής)$ . – See Avi-Yonah,

Abbreviations 94 for an example of  $\pi\iota\sigma(\tau\delta\varsigma)$ ; cf. Lampe s.v. E 1: "oi  $\pi$ . members of the church" and E 2 with the meaning "baptized Christian" in contrast to a catechumen (on this usage see especially Mentzou-Meimaris). Some building inscriptions from Arabia attest that a building was completed through the care of  $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$   $\delta$ .,  $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$   $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$  (SEG 7, 1117, 1146, 1168, 1170, 1229). The deacon is mentioned at the beginning, therefore it seems likely to understand the "faithful" (i.e. baptized) persons in the text as members of the community.

l.2: the Latin name Fidus. The second name is represented by the letters  $\Sigma E \Lambda \Omega N$ , but the mosaicist tried to insert one or two letters above *lambda* and *omega*, which lead Paran to expect  $\Sigma \epsilon \lambda \alpha \mu \omega \nu$ ; there is no parallel to be found for  $\Sigma \epsilon \lambda \omega \nu$ . – Paran understood Zanys (on Zannys cf. SEG 8, 263-5; 34, 1475: Ἰοσῆς  $Z\alpha\nu\nu\acute{e}o\nu$ ), but it seems that the text switched into the genitive case. – Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations 49 and SEG 8, 37 on  $\mathring{a}\pi o \varkappa (--)$ ; on the office ("messenger or representative of a bishop or hegoumenos in dealing with higher authorities") see Magdalino.

l.3: the first letter is rather mishappen: the vertical line is too short, because the *phi* descends too far. – εὐλόγησε: the two last letters are written under the *gamma* and *eta*. – Paran understood a place name, which is not impossible, even though εὐλόγησον is normally used only for persons. The letters look like BHTOMOPΣΥΚΩΝ, reading the small letter after *tau* as an *omicron*. At least phonetically similar are Βαιθομη (Jos. AJ 13,380); Βηθωμορων, Βηθωμ, Βηθωρων, Βητομαρσεα (Thomsen 42f., 44). At the end σύκων? – The *mu* of "amen" looks like an *eta*; the *eta* and the *nu* are written in ligature.

Bibl.: N.-S. Paran, HA-ESI 121, 2009 fig. 3 (www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\_detail\_eng. aspx?id=1018&mag\_id=115, viewed: 11.12.2016) (ed. pr.). – Madden, Corpus 113f. no. 153. – Cf. P. Thomsen, Loca Sancta, 1907; K. Mentzou-Meimaris, Byzantina 13, 1986, 1203-19; P. Magdalino, in: Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium I 1991, 136.

Photo: IAA.

### CLXVIII. Iethira (Yatir, mod. Kh. 'Attir)

#### Introduction

Yatir (Iethira, Kh. 'Attir) is mentioned in the Bible several times: 1 Sam 30,27; Josh 19,7; 15,48.

Eus. Onom. 88,3: "Εθερ (Josh 19,7). κλήρου Συμεών. καὶ νῦν ἐστιν Ἰεθειρὰ μεγίστη κώμη ἐν τῷ ἐσωτέρῳ Δαρωμᾳ, παρακειμένη Μαλαάθοις. "Ether (Josh 19,7). The share of Simeon. Ietheira is now a very large village in the interior of Daroma, situated near Malaatha."

Eus., Onom. 108,1: Ἰεθέρ (Josh 15,48). φυλῆς Ἰούδα, πόλις ἱερατική. καὶ ἔστι νῦν κώμη μεγίστη Ἰεθειρὰ ὡς ἀπὸ σημείων κ' Ἐλευθεροπόλεως, ὅλη Χριστιανῶν, ἐν τῷ ἔσω Δαρωμῷ πλησίον Μαλαθῶν. κεῖται καὶ ἀνωτέρω. "Iether (Josh 15,48). Tribe of Judah. A priestly city. It is now the very large village of Ietheira, about twenty miles from Eleutheropolis, wholly Christian, in the inner Daroma, near Malatha. It is mentioned also above." <sup>1</sup>

Ietheira is "in inner (i.e. farther) Daroma." This means it is in the Northern Negev, as it is called in Hebrew.<sup>2</sup> It lay possibly within the territory of Eleutheropolis. The village appears on the Madaba Map of the 6 c. F.-M. Abel observes that the site dominates its surroundings and says that the visible remains are Roman and Byzantine, including a church.<sup>3</sup> Excavations have been carried out between 1995 and 1999.<sup>4</sup> The site was apparently occupied in the Chalcolithic period, Early Bronze Age, Iron Age (from the 7 c. onward), Persian, Hellenistic and onward until the Mameluke period. The settlement seems to have been destroyed at the end of the Bar Kochba revolt. Two Byzantine churches were excavated on the site.

ΒI

<sup>1</sup> Also: Onom. 110,18.

<sup>2 &</sup>quot;Daroma" (=the South) is a term encountered in Greek only in Eusebius' Onomasticon and indicates the region south of Hebron, covering the lower hill-country and the mountains, but excluding the desert.

<sup>3</sup> F.-M. Abel, Géographie de la Palestine 2, 3rd ed. 1967, 356; Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea, 408; further references in TIR 151f.

<sup>4</sup> NEAEHL 5, 2008, 2069f.

### **Inscriptions**

#### 3895.-3898. Church in Area C

The church excavated in the second part of the 1990s lay on a spur to the south of the settlement. The rectangular, west-east oriented building (24x13 m) of basilical form consisted of atrium, narthex and prayer hall which was divided by two rows of six columns each into aisles and a central nave with internal semicircular apse. All rooms had been paved with mosaic floors. The pavement of the atrium contains a Greek inscription (no. 3895). In the nave the excavators found two layers of mosaic pavement. The upper one shows a bordered carpet divided into several broader horizontal zones and narrower registers adorned with various symbols and geo-

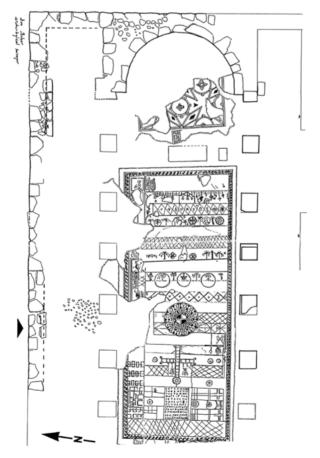


fig. 3895.A Ground plan, D. Bahar, JRA 12, 1999, 416 fig. 4

metric patterns. It also contains a number of Greek inscriptions arranged here in spatial order from west to east, i.e. in direction from the zone near the entrance to the nave towards the apse (nos. 3896-3898).

Bibl.: H. Eshel - J. Magness - E. Shenhav, IEJ 50, 2000, 158ff.; iid., NEAEHL 5, 2008, 2069f.

### 3895. Donation of a mosaic floor by Deacon and Abbot Ioannes

Findspot: Eastern side of the atrium of the church, near the entrance to the narthex.



fig. 3895

(cross) ΕΠΙΤΟΥΘΕΟΣΕΒΕΣΤΑΤΟΥΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΖΑΧΑΡΙΟΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥΚΑΙΗΓΟΥΜΕ ΝΟΥΕΓΕΝΕΤΟΤΟΠΑΝΕΡΓΟΝΤΟΥ ΨΊΟΥΚΑΙΟΛΕΙΗΦΙΛΟΚΑΛΙΟΣΤΟΥ ΝΑΟΥΕΝΜΗΜΑΙΩΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟΣΘ ΕΤΟΥΣΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΥΠΓ (cross)

έπὶ τοῦ θεοσεβεστάτου Ἰωάννου | Ζαχαρίου διακόνου καὶ ἡγουμέ|νου ἐγένετο τὸ πᾶν ἔργον τοῦ | ψ(ηφ)ίου καὶ ὅλει ἡ φιλοκάλιος τοῦ | ναοῦ ἐν μη(νὶ) Μαίῳ ἰνδικτιδνος θ', | ἔτους τῆς πόλεως υπγ'

Under the most God-fearing Deacon and Abbot Ioannes, son of Zacharias, the whole work of the mosaic and the whole adornment of the church was made, in the month of May, indiction 9, in the year of the city 483.

Comm.: ll.1f.: "Ioannes, son of Zacharias" makes sense only in the Christian tradition (Lk 1,11ff.). – ll.2f.: Cf. Meimaris, Sacred Names 240: "only from the fifth century on ... it became customary for the superiors to be presbyters, although a monk or a deacon were never excluded from being a superior" (see Meimaris 242 no. 1212: hegoumenos and reader, early 7 c. AD.). – l.4: ψηφίον, mosaic, cf. LSJ Suppl. s.v., quoting CIJ 2, 803; SEG 32, 1440 (both from Syria); 30, 1715 (Arabia) (etc.); cf. IGLS 21,2, 138 (Madaba): ἐφιλοκαλίθη καὶ κατεστάθη. The noun ἡ φιλοκάλιος seems unattested; cf. φιλοκαλία. – ll.5f.: The era is either that of the provincia

Arabia (588 AD=indiction 6) or of Eleutheropolis (682 AD=indiction 10). If we accept the argument for the era of Eleutheropolis given in no. 3896, this text belongs in 682 AD.

Bibl.: H. Eshel - J. Magness - E. Shenhav - J. Besonen, JRA 12, 1999, 417f. (ed. pr.). – Iid., IEJ 50, 2000, 162; SEG 50, 1497; H. Eshel - J. Magness - E. Shenhav, BAR 27, 2001, 35; L. Di Segni, ARAM 15, 2003, 253f.; Feissel, Chroniques 218 no. 702, 252f. no. 804; L. Di Segni, ARAM 18/19, 2006/7, 113ff.; Ribak, Religious Communities 231; G. Stemberger, Juden und Christen im spätantiken Palästina, 2007, 58f.; P.-L. Gatier, in: Proche-Orient 11, 24f.; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 297ff.; Madden, Corpus 78ff. no. 99.

Photo: H. Eshel - J. Magness - E. Shenhav - J. Besonen, JRA 12, 1999, 418 fig. 8.

WA

### 3896. Greek donation of a mosaic by Thomas and Zacharias

Findspot: Central nave of the church opposite the entrance from the narthex; see introduction to nos. 3895-3898 fig. A.



fig. 3896

έτεληώθι | τὸ πᾶν ἔργο(ν) | τοῦτο μηνὶ | Μαρτίου ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) | ς', ἔτους τῖς | πόλεως φ|κς' ὑπὲρ σοτ|ερήας (καὶ) ἀντηλ(ή)μ|ψεως Θωμ(ᾶ), ἁγιω(τάτου) | είγουμένου φιλω|χρίστου, χιρὶ ἐμοῦ | Ζαχαρ(ίου) Ἰσε ἐρ(γολάβου) δ(ούλου) θε(οῦ)

This whole work [i.e. this mosaic] was finished in the month of March, indiction 6, year of the city 526, for the salvation and succor of Thomas, the most holy, Christloving abbot, through my hand, Zacharias, son of Ise, contractor, servant of God.

Comm.: Il.5ff.: Meimaris, Chronological Systems 150f.: "It lies in the realms of analogy and probability that Elusa or the still flourishing Petra are alluded to in the expression 'ἔτους τῆς πόλεως' met in a burial text from Auja Hafir (no. 284) and a papyrus from the same city [scil. P.Ness. 14], and that this era is identical to the era of the province. The expression 'ἔτους τῆς πόλεως' is usually combined with city eras within the territory of provincia Arabia instigated by local historical events ..." Di Segni, DGI argued for the use of the Arabian era, and 526 Arabian era=22 March 631-21 March 632. There is a problem though: March 631 is indiction 4, March 632 is indiction 5, and Di Segni believes that the Roman tax administration had been disrupted from 614 to 630 AD. The only alternative is the era of Eleutheropolis, namely 22 March-31 March 725, indiction 8, which creates an even greater discrepancy between era and indiction than in the case of taking it to be the era of Arabia. However, the use of the Arabian era would make Iethira a (very northern) part of Palaestina Tertia. Feissel was not convinced, and Di Segni 2003, 255f. (cf. ead. 2006/7) argued that the error in the indiction of no. 3895 can be explained more easily if we accept the Arabian era. The latter was accepted by Gatier. Furthermore, it gives a prominent example of late building activities in Christian churches (and has also some implications for the use of letter forms as dating criteria). - 1.9: An abbreviation mark at the mu of the name; the iota of άγιω(τάτου) is written above the *omega* in small scale forming a cross with the elongated horizontal hasta of the gamma, which serves as abbreviation mark. -Il.10f.: For φιλόχριστος, cf. no. 3197, and in a context of ecclesiastical hierarchy, see SEG 37, 1435 (Apameia Syr.): Παύλου τοῦ θεοφιλ(εστάτου) καὶ φιλοχ(ρίστου) πρεσβ(υτέρου) καὶ ἀρχιμα(νδρίτου); 38, 1660 (Amman): ἐπ[ὶ τοῦ] ὡσ[ιω]τάτω [κ(αὶ) φιλο]χρίστου  $[\Theta\omega]$ μᾶ ἐπισκώ(που). – l.11: χιρί is otherwise not attested in mosaics (Donderer), but is known from statuary (e.g. SEG 58, 1215 [Iasos]: ἐχάραξα χιρί; Waddington, no. 2028 [Mélah-es-Sarrar]: ἐκτίσθη ὑπὸ Ἰωβίου (καὶ) Λαβ[δ]ί[ου έ]ν μηνὶ Μαίου - χιρὶ Ἄμρου Σέου; IGLS 6, 2916 [Yammouné]: Ἰουλιανὸς Ἰουλια-[νοῦ] γλύπτης εἰδίαις χερ[σὶν] τῷ θεῷ) as well as from the use in wall-paintings (CIRB 1112: τὸ τεῖχος ... ἐγράφη δὲ χειρὶ Πάππου Ποπλίου); the first person reference is rare too. – l.12: Ἰσε=Ἰσαί. The ἐργολάβος (?; the abbreviation is not otherwise recorded) is not necessarily a mosaicist, but rather a contractor who participated in the preparation of the mosaic. - Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations quotes only Studia Pontica p. 139 for the abbreviation  $\delta(\tilde{o}\tilde{u}\lambda \tilde{o}\varsigma)$ .

Bibl.: DGI 673f. no. 228 fig. 279 (ed. pr.). – SEG 50, 1498; L. Di Segni, ARAM 15, 2003, 253f., fig. 6; M. Donderer, Die Mosaizisten der Antike II 2008, 48f. no. a.9 pl. 4,2; Madden, Corpus 78ff. no. 99. – Cf. H. Eshel - E. Shenhav, ESI 18, 1998, 102f. (=HA 106, 155f. [Hebr.]); S. Wolff, AJA 102, 1998, 798 fig. 37; H. Eshel - J. Magness - E. Shenhav - J. Besonen, JRA 12, 1999, 415, 417f. with color

fig. 6 (following p. 240); H. Eshel - J. Magness - E. Shenhav, IEJ 50, 2000, 158-62 fig. 10; iid., BAR 27, 2001, 34 (ph.); J. Besonen, ibid., 2001, 37-43 with fig.; SEG 53, 1835; Feissel, Chroniques 218 no. 702, 252 no. 803, 252f. no. 804; L. Di Segni, ARAM 18/19, 2006/7, 113ff.; G. Stemberger, Juden und Christen im spätantiken Palästina, 2007, 58f.; Ribak, Religious Communities 231; H. Eshel - J. Magness - E. Shenhav, NEAEHL 5, 2008, 2070 (ph.); P.-L. Gatier, in: Proche-Orient 11, 21f.; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 297ff.; L. Habas, EI 31, 2015, 151-64 at 153f. (Hebr.).

Photo: Courtesy of H. Eshel.

WA

### 3897. Greek mosaic inscription?

The second mosaic carpet is said to show a certain number of mystical symbols, and Besonen interprets a group of abstract signs as letters.

Findspot: Mosaic in the nave; northern part of the register in height of the fourth column; see introduction to nos. 3895-3898 fig. A.

#### NOH

Comm.: According to Besonen, this represents the name of Noah (which is not impossible, if one accepts the reading and the changes in vowel quantity: usually we find  $N\tilde{\omega}\epsilon$ ). "For early Christians Noah was a link between the Old and the New Testament" (Besonen). – It is uncertain whether the signs are letters.

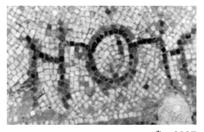


fig. 3897

Bibl.: J. Besonen, BAR 27, 2001, 37ff. (ed. pr.).

Photo: J. Besonen, BAR 27, 2001, 41.

WA

### 3898. Two short Greek inscriptions

"A round carpet in the center of the nave is decorated with geometric designs with a cross at the center; the area between this carpet and the apse was divided into 11 decorative bands, some decorated with geometric designs and others with mystical symbols" (Eshel - Shenhav 1998).

Eshel - Shenhav added: "round medallions which contained Greek letters – probably the initials of the names Jesus and Mary"; finally the same authors wrote in 2000, 122: "Two short Greek inscriptions were placed among the mystical symbols: one is the 'alpha and omega' and the other is connected with a sacred building."

Judging from the drawings by Dan Bahar the only medallion with an inscription is the one edited here as (a) (the drawing in Besonen 2001 gives a wrong impression). It contains the "alpha and omega," and also the name of Jesus, but certainly not that of Mary. The second inscription, "connected with a sacred building," seems to refer to the lopsided rectangle at the right side of the gabled building, edited here as (b).

Findspot: In the southern part of the eastern zone of the mosaic in the nave, near the apse; below and above the register with lozenge pattern; see introduction to nos. 3895-3898 fig. A.

(a)  $I\Sigma$  $X\Sigma$ ΑΩ (b) (cross) IKOΥ  $\overline{K}\underline{\Upsilon}T$  $\overline{\Theta E}$ 



fig. 3898.1 (a)

- (a) Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς | Χ(ριστό)ς, | Α Ω
- (b) ἴκου | κυ(ρίου) τ(οῦ) | θε(οῦ)
- (a) Jesus Christ, Alpha (and) Omega.
- (b) Of the house of the Lord, the God.

Comm.: (a) The text is perfectly normal and the drawing shows that iota in l.1 and chi in l.2 carry an abbreviation mark; for an inscription which accords with the description by Eshel - Shenhav of the abbreviated names of Jesus and Mary, something like SEG 26, 1664 (Eilat): Κ(ύρι)ε 'Ι(εσο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)ὲ Μ(αρία) γ(εννηθείς) comes to mind.



(b) The text is a wild guess – but there appears to be no other solution, if the reading is correct. οἶκος κυρίου would be the designation of a church (Lampe, s.v. οἶκος 3; 4 a on, at least, οἶκος θεοῦ), and the inscription would refer to the building at its left. (It would, at least, fit the description given by Besonen 43: "The final band before the apse features a stylized, gabled building with three hanging lights in the form of circles. In each circle is a cross. Here, on the other side of the representation of the chancel screen, is the holy of holies, God's dwelling place, perhaps Heaven itself, the home of the Holy Trinity, which the three lights may signify.") But what about the genitive ἴκου? κύριε ὁ θεός can be found quite regularly, and there are parallels enough for κύριος ὁ θεός, see Meimaris, Sacred Names, passim, but no declined form can be found in Meimaris. – l.2: An abbreviation  $\tau(\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{V})$  is a bit awkward (two examples in Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations 104), and it might just be possible to take the curious twirl below the *kappa* as part of an *omicron-upsilon* ligature.

Bibl.: H. Eshel - E. Shenhav, ESI 18, 1998, 102f. (=HA 106, 155f. [Hebr.]); iid., ESI 20, 2000, 122f. (=HA 108, 165f. [Hebr.]); J. Besonen, BAR 27, 2001, 37-43; SEG 53, 1835; L. Habas, EI 31, 2015, 153f. (Hebr.).

Photo: D. Bahar, JRA 12, 1999, 416 fig. 4 (dr.); J. Besonen, BAR 27, 2001, 41.

WA

### 3899. Donation of a mosaic with Greek inscription

Mosaic floor, inscription in a tabula ansata. The lines are separated by rows of lighter tesserae.

Findspot: Byzantine basilica in Area D, opposite the entrance from the narthex into the south aisle.



fig. 3899

(cross) ΕΠΤ[...]Ι∫ΘΕΩΔΟΡΟΥΕΠΙ∫ ΚΣΑΒΙΝ[--]+++∫ΤΟΠ∫ΕΡ Γ∫ΤΗΣΨΦ∫[--]+ΑΒΕΣΟΒΟΥ Κ∫ΙΩΑΝΟΥΚ∫ΙΕ[...]ΙΟΥ∫ΙΝΔ∫Δ

ἐπ(ὶ) τ[οῦ ..]ι(ωτάτου) Θεωδόρου, ἐπι(σκόπου), | κ(αὶ) Σαβίν[ου(?) ...](--) ἐγ(ένετο) τὸ π(ᾶν) ἔρ|γ(ον) τῆς ψ(η)φ(ώσεως) [--]+ Αβεσοβου | κ(αὶ) Ἰωάνου κ(αὶ) Ἰε[ρεμ]ίου, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ'

*Under* ... Theodorus, bishop, and Sabinus(?) ... the whole work of the mosaic-laying was made (under the supervision?) of Abesobus and Ioanes and Ieremias, indiction 4.

Comm.: l.1: ἐπὶ τ(οῦ) ἁγι(ωτάτου) SEG; the photograph shows that the third letter is no iota, but has a horizontal bar above the vertical one: necessarily a tau. A lacuna follows – at least according to the photograph – and the space is sufficient for three letters. Since omicron-upsilon is always written in ligature, one can supplement either  $\tau$ [οῦ ἀγ]ι(ωτάτου) or  $\tau$ [οῦ ὁσ]ι(ωτάτου) (both attested for bishops). For the placement of the title cf. no. 3083; SEG 7, 872 (Gerasa); IGLS 21,2, 56 (Yadudeh): έπὶ τοῦ θεοσεβ(εστάτου) καὶ ἁσιωτάτου Θεαδοσίου ἐπισκ(όπου) ἐψηφώθη κτλ.; etc. – 1.2: Sabinios, Eshel - Magness - Shenhav 2000, 2001, 2008, which is impossible; Σαβίν[ου (?) πρε](σβυτέρου) SEG. Traces of three letters are visible before the abbreviation mark: at first two or three tesserae that belong to a sloping hasta (part of an upsilon, a ligature, a kappa, but not part of an angular epsilon or sigma), but since there is not enough space for a whole word, it is perhaps better to understand this as a mark abbreviating a title (Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations 59 lists only abbreviations with four or more letters for the word διάκονος, but on 96f. he lists some examples of three-letter-abbreviations for πρεσβύτερος, which supports Di Segni's restoration in SEG). Following the abbreviation mark, there is perhaps the upper part of an epsilon, and at the end a quite clear gamma. ἐγ(ένετο) is quite certain, then. However, the title of the enigmatic Sabinus(?) is uncertain, since a longer name is not excluded, which would call for a shorter abbreviation. – 1.3:  $\psi(\eta)$ φ(οθεσίας) vel sim. is possible too. [ἐ $\kappa$  σπουδ?](ῆς) SEG. Before the following name, there is a trace that belongs probably to an abbreviation mark; it is slanting, not horizontal: therefore either something like  $[\delta i \dot{\alpha} \sigma \pi](0 \upsilon \delta \tilde{\eta} \varsigma)$ , [έκ  $\sigma \pi o](\upsilon \delta \tilde{\eta} \varsigma)$ , but since a simple  $\sigma \pi o \upsilon \delta \tilde{\eta}$  is more often used than the composite versions, something like  $[\dot{\epsilon} \varkappa \pi \rho o](\nu o i \alpha \varsigma)$  or even  $[\pi\rho\sigma\nu](\sigma(\alpha))$  is not excluded. However, it is also possible that the three men had acted as mosaicists. For the name Abesobus cf. no. 2676. - l.4: Jonathan, Eshel - Magness - Shenhav 2000, 2001, 2008. The abbreviation mark after the last name seems inexplicable, but cf. Di Segni apud SEG: "stigma is used as punctuation mark before IN $\Delta$  (not uncommon in this region and period)." 14th indiction, Eshel - Magness -Shenhav 2000, 2001, 2008.

Bibl.: SEG 50, 1499 (text communicated to the editors of SEG by L. Di Segni); M. Donderer, Die Mosaizisten der Antike II 2008, 92 no. c1 pl. 24,1 (edd. prr.). – H. Eshel - J. Magness - E. Shenhav, IEJ 50, 2000, 165f.; iid., JRA 13, 2000, 343ff.; iid., BAR 27, 2001, 36; Feissel, Chroniques 253 no. 804; Ribak, Religious Communities 231; H. Eshel - J. Magness - E. Shenhav, NEAEHL 5, 2008, 2069f.; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, Christians and Christianity II 297ff.; Madden, Corpus 78ff. no. 100.

Photo: H. Eshel - J. Magness - E. Shenhav, JRA 13, 2000, 343 fig. 2.

## CLXIX. Tel Kerioth

#### 3900.-3901. The church

In the early 1990s a late antique church of basilical layout (27x16 m) was excavated. The church consisted of an atrium, a narthex and prayer hall divided into a central nave with raised chancel and semicircular apse, and two aisles with pastophoria flanking the apse. All rooms were paved with mosaics, the nave and chancel providing the most elaborate ones showing geometrical and vegetal ornaments surrounding depictions of fruits, vegetables, animals and probably the four seasons. All depictions of animals and human figures were destroyed by iconoclasts in the 8 c. Two inscriptions were found set into the mosaic floors, one in the narthex (no. 3900), the other in the central nave just next to the main entrance to the prayer hall (no. 3901).

Bibl.: S. Derfler - Y. Govrin, IEJ 43, 1993, 263-7.

#### 3900. Greek mosaic inscription mentioning Ioannes and Georgius

Findspot: "Embedded in the exterior southern wall of the narthex ... a baptismal font came to light ... It projected 0.40 m into the room. ... Another Greek inscription, with a red border and letters, was set into the plain white tile mosaic floor" (Derfler - Govrin). No photograph was provided.

Pres. loc.: Still in situ (Milman Baron). Today covered.

(cross) ΚΕΕΛΕΗΣΟΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΑΜΙΝ

κ(ύρι)ε ἐλέησον | Ἰωάννους, | Γεωργίου | ἀδελφοῦ. | ἀμίν

Lord, have mercy on Ioannes, Georgius the brother. Amen.

Comm.: l.3f.: There is no indication whether Georgius is the spiritual or natural brother of Ioannes.

Bibl.: S. Derfler - Y. Govrin, IEJ 43, 1993, 266 (ed. pr.). – SEG 43, 1075. – Cf. R. Milman Baron, SCI 13, 1994, 148; Feissel, Chroniques 254 no. 810; Madden, Corpus 130f. no. 191.

#### 3901. Greek mosaic inscription

Greek inscription in a tabula ansata with a frame of two lines of black tesserae. Three lines of letters in black tesserae on yellow background separated by white lines.

Meas.: No measurements given, but "the interior of the panel containing the inscription" measured 1.1x0.4 m (Derfler - Govrin 265).

Findspot: Set into the white strip surrounding the mosaic carpet in the central nave and attached to the border of the latter, next to the entrance from the narthex.

Pres. loc.: After the excavation season in July 1992 the site was vandalized in August. "The mosaic dedicatory inscription on the floor directly opposite the main entry to the basilica was chiselled out of the plaster and concrete foundation, intact, and removed from the site" (Derfler - Govrin 267).



fig. 3901

κ(ύρι)ε, φύλαξον τ(οὺς) | καρπ(ο)φορ[οῦ]ν|τας τοῦ οἴκ[ου]

Lord, protect those who bring offerings for (your) house.

Comm.: l.1: τ[ού]ς Derfler. – l.2f.: καρπ(ο)φορ[ήσαν]|τας SEG. – l.3: τοῦ οἴκ[ου σού] Derfler, who translated: "God, guard the fruits of your household."

Bibl.: S. Derfler - Y. Govrin, IEJ 43, 1993, 263ff. (ed. pr.). – SEG 43, 1074; S. Derfler, ARAM 15, 2003, 42f. figs. 5, 9. – Cf. R. Milman Baron, SCI 13, 1994, 148; SEG 53, 1875; Feissel, Chroniques 254 no. 810; Ribak, Religious Communities 181f.; Madden, Corpus 130f. no. 191.

Photo: S. Derfler - Y. Govrin, IEJ 43, 1993, 265 fig. 3.

## CLXX. Masada

#### Introduction

A fort was first established at Masada (Mezada, es Sebbe) by the Hasmonaeans at an uncertain date in the 2 c. BC. The literary sources about the role the site played in Herod's time and during the First Jewish Revolt are well known. The excavations carried out from 1963 to 1965 have been fully published. Further excavations took place in 1989 and between 1995 and 2000. The excavations include part of the Roman camps. A monastery was established on the site in the Byzantine Period, perhaps to be identified as Marda, mentioned in literary sources. A church has been excavated.

ΒI

<sup>1</sup> Jos. BJ 4,399; 7,285. This phase has not been attested in the excavations on the site.

<sup>2</sup> See TIR 180 s.v. Masada for the Josephus passages as well as Strabo 16,2,44; Plin. nat. 5,73. Solinus (M. Stern, Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism 2, 1980 no. 449) and Martianus Capella (ibid. no. 536) are derivative. See also: Möller - Schmitt 134f. For the Byzantine period, see TIR 178 s.v. Marda Mons.

<sup>3</sup> Masada: the Yigael Yadin excavations 1963-1965: final reports, 7 vols., 1989-2006. For a good recent summary with up-to-date bibliography: Encyclopaedia Judaica 13, 2nd ed. 2007, 593-9.

<sup>4</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, v. Euthymii 11; Johannnes Moschus, Pratum Spirituale 158.

<sup>5</sup> For the church, see Ovadiah, Corpus 137f. no. 139.

# Inscriptions

#### A. Instrumentum domesticum

## 3902. Greek inscribed bronze ring

Made of bronze, inscription on the oval bezel; the hoop is broken on both sides.

Meas.: bezel: h 1, w 1.2, d 0.15 cm.

Pres. loc.: Hebr. Univ. Inst. Arch., Jerusalem, inv. no. 1011-873.

ΥΓΙΑ ΑΒΥΣ ΟΒ

ύγία | Αβυσ|οβ

Health for Abysob.



fig. 3902

Comm.: The ring dates from Late Antiquity, hence from the time monks lived on Masada. We know of three very similar rings, one from Apollonia (CIIP II 1125), made to protect a certain Babosa; the second one from Gaza(?), made for Amunis (CIIP III 2513); and the third from Hippos, made for Varus (Łajtar=SEG 59, 1711) – all probably belonging to the same workshop. SEG 35, 1532; 41, 1727 (unknown provenance) may belong to this same workshop too. Cotton - Geiger 54 thought that the name Babosa was garbled on the present piece by an illiterate engraver. But different rings from the same workshop, found at different places, surely belonged to people with different names. Furthermore, names closely resembling Abysob are attested in Iudaea serveral times, see nos. 2675 (καὶ | Ἄββοσόβου) and 2676 (τοῦ | θεοφ(ιλεστάτου) πρεσβ(υτέρου) Ἀββοσούββ(ου)), mentioning the same person, 3396 ([κ(αὶ) Ἰω]ἀνιν Αβέσομβον), 3899 (Αβεσοβου); cf. also SEG 51, 2062 (Khallit Ἱsā Şīr): κὲ Αββασοβ; 56, 1939 (Umm er-Rasas): [ἐπὶ τοῦ θε]οφιλεστάτου Αββεσοβεος πρεσβ(υτέρου) – the former inscription also providing a parallel for use of a name of this kind without adopting Greek declension.

Bibl.: H. Cotton - J. Geiger, IEJ 45, 1995, 52f. (ed. pr.). – SEG 45, 1957; BE 1996, 101. – Cf. A. Łajtar, in: A. Segal et al. eds., Hippos - Sussita. Tenth Season of Excavations, 2009, 91f.; id., Greek Inscriptions 273f. no. 24.

Photo: H. Cotton - J. Geiger, IEJ 45, 1995, 52 fig. 1.

#### B. Varia

#### 3903. Greek dipinto on a bone

Two lines in black ink on the concave side of a goat's tibia. Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1991-3607, exc. reg. no. 282-1090.

(sign) TEMYE (sign) IY ПЕҮКНМЕ or ATEMYEAN ПЕҮННМЕ

Comm.: For inscriptions on bones see no. 3730. The inscription is complete and written on a bone that was broken while the bone was



fig. 3903

young – also known as a "greenstick fracture" (I. Carmi, personal comm.). No clear reading or interpretation of this inscription can be offered.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: Courtesy of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

AE/HMC

## 3904. Greek graffiti of Gaius and Asclas

Findspot: "On the plaster of the fallen corner pillar in the peristyle building" (Avi-Yonah et al. 1957, 60), i.e. the southwestern pillar of the inner colonnade of the peristyle on the lower terrace of Herod's Northern Palace (cf. ibid. 37 fig. 13, the position marked with an x).

TA10(

ΓΑΙΟΣ ΑΣΚΛΑΣ

Γάιος | Άσκλᾶς

A(KNA( 2315 cm

Gaius. Asclas. fig. 3904

Comm.: Written by the same hand, but rather two names than one.

Bibl.: M. Avi-Yonah - N. Avigad - I. Aharoni - S. Gutman - E. Dunayevski, BIES 21, 1956/7, 55, 71 no. 3 fig. 22 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – Iid., IEJ 7, 1957, 45, 60 no. 3; SEG 16, 852.

Photo: M. Avi-Yonah - N. Avigad - I. Aharoni - S. Gutman - E. Dunayevski, IEJ 7, 1957, 60 fig. 22.

WA

#### 3905. Greek dipinto, possibly medieval

Painted in red. "On the left is a rude bit of ornamentation which I take to represent a branch with two pomegranates and some leaves" (Conder 1875).

Findspot: Hermit's cave, ca. 135 m southeast of the Byzantine chapel; outer and inner chamber, the inscription on the back wall of the outer chamber. This interpretation was taken over by Schulten, whereas Schneider took the place as a cistern.

(cross) ΚΥΡΙΩΚΟΣ (cross)

"Of the Lord" (Conder 1885).

Comm.: A date cannot be established; perhaps medieval. – KYPI $\Omega$ K $\Omega$  $\Sigma$  Schneider; Conder, Kitchener and others saw the name Cyriacus. Cf. Gignac I 288: "The change of  $\alpha$  to  $\sigma$  is found elsewhere in Greek, especially in connection with liquids. But nowhere outside Egypt is there a frequent interchange of  $\sigma$  and  $\sigma$ ."

Bibl.: C. Conder, PEQ 7, 1875, 137 (ed. pr.). – Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea 421; C. Conder, PEQ 17, 1885, 16 no. 28; A. Schneider, OC 28, 1931, 252; A. Schulten, ZDPV 56, 1933, 47; SEG 8, 333; B. Bagatti, SBF 7, 1956/7, 68f.; Y. Hirschfeld, BAIAS 19-20, 2001/2, 140f.

WA

# 3906.-3971. Mason's marks on column drums from Herod's northern palace

66 column drums with mason's marks were found, combinations of letters with vertical and diagonal strokes indicating numbers, incised and used by the stone-masons constructing Herod's northern palace to keep track of which drums belonged to which columns. The freestanding columns were apparently made for the middle and upper terraces of the palace (including the bath complex), since the lower terrace was built with engaged columns. However, none of the drums were found in situ. For mason's marks in general see introduction to nos. 3404-3425.

#### 3906. Mason's mark with letter alef and 5 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 19.5 cm (ed. pr.). Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-1043-1.

IIIII &

Translit.: '5

Alef 5. fig. 3906

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 1 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 83 fig. 104.

JJP

## 3907. Mason's mark with letter alef and 7(?) strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 22.5, ø 53.5 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-1058-4.

#### % IIIIII(€)

Translit.: ' 7(?)

Alef 7(?).

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 2 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 83 fig. 105.



fig. 3907

JJP

## 3908. Mason's mark with letter bet and 3(?) strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 8.8, ø 43.5 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 85-139-1.

## ⊏ III(?)

Translit.: b 3(?)

Bet 3(?).

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 3 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 83 fig. 106.



fig. 3908

#### 3909. Mason's mark with letter bet and 4 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 24.6, ø 46 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 85-139-28; IAA inv. no. 1993-486.

#### IIII ⊐

Translit.: b 4

Bet 4.

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 4 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 83 fig. 107.



fig. 3909

IJР

#### 3910. Mason's mark with letter bet and 5 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 49, ø 45.1 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 85-139-17.

#### IIIII =

Translit.: b 5

Bet 5.

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 5 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 83 fig. 108.



fig. 3910

JJP

#### 3911. Mason's mark with letter gimel and 6 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 26.5, ø 44 cm

(ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-139-149.

## k IIIIII

Translit.: g 6

Gimel 6.



fig. 3911

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 6 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 84 fig. 109a.

JJP

## 3912. Mason's mark with letter gimel and 8(?) strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 20, ø 44.5 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-139-3.

#### 

Translit.: g 8(?)

Gimel 8(?).

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 7 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 84 fig. 110.



fig. 3912

JJP

# 3913. Mason's mark with letter dalet and 2 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: No details available (ed. pr.).

II٦

Translit.: d 2

Dalet 2.

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 8 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 84 fig. 111.



fig. 3913

## 3914. Mason's mark with letter dalet and 6 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 23, ø 45.5 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-UN-4.

# T IIIIII

Translit.: d 6

Dalet 6.



fig. 3914

O

JJP

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 9 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 84 fig. 112b.

## 3915. Mason's mark with letter he, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 26.7, ø 53.3 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 85-139-10.

Π

Translit.: h

Не.

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 10 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 85 fig. 113.



fig. 3915

# 3916. Mason's mark with letter he and 3(?) strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 21.5, ø 46 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-139-137.

ה III(?)

Translit.: h 3(?)

He 3(?).



Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 11 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 85 fig. 114b.

fig. 3916

JJP

# 3917. Mason's mark with letter zayin and 3 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: No details available (ed. pr.).

III t

Translit.: z 3

Zayin 3.

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 12 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 85 fig. 115.



fig. 3917

# 3918. Mason's mark with letter zayin and 4 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 18, ø 46 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-UN-3.

## TIII t

Translit.: z 4

Zayin 4.



Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 13 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 85 fig. 116.

fig. 3918

JJP

# 3919. Mason's mark with letter zayin and 5 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: No details available (ed. pr.).

## TIIII t

Translit.: z 5

Zayin 5.



fig. 3919

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 85 fig. 117.

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 14 (ed. pr.).

# 3920. Mason's mark with letter het and 3 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 14.8, ø 46 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 85-139-29.

III π

Translit.: h 3

Het 3.



fig. 3920

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 15 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 86 fig. 118b.

JJP

## 3921. Mason's mark with letter het and 4 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 20, ø 46.5 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 85-139-135.

IIII π

Translit.: h 4

Het 4.



fig. 3921

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 16 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 86 fig. 119.

## 3922. Mason's mark with letter tet and 1 stroke, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 19.5, ø 45 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-UN-5; IAA inv. no. 1993-488.

Iυ

Translit.: ţ 1

Tet 1.

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 17 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 86 fig. 120.



fig. 3922

JJP

#### 3923. Mason's mark with letter tet and 1 stroke, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 46.3, ø 47 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-137-23.

Iυ

Ţet 1.

Translit.: ţ1

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 18 (ed. pr.). – Y. Yadin, Masada, 1967, 68f.

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 86 fig. 121.

JJP

fig. 3924

fig. 3923

#### 3924. Mason's mark with letter tet and 1 stroke, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 22, ø 44 cm (ed. pr.). Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-UN-1.

Iυ



Translit.: ţ 1

#### *Tet 1.*

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 19 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 87 fig. 122b.

JJP

## 3925. Mason's mark with letter tet and 1 stroke, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 30.5, ø 47.4 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 85-106-1.

Iυ

Translit.: ţ 1

*Tet 1.* 

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 20 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 87 fig. 123.

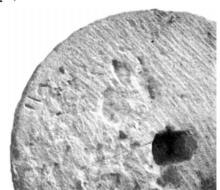


fig. 3925

JJP

#### 3926. Mason's mark with letter tet and 2 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 31, ø 46 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-137-24.

II v

Translit.: ţ 2

Tet 2.

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 21 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 87 fig. 124.



fig. 3926

# 3927. Mason's mark with letter tet and 3 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 32, ø 46 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-137-20.

#### III ช

Translit.: ţ 3

*Tet 3.* 

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 22 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 87 fig. 125.



fig. 3927

JJP

# 3928. Mason's mark with letter tet and 4 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 33, ø 47 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-139-25.

#### UIII ช

Translit.: t 4

Tet 4.



Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 23 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 87 fig. 126.

fig. 3928

## 3929. Mason's mark with letter tet and 6 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 32, ø 45 cm (ed. pr.). Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-137-22.

#### UIIIII ช

Translit.: ţ 6

Tet 6.

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 24 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 87 fig. 127.



fig. 3929

JJP

## 3930. Mason's mark with letter yod(?), 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: ø 40.5 cm (ed. pr.). Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 85-139-43.

۲(?)

Translit.: y(?)

Yod(?).

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 25 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 88 fig. 128.



fig. 3930

JJP

# 3931. Mason's mark with letter yod, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 24, ø 42 cm (ed. pr.). Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-139-6.

,

Translit.: y

Yod.

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 26 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 88 fig. 129.



fig. 3931

## 3932. Mason's mark with letter yod and 2 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 22.5, ø 46 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-139-5.

IJ۶

Translit.: y 2

*Yod 2.* 

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 27 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 88 fig. 130.



fig. 3932

JJP

# 3933. Mason's mark with letter yod and 5 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 24.5, ø 43.8 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-139-8.

IIIII,

Translit.: y 5

*Yod 5*.



fig. 3933

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 28 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 88 fig. 131.

## 3934. Mason's mark with letter kaf and 3 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: No details available (ed. pr.).

III >

Translit.: k 3

*Kaf 3.* 

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 29 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 88 fig. 132a.



fig. 3934

JJP

## 3935. Mason's mark with letter kaf and 4 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: No details available (ed. pr.).

IIII ⊃

Translit.: k 4

Kaf 4.

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 30 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 89 fig. 133.



fig. 3935

JJP

# 3936. Mason's mark with letter kaf and 5 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 23, ø 47 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 85-137-49.

IIIII ⊃

Translit.: k 5

Kaf 5.

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 31 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 89 fig. 134.



fig. 3936

## 3937. Mason's mark with letter kaf and 8(?) strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 26.5, ø 46 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-1263-1.

## □ IIIIIIII(?)

Translit.: k 8(?)

*Kaf* 8(?).

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 32 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 89 fig. 135.



fig. 3937

JJP

# 3938. Mason's mark with letter kaf followed by 4(?) or 9(?) strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 20, ø 46.5 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-1263-2.

## (?)IIIIIIII *or* (?)IIII ⊃

Translit.: k 4(?) or 9(?)

Kaf 4(?) or 9(?).





fig. 3938

## 3939. Mason's mark with letter lamed and 3 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 37.5, ø 46 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 85-139-45.

לווו

Translit.: 13

Lamed 3.

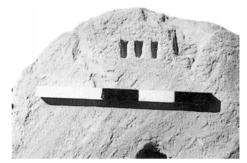


fig. 3939

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 34 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 89 fig. 137.

JJP

## 3940. Mason's mark with letter lamed and 4 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 25, ø 46 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 85-139-150.

ל IIII

Translit.: 14

Lamed 4.



fig. 3940

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 35 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 89 fig. 138.

#### 3941. Mason's mark with letter lamed and 5 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 25, ø 46 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-137-17.

#### לוווו

Translit.: 15

Lamed 5.



fig. 3941

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 36 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 90 fig. 139b.

JJP

# 3942. Mason's mark with letter lamed and 8 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 22, ø 43.5 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-MU-3; IAA inv. no. 1993-490.

#### 

Translit.: 18

Lamed 8.



fig. 3942

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 37 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 90 fig. 140.

# 3943. Mason's mark with letter mem(?), 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 37, ø 46 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 85-139-19.

(?)

Translit.: m(?)

Mem(?).

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 38 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 90 fig. 141b.



fig. 3943

JJP

# 3944. Mason's mark with letter mem and 1 stroke, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 20.5, ø 47 cm

(ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-UN-6.

מ I

Translit.: m 1

Mem 1.



fig. 3944

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 39 (ed. pr.). – G. Hurvitz, The Story of Masada: Catalogue, 1994, 14; Millard, Pergament und Papyrus 120 fig. 26, 122.

Photo: IAA.

### 3945. Mason's mark with letter mem and 4 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 37, ø 47 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-137-26.

#### מ IIII

Translit.: m 4

Mem 4.



fig. 3945

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 40 (ed. pr.). – Y. Yadin, Masada, 1967, 68f.; Millard, Pergament und Papyrus, 120 fig. 26, 122.

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 91 fig. 143.

JJP

#### 3946. Mason's mark with letter nun and 3 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 17.5, ø ca. 48 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-139-52.

#### t III

Translit.: n 3

Nun 3.



fig. 3946

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 91 fig. 144.

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 41 (ed. pr.).

#### 3947. Mason's mark with letter samekh and 2 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 22, ø ca. 42 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-UN-2.

ס II

Translit.: s 2

Samekh 2



fig. 3947

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 42 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 91 fig. 145a.

JJP

#### 3948. Mason's mark with letter samekh and 3 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 24, ø 42.8 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 85-139-11.

ם III

Translit: s 3

Samekh 3.



fig. 3948

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 43 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 91 fig. 146a.

#### 1484 CLXX. Masada

# 3949. Mason's mark with letter samekh and 4 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 20.5, ø 46 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 85-139-47.

#### ס IIII

Translit.: s 4

Samekh 4



fig. 3949

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 44 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 92 fig. 147a.

JJP

## 3950. Mason's mark with letter ayin(?) and 4 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 18.8, ø 47 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 85-139-24.

ע(?) עווו

Translit.: '(?) 4

Ayin(?) 4.



fig. 3950

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 45 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 92 fig. 148.

# 3951. Mason's mark with letter ayin(?) and 3 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: No details available (ed. pr.).

ע(?) אוו

Translit.: '(?) 3

Ayin(?) 3.



fig. 3951

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 46 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 92 fig. 149.

JJP

# 3952. Mason's mark with letter ayin(?) and 8 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 18, ø 42.5 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-461-1.

ע(?) וווווווו

Translit.: '(?) 8

Ayin(?) 8.

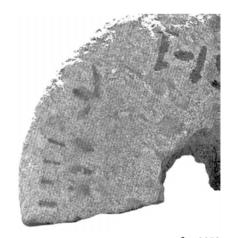


fig. 3952

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 47 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 92 fig. 150.

## 3953. Mason's mark with letter pe and 4 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 12.5, ø 44.5 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-MU-2.

## و IIII

Translit.: p 4

Pe 4.



fig. 3953

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 48 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 93 fig. 151a.

IJР

# 3954. Mason's mark with letter tsadi and 5 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 17, ø 46.5 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-137-19.

#### צ IIIII

Translit.: § 5

Tsadi 5.



fig. 3954

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 49 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 93 fig. 152.

# 3955. Mason's mark with letter tsadi and 6 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 24.5, ø 46 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-137-18.

# צ IIIIII

Translit.: § 6

Tsadi 6.



fig. 3955

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 50 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 93 fig. 153.

JJP

# 3956. Mason's mark with letter qof, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column base: ø 53.5 cm (ed. pr.). Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 85-139-73.

7

Translit.: q

Qof.



fig. 3956

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 51 (ed. pr.). - Y. Yadin, Masada, 1967, 68f.

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 93 fig. 154a.

# 3957. Mason's mark with letter qof(?) and 2 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: No details available (ed. pr.).

ק(?) וו

Translit.: q(?) 2

*Qof*(?) 2.



fig. 3957

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 52 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 94 fig. 155b.

JJP

# 3958. Mason's mark with letter resh and 1(?) stroke, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: No details available (ed. pr.).

(?)I ¬

Translit.: r 1(?)

Resh 1(?).



fig. 3958

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 53 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 94 fig. 156a.

## 3959. Mason's mark with letter resh and 8 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: ø 46 cm, h 32 (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 85-139-40.

# ר IIIIIIII ר

Translit.: r 8

Resh 8



fig. 3959

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 54 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 94 fig. 157a.

JJP

#### 3960. Mason's mark with letter shin, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: Ionic capital: ø 44 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: Synagogue.

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 85-139-136.

ש

Translit.: š

Shin.



fig. 3960

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 55 (ed. pr.). - E. Eshel, in: Herodium I 464.

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 95 fig. 158.

#### 3961. Mason's mark with letter shin and 7 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 27, ø 46 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-137-21.

# ש IIIIIII ש

Translit.: § 7

Shin 7



fig. 3961

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 56 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 95 fig. 159.

JJP

# 3962. Mason's mark with letter tav and 4 strokes, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 27, ø 45.2 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-139-32.

#### IIII n

Translit.: t 4

Tav 4.



fig. 3962

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 57 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 95 fig. 160a.

#### 3963. Mason's mark with remains of 3 vertical bars, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 24.5, ø 43.8 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 85-139-14.

Comm.: Badly eroded; remains of 3 vertical bars denoting numerals (ed. pr.).

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 63 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 97 fig. 166 (dr.).

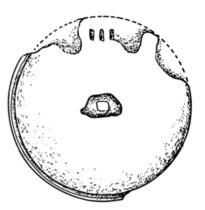


fig. 3963

JJP

#### 3964. Mason's mark with remains of 4 vertical bars, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 20, ø 52 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-221-10.



Comm.: 4 vertical bars denoting numerals (ed. pr.).

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 65 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 97 fig. 168.

fig. 3964

#### 3965. Mason's mark with remains of 5 vertical bars, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 31, ø 45 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-1113-7.



Comm.: 5 vertical bars denoting numerals (ed. pr.).

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 66 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 97 fig. 169.

fig. 3965

JJP

#### 3966. Mason's mark with remains of 7 vertical bars, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: No details available.



fig. 3966

Comm.: 7 vertical bars with a letter(?) to the right-hand side of them. This column drum is not included in Foerster's table on pp. 81f. but only represented by the photograph on p. 95 fig. 160c with the caption "column drum with mason mark: 7 (?)."

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 95 (ed. pr.).

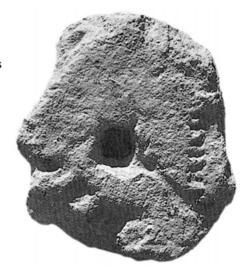
Photo: Foerster, Masada V 95 fig. 160c.

### 3967. Mason's mark with remains of 7 or 8 vertical bars, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 8, ø 45 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 85-139-66.

Comm.: Remains of 7 or 8 vertical bars denoting numerals (ed. pr.).



Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 61 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 96 fig. 164b.

fig. 3967

JJP

### 3968. Mason's mark with remains of some vertical bars, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 26.5, ø 44 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 86-139-148.

Comm.: Badly eroded; remains of some vertical bars denoting numerals (ed. pr.).

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 62 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 96 fig. 165.



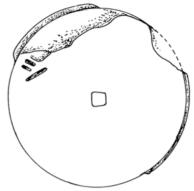
fig. 3968

#### 3969. Mason's mark with remains of vertical bars, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 35.5, ø 46.3 cm (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 85-139-16.

Comm.: Remains of vertical bars denoting numerals (ed. pr.).



Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 64 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 97 fig. 167 (dr.).

fig. 3969

JJP

### 3970. Mason's mark with Greek letter beta, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: No details available (ed. pr.).

В

Beta.

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 59 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 96 fig. 162.



fig. 3970

JJP

### 3971. Mason's mark with Latin(?) number, 1 c. BCE

Meas.: column drum: h 11.3, ø ca. 49 cm (broken) (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Exc. area, reg. no. 8-205.

XIII(?)

13(?).

Bibl.: Foerster, Masada V 80ff. no. 60 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Foerster, Masada V 96 fig. 163 (dr.).

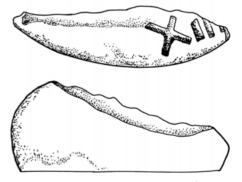


fig. 3971

### CLXXI. Yarma

### 3972. Fragment of an imperial rescript, 6 c. AD

Stone of undefined character, broken on all sides. Seven lines of text are partly preserved on the fragment. There may have preceded several lines just as some others may have followed. The photograph published in 1913, on which this edition is based, shows a Latin alphabet very different from the traditional epigraphic capital script. This semi-uncial alphabet, which is exceptional for inscriptions on stone, resembles a type used on lead seals of the 6 and 7 c. with Latin captions. The upper "curl" of F (ll.5 and 7) as well as the ligatures LI (l.4) and SU (l.5) suggest the existence of a manuscript written in a late Latin cursive script as a template. The rare orthographic mistakes (l.6 read *spectabilis*, l.7 *officiis*) could have already been made by the writer of this manuscript. Although his writing lacks regularity, the stonecutter managed to transcribe his template nearly without mistake (except l.4 *sactilegis* instead of *sacrilegis*); his knowledge of Latin cursive script could argue for a servant of the provincial administration.

Findspot: "Trouvée en Judée par M. Chapira ... M. Chapira l'a achetée à un Arabe prétendant l'avoir découverte à Yarma, où elle appartenait à une tombe contenant le squelette d'un homme de taille démesurée" (Martin). Yarma could not be properly located.

[--]+++\a[--]

[--] YIIYFQ4OrdEЫZ4[--]

[--]OCOTYMUNTIYZIZIY9Y[--]

[--] $lam{4}{7}$  $lam{4}{7}$  $lam{4}{7}$  $lam{4}{7}$  $lam{4}$  $lam{4}{7}$  $lam{4}$  $ram{4}$  
[--]YYAEFINITIYYYBYEŅ[--]

[--]INIYTAMYITYPECTAYILIY[--]

[--]nciballinolelicilople[--]

[--]

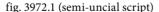




fig. 3972.2

[--]+++a[--| Sacrosanctis orthodoxae fidei eccle]siis favor debitu[s oblatus est. | Itaque -- providentia tam l]ocorum antistitis qu[am primatum | civitatis, qui ad illas confugiunt n]ullius sac'r'ilegis mani[bus abstra|hantur --]us definitis subven[--| Quam divinam sanctionem nostri num]inis tam vir spectavilis [dux(?)

quam | vir spectavilis proconsul(?) cum oboedie]ntibus sibi officis obse[rvare | festinent. --]

... To the sacrosanct churches of the orthodox faith the favor has been granted that is due to them. This is why ... under the supervision of the local bishop on the one hand and the town authorities on the other hand, that those who take refuge there may not be hauled off from there by the sacrilegious hands of anyone ... This divine sanction of our numen to observe shall hurry both the spectabilis dux(?) and the spectabilis proconsul(?) with the bureaus under their control ...

Comm.: 1.2 [--]n(?)is favor debitu[s --]; 1.4 [-- vu]lgus sactilegis mani[bus --]; 1.5 [--]us definitis subuen[it --]; 1.6 [--]in istam uir specta(v)ilis; 1.7 [--]ntibus sibi officis ob re[m --] Martin.

The first editor, whose merit it is to have deciphered an uncommon Latin alphabet (see above), has made the mistake of dating back the style of the script to the 4 c. and of putting it in a pagan context (cf. comm. l.3). In fact, this is an imperial rescript of the 6 c. in favor of a church or, more generally, churches in Palestine. The vocabulary and phraseology of the inscription are comparable to the Latin laws of Justinian conveyed by the manuscripts as well as to imperial rescripts of the same era known through inscriptions that are usually in Greek. The present rescript is particularly short since the few partially preserved lines correspond to the preamble (l.2), the provision (ll.3-5) and the beginning of the epilogue (l.6f.). Being incomplete at the beginning and the end, the text probably included some formulaic opening (maybe the name and titles of the emperor as in the first lines of the rescript IK 14, 1353 [Ephesos]) and at the end a phrase stating the penalty against delinquents. In view of the extent of lacunas in the inscription, the supplements given above are in part conjectural, of course.

1.2: The expression favor debitus is part of a phrase recurring at the beginning of rescripts making concessions to churches. This kind of incipit is attested for Jerusalem (CIIP I 785, 1.5f.): [Ταῖς] ἀγιωτ(άταις) ἐκλ(ησίαις) [τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίσ]τεως σπουδὴ ἡ [κε|χρε]ωστημέ(νη) [προσενήνεκται]; the region of Tyre (SEG 8, 18, l.1f., corrected reading): Ταῖς προσκυνηταῖς | [τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως] ἐκκλησίαις ἡ κ[εχρ]εωστημένη τιμὴ προσενήνεκται); and for Ephesos (IK 14, 1353, l.5f., corrected reading): [Ταῖς ἀγιωτάταις ἐκκλ]ησίαις τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως τὴν | [κεχρεωστημένην πρ]οσήκει τιμὴν προσάγεσθαι. In view of these parallels the initial phrase of the present rescript can be reconstructed thus: [Sacrosanctis (or venerabilibus) orthodoxae fidei eccle]siis favor debitu[s oblatus est].

l.3: The word *antistes* does not indicate a pagan priest in the present case, as supposed by J. Martin, but a Christian bishop. The expression *locorum antistes* is attested in the law CJ 5,70,7, §5 (AD 530): *tam viro religiosissimo locorum antistite quam tribus primatibus*. The bishop is also associated with local notables in the constitution Pro petitione Vigilii, Nov. App. VII, 18 (AD 554): *pro arbitrio tam locorum antistitis quam primatum uniuscuiusque regionis* (cf. also MAMA 3,

197). Likewise, in the present inscription the bishop is associated with a second authority, probably at municipal level, since provincial authorities happen to be mentioned further down in the epilogue (cf. comm. ll.6-8). Therefore, following the model of the laws cited above [tam l]ocorum antistitis qu[am primatum civitatis] is reconstructed here. It is more difficult to say in which role the bishop and the local elites are mentioned in the present inscription: as those who have by petition asked for the imperial rescript – [pro petitione tam l]ocorum antistitis ...? – or as those whom the emperor holds responsible in the first place for protecting the rights of the church – [providentia tam l]ocorum antistitis ...?

l.4: The phrase *nullius sacrilegis manibus* is also attested by a law of Justinian that puts refugees under the protection of the boundaries of *asylia* (Nov. 37,10): *confugas etiam, qui ad venerabiles ecclesias et earum fines convolare festinant et suae saluti prospicere, nulli penitus licere sacrilegis manibus ab his abstrahere.* Besides the regulations on refugees, the same law forbids to seize donations made to the church (Nov. 37,11): *nullius iniquis manibus abstrahendum*. As the three rescripts cited above (cf. comm. l.2), the present inscription too is likely to refer to ecclesiastical *asylia*. However, in contrast to these the present rescript seems not to indicate explicitly the name of the church benefited nor would it mention the boundaries of *asylia*. The wording is kept very general as in l.3 where the mention of the "local bishop" also does not make any reference to a specific city.

l.5: The interpretation of this line is problematic. The only complete word, *definitis*, refers to a term difficult to restore. Is it about determining the boundaries of *asylia* – [finib]us definitis? – or is it about excluding certain categories of criminals from the right of *asylia* as the law wants it (esp. Nov. 37,10) or about penalising those who act against the rescript – [poenis legib]us definitis? The following word, which is damaged, does not resolve the problem. One probably has to read *subven*but alternative readings like *subver*-, *salver*- are not excluded. Hence, the reconstruction of ll.3-5, representing the provision of the rescript, has to be left incomplete.

ll.6-8: These lines are part of the epilogue of the rescript whose implementation, as usual, falls to the provincial authorities. The structure of the phrase can, mutatis mutandis, be restored on the basis of the bilingual rescript CIL 3, 13640 (Ali-Faradin, Pisidia; AD 527), which is better preserved in the Greek part than in the Latin original: "Οντινα τ[ύ]πον τῆς ἡμετέρας θειότητος ὁ λαμπρότατος ἄρχων τῆς ἐπαρχίας μετὰ τῆς εἰδίας τάξεω[ς] ἄπασιν τρόποις παραφυλάττεσθαι φροντιεῖ. The restoration [cum oboedie]ntibus sibi officis is especially reinforced by Nov. 8,1 and 134,1 (Authenticum): oboediens eis officium. For the expression observare festinet, compare Nov. 34, ep. and 36,6. The mention of officia in plural means that the bureaus of at least two officials are implied here. The first of these holds the rank of spectabilis and therefore is neither a praeses nor a consularis whose rank would have been only vir clarissimus; in Palestine a vir spectabilis could either be the dux, the military commander of the three provinces, or the proconsul, the civil governor of the province of Palaestina I since 536 (Nov. 103). Different restorations are thus

conceivable: if the first office holder was the *spectabilis dux*, which is not excluded since the protection of churches is involved, he could have been followed by a governor in the rank of *clarissimus* before 536 or, from 536 onwards, by the *spectabilis proconsul* – provided that the inscription really comes from Palaestina I. Taking into account the general wording of the rescript (cf. comm. l.4), it is equally possible that it is aimed at the different civil governors, in which case the first office holder could be not the *dux* but the *proconsul* of Palaestina I followed by his colleagues of Palaestina II and III: *tam vir spectavilis [proconsul quam clarissimi rectores (?)]*.

Bibl.: J. Martin, REJ 1913, 54-9 (ed. pr.). - AE 1914, 200; Eck, Rom und Judaea 197.

Photo: J. Martin, REJ 2, 1913, 54.

DF

### CLXXII. Dead Sea Caves

### 3973. Amulet inscribed in Hebrew and Aramaic, 5-7 c. CE

A small silver plate on which 24 lines were incised with a sharp instrument. Most of the lines are almost intact.

Meas.: h 4.5, w 3.3 cm.

Findspot: Dead Sea caves, exact findspot unknown.

Pres. loc.: Hecht Museum, Haifa, inv. no. H-011.



fig. 3973.1

[מ]ימינך הרבה מאד משמאולך עוזיאָ[ל]
[מ]לפניך סוסיאל ומאחריך מנוחת[אל]
[ו]מלמעלה מאלה שכינת אל הצילה א[ת]
[קוזמ]ה בן סלמינו מפגע מרגע מנגע
[ויאמ]ר יייי אל השטן יגער יייי בך השָׁ[טַן]
[ויאַתְייי בך הבוחר בירושלים אמ[ן]
[מ]לך יונון נימוס וכל מסוסין ברא[--]

ישמעאל רבא גיברא ודחילא מאמ+[--] ולידפת ולוזפת ומרהפתיס אברסקוס [ר]וחא רובא רביא יה יה אתאסי [קוזמה] 10 [ב]ר סלמינו מכל מכאובא מן יומה [דן] [וע]ד לעלם אמז אמז סלה אנה כתבת יי[יי] [--]++ד ++ דראל עזריאל גרגורי [בת]רע רקיעה דהוא מ+++לה מידה בכל יום[---ישלח באסיותיה דקוזמה בר סלמינו [--] 15 ומעין לוחשה ומעין ברוקה מעין לוחשה (ומעין) vacat שיחה מעין ביתה ומעין ברא ומעין ה[--] באסיותיה מן קדם מרי שמיה אמן אמן ס[לה] [--]ת אחד ועלוה אחד הרי שנים אמן אמן ס[לה] [ברוד] המכה והמרפא לרוח גרמיה קמיע [טב] 20 משבענה עליך רוח גרמיה דהיא מהלכ[ה] -בגידוהי ובגרמוהי דקוזמה בר סלמינו[--] [--]++ עליך בחי האל אלהי ישראל למן קדמין ב-]+++[--] אות מלך מל[כי ה]מלכים



fig. 3973.2

Translit.: [m]ymynk hrbh m'd mśm'wlk 'wzy'[l]
[m]lpnyk swsy'l wm'ḥryk mnwḥt['l]
[w]mlm'lh m'lh škynt 'l hṣylh '[t]
[qwzm]h bn slmynw mpg' mrg' mng'

- 5 [wy'm]r yyyy 'l hšṭn yg'r yyyy bk hś[ṭn] wyg'r yyyy bk hbwḥr byrwšlym 'm[n] [m]lk ywnwn nymws wkl mswsyn br'[--] yšm''l rb' gybr' wdḥyl' m'm+[--] wlydpt wlwzpt wmrhptys 'brsqws
- 10 [r]wh' rwb' rby' yh yh 't'sy [qwzmh]
   [b]r slmynw mkl mk'wb' mn ywmh [dn]
   [w']d l'lm 'mn 'mn slh 'nh ktbt yy[yy]
   [y]'sy bšm stry'l 'zry'l grgwry ++ d++[--]
   [bt]r' rqy'h dhw' m+++lh mydh bkl ywm[--?]
- 15 yšlḥ b'sywtyh dqwzmh br slmynw [--]
  vacat zmwrh wm'yn brwqh m'yn lwḥšh [wm'yn]
  šyhh m'yn byth wm'yn br' wm'yn h[--]
  b'sywtyh mn qdm mry šmyh 'mn 'mn s[lh]
  [--]t 'ḥd w'lwh 'ḥd hry šnym 'mn 'mn s[lh]
- 20 [brwk] hmkh whmrp' lrwḥ grmyh qmy' [tb] mšb'nh 'lyk rwḥ grmyh dhy' mhlk[h] bgydwhy wbgrmwhy dqwzmh br slmynw[--] 'lyk bḥy h'1 'lhy yšr'l lmn qdmyn ++[--] [--]+++[-- sb]'wt mlk ml[ky h]mlkym

On your right are very many, on your left is Uzziel, in front of you is Susiel, behind you is Menuhatel (?). And above these is God's Divine Presence. Save Quzma son of Salminu from affliction, from (bad) fate (?), from plague.

- 5 And YYYY said unto Satan: May YYYY rebuke you Satan and may YYYY who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you (Zach 3,2) King ywnwn nymws and all mswsyn ... Ishmael the great, mighty and terrifying ... wlydpt wlwzpt wmrhptys 'brsqws
- 10 Ruḥa, Ruba, Rabia, Yah, Yah. Be healed Quzma, son of Salminu, from all pain from this day and to eternity. Amen, Amen, Selah. I have written, YYYY will heal. In the name of Satriel, Azriel, ... in the gate of(?) heaven, wh... from his hand(?) every day(?) ...
- 15 will send forth the healing of Quzma son of Salminu ... from the eye of cataract (?), and from the eye of a spell, and from the eye of a talk, from the eye of the house, and from the eye of the open space (?), and from the eye of ...

in his cure on behalf of the Lord of heaven. Amen, Amen, Selah.
... one and on top of that one, then there are two. Amen, Amen, Selah.
20 Blessed be He who afflicts and heals the spirit of the bones. A good amulet. I adjure you, the spirit of the bones, that walks within the tendons and the bones of Quzma son of Salminu.
(I adjure) you by the God who lives, God of Israel, from the beginning ... of Hosts, king of the kings of the kings.

Comm.: This is an amulet written in Hebrew letters, the language is partly Hebrew and partly Aramaic. There is no information about its provenance. The plate was rolled from top to bottom and placed in a container which has been preserved. Its purpose was the healing of the client whose name appears as *Qwzmh* son of *Slmynw* (Il.4, 15, 22).

ll.1-3: According to the editors (p. 42), "the first phrase is reminiscent of Geniza 5, p. 2, lines 9-10 [see ibid. 226] and that of the prayer 'Qeri'at shema' on the bed' ... This formula found its way into Christian Syriac ... and Muslim Arabic ... sources."

The reading *mnwhh* at the end of l.2 in the ed. pr. was corrected to *mnwht* and the component '*l* restored at the missing left part.

- l.4: According to the editors (p. 42), the name "Quzma Cosmas is well known among the Syriac Christians," whereas "the name of the client's mother *slmynw* is unknown." It may be one of the various names derived from the Semitic root *šlm*.
- ll.5-6: According to the editors (p. 42), "This verse from Zach. 3:2-3 is common in magic bowls and occurs in 'Qeri'at shema' on the bed'."
- ll.7-10: Altogether 14 words appear in frames in these lines, most of them are names of angels.
- ll.10-12: The request for the healing of the client, first appearing in ll.3-4, is here repeated with some variations.
- ll.12-13: 'nh ktbt YYYY y'sy ("I wrote [and] YYYY will heal"). The editors (p. 44) cite parallels to this formula from magic bowls published by C. Isbell, Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls, 1975, 1,14-15, 69,8. In l.13 angels are adjured but at the end of the line the reading is unclear.
- l.14: The reconstruction of the phrase [bt]r' rqy'h ("in the gate of heaven") at the beginning of the line seems plausible. Unfortunately the reading and translation offered by the editors for the following text (without any commentary) is not convincing. The reading and translation offered here are conjectural.
- l.16-17: As noted by the editors (p. 45), the word '*yn* which is repeated in these lines may refer to "various forms of evil eyes" of which the client should be protected.
- 1.20: The restoration of the phrase [brwk] hmkh whmrp' offered by the editors (pp. 40, 45) is based on the occurrence of a similar phrase in incantation bowls.
- ll.20-21: *rwh grmyh* ("the spirit of his bones"). According to the editors (p. 45), this "is the actual sickness."

ll.21-22. *dhy*' *mhlkh bgydwhy wbgrmwhy* ("that walks within his tendons and his bones"). The third person plural suffix is spelled with the historical *he* (cf. *wgy-dwy wgrmwy* in a fragment from the Geniza cited by the editors, p. 45).

In ll.21-24 the "spirit of the bones" is adjured in the name of the God of Israel "who lives." As noted by the editors (p. 45), the phrase *hy h'l 'lhy Ysr'l* ("alive is God, the God of Israel") is used as an oath formula, similarly to Dan 12,7 *wyšb' bhy h'wlm* (cf. also 1 Kgs 17,1).

Bibl.: J. Naveh - S. Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, 1985, 41-5 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Courtesy of Hecht Museum, Haifa; J. Naveh - S. Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, 1987 fig. 1 (dr.).

AY

## CLXXIII. Items of unknown provenance

### 3974. Column fragment with Aramaic dedication of Severus, 4-6 c. CE(?)

Fragment of marble column, one side bearing the top part of an inscription framed by a circle; two lines and part of a third are preserved.

Meas.: column: h 8.5, ø once ca. 12.5 cm (6.8 cm extant); letters 0.6-1.2 cm.

Findspot: This fragment was acquired by the then-Department of Antiquities from a Hebron antiquities dealer in 1968, and is presumed to have come from near Hebron. "The dealer remembered only that he had purchased the object from a local peasant ... At that time extensive illicit digging was going on in this area, including the sites of the ancient synagogues of Eshtemoa (es-Samu') and Khirbet Sûsiya. One cannot rule out the possibility that this object came from one of these sites" (ed. pr., nn.1-2).

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1968-1188.

דכיר לטב סברס בר ++++ בר [--]



fig. 3974.1

Translit.: dkyr ltb | sbrs br ++++ | br [--]

Be remembered for the good Severus son of ..., son of ...

Comm.: The content of the inscription makes a synagogue its probable context. About three or four more lines could fit into the frame. The donor's name is the common Latin name Severus, which was used by Jews outside Iudaea/Palaestina, in the West (e.g., in Rome: Noy, JIWE II 332,

プログラファ ファーファース

fig. 3974.2

411; and further, Ilan, Lexicon III 546f.); it appears once in Greek in the synagogue inscription at Ḥammat Tiberias (Roth-Gerson, Greek Inscriptions 72 no. 18); a cer-

tain  $\Sigma \alpha \beta \acute{e} \rho i \varsigma$ =Severius is found at Beth Sheʿarim (Schwabe - Lifshitz, Beth Sheʿarim II, no. 188). The father's name cannot be read, although Barag in ed. pr. proposed Yonatan (*ywntn*).

Bibl.: D. Barag, IEJ 22, 1972, 147ff. (ed. pr.). – Syria/BES 1973, 150; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 174f.; MPAT 264f., 293 no. A31; Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 112 no. 72 (Hebr.); Chiat, Handbook 236f.; Beyer, Aramäische Texte 366 no. yyHE 1; DGI 668f.; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 408; Milson, Art and Architecture 317.

Photo: IAA; Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 112 fig. 72,2 (dr.).

IIP/AY

### 3975. Fragmentary Greek inscription, belonging to a church

Marble; part of a chancel screen or an altar.

Meas.: h 13.5, w 23 cm; letters 2.5 cm.

Findspot: "Trouvé dans la région d'Hebron (?)" Milik.

Pres. loc.: Bought by Milik (according to him), present whereabouts unknown.

### [--]ΟΥΑΓΙΟΥΟΥΑΡΟΥ[--]

[-- τ]οῦ ἁγίου Οὐάρου [--]

... of the holy Varus ...

Comm.: There is no indication as to whether or not the right margin of the text has been preserved. Milik refers to the fact that the



fig. 3975

Georgian calendar edited by Garitte knew many feasts in honor of St. Varus, who seems to have been popular around Jerusalem (he was an Egyptian, who died as a martyr at Mt. Thabor, Bagatti; Acta Sanctorum VIII, October 19th). The inscription was erroneously associated by Ovadiah with the remains of a church found at Kh. Suweike, near Ramallah, which Milik discussed in a different context but, as it happened, in the very paragraph preceeding the one in which the inscription is mentioned. This mistaken attribution was adopted by Magen - Kagan and Madden.

Bibl.: J. Milik, RB 67, 1960, 579 n.2 (ed. pr.). – Ovadiah, Corpus 126 no. 127. – Cf. Garitte, Caléndrier; B. Bagatti, TS 35, 1959, 229ff.; Y. Magen - E. Kagan, in: Christians and Christianity I 264; Madden, Corpus 129 no. 187.

Photo: J. Milik, RB 67, 1960 pl. 32c.

### 3976. Greek funerary inscription of Stephania

White marble with green veins; the back was not smoothed. Meas: h 61.5, w 44.5, d 5.5-6 cm; letters 3.5-3.8 cm.

Findspot: Note on the Museum card: "Beersheba (?). Bought from Rivlin Bros. Hebron."

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. S-971. Autopsy: 14 March 2010 (WA/WE); 13 October 2013 (WE/DK).

(cross) ΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΕΙ ΤΕΗΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΙΑΑΝΑ ΠΑΕΙΣΑΜΗΛΩΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΑΡΑΒΙΊΘ ΙΝΔ $\overline{\Delta}$ 

ένθάδε κεῖ|τε ἡ μακαρία | Στεφανία ἀνα|παεῖσα μη(νὸς) Λώου, | κατὰ Ἄραβ(ας) ιθ', | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ'

Here lies the blessed Stephania, who came to rest in the month of Loios according to the Arabs 19, indiction 4.

Comm.: Meimaris thinks that the "month is given according to the Arab calendar" and understands Loos 19th. He excludes the 19th year



fig. 3976

according to an Arabian era (hijra?), since Hijra 19 is not a year of indiction 4. The sole problem lies in the fact that the Greco-Arabic calendar of the hemerologia usually used a different word order, as can be seen from the examples in Meimaris, Chronological Systems 307, who quotes for the Eleutheropolitan era: ἐν μηνὶ Ὑπερβερετέου κ' κατὰ Ἄραβας (310 no. 4, Beersheba); ἀναπαεὶς μη(νὶ) Ἀπριλλίου κγ', κατὰ δὲ Ἄραβας Ἀρτεμισίου γ' (312 no. 9, Beersheba). Ibid. 330ff. for the Islamic era with only one example, 81 no. 10: κατ' Ἄραβας ἔτους μβ', which is much closer to the expression here.

Bibl.: Y. Meimaris, Graeco-Arabica 3, 1984, 178 no. 2 (ed. pr.). – SEG 34, 1476; P. Figueras, Byzantine Inscriptions from Beersheva and the Negev, 1985, 37 no. 29; SEG 36, 1328; Feissel, Chroniques 250 no. 795.

Photo: WE.

# 3977. A bronze bowl from a church with Greek inscription on behalf of Ephymia and Prosdocia

A small ribbed bowl, the inscription on a smooth edge going round the vessel; three loops to hang the bowl from the ceiling; green patina. Mondésert 120: "est-ce une lampe ou un encensoir?" He choose "censer", i.e. a vessel in which incense is burnt. Meas.: bowl: h 4.6, ø 10.7 cm.

Findspot: Known to be in an art trader's possession in Amman and in Beirut, but coming originally from Jerusalem, "où l'antiquaire qui l'a eu d'abord me parlait de la région de Râmallâh (peut-être 'Ain 'Arik) comme lieu de la provenance" (Milik).



fig. 3977.1

# (cross) ΥΠΕΡΜΝΗΜΗΣΚΑΙΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΕΟΣΕΦΥΜΙΑΣΚΑΙΠΡΟΣΔΟΚΙΑΣΚΑΙ ΟΝΚΥΡΙΟΣΓΙΝΟΣΚΙΤΑΟΝ $\int$

ύπὲρ μνήμης καὶ ἀναπαύσεος Ἐφυμίας καὶ Προσδοκίας καὶ ỗν κύριος γινόσκι τὰ ὀν(όματα)

For the remembrance and resurrection of Ephymia and Prosdocia and those whose names (the) Lord knows.

Comm.: ὑπὲρ μνήμης and ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύσεως are not normally used together. Ἐφυμία is a variant spelling of the name Εὐφημία; for ευ>ε before a consonant, see Gignac I 228f.; for interchange of η>υ in unaccented syllables, ibid. 264.



Bibl.: C. Mondésert, Syria 37, 1960, 119-23 (ed. pr.). – J. Milik, Biblica 42, 1961, 77f. n.2.

Photo: C. Mondésert, Syria 37, 1960, 119, 121 figs. 2 and 3.

fig. 3977.2

WA

### 3978. Gold pectoral with Greek quotation of Lk 1,28

Gold encolpion or pectoral; its central disk was "ornamented in repoussé on either face with scenes of: (a) the Annunciation; (b) the Baptism of Christ. Double loops for suspension" (Iliffe 97). Inscription on the side of the annunciation, the first word (and first letter of the second word) to the left of Mary, the second in several lines between Mary and the angel.

Meas.: ø 7.5, (inner disk) 4 cm; wt 40.78 g.

Findspot: "The gold enkolpion ... was bought from a Jerusalem dealer in March 1946. No more precise clue to its provenance was available than a vague statement that it had been found 'in the area of the Jordan Valley'" (Iliffe 97). Felle: "Hierusalem?, Palaestina I (II)." Iliffe believed that the encolpion could have been part of a monastery's treasure.

#### ΧΕΡΕΚ ΕΧΑΡΙΤΩΜΕΝΗ

χερε, κεχαριτωμένη

Hail, o favored one! (Lk 1,28)



fig. 3978.2

Comm.: Dated to the 5-7 c. AD. The text belongs intimately to the depicted scene. The last letters of κεχαριτωμένη can be found between the heads and bodies of the two figures: ΤΩΜ



fig. 3978.1



fig. 3978.3

can be seen between the haloes, the *epsilon* below the blessing hand of the angel, and the *nu* is to be found directly below the *epsilon* (missing on the dr.). It is not really sure whether traces of the *eta* can be seen below the *nu* (left vertical and horizontal bar), since the encolpion is damaged at this place; earlier editors reported the letter.

Bibl.: J. Iliffe, QDAP 14, 1950, 97ff. (ed. pr.). – B. Bagatti, SBF 3, 1952/3, 143 no. 60; id., SBF 4, 1953/4, 305 fig. 16; Meimaris, Sacred Names 85 no. 539, 143 no. 735; Cradle of Christianity 148f., 223; Felle, Biblia epigraphica 131 no. 222.

Photo: J. Iliffe, QDAP 14, 1950 pl. 33; Cradle of Christianity 148 (ph., dr.).

Vol. I: Part 1: 1-704; Part 2: 705-1120

Vol. II: 1121-2160 Vol. III: 2161-2648

Vol. IV: Part 1: 2649-3324; Part 2: 3325-3978

This index contains all the names appearing in the inscriptions, including restored names and fragments in which two or more letters are preserved in the beginning. The main entry of all names, including Greek and Semitic names, is given in its Latin form, thus e.g. Κυρικός is to be found under "Cyricus" and is to be found under "Aharon." Moreover, after the Latin heading, the name is listed as it actually appears in the inscription. Semitic names if surely identified are transcribed rather than transliterated: Avshalom rather than 'bšlwm. Finally, all variations of the same name are listed under the same heading, thus Shim'on includes way,  $\Sigma(\mu\omega\nu)$ , etc.

### Roman Emperors (chron. order)

Caesar	2332
Tiberius	1725

Claudius 1727; 1728; 1729; 2173; 2593

 Agrippina minor
 2817a-b

 Vespasianus
 712; 1282

 Titus
 712; 1282

 Domitianus
 1382a; 1383a; 1384a; 1414

 Nerva
 715; 716; 717; 1276; 3827

Traianus 705; 713; 715; 716; 717; 1245; 1276;

2120; 2259a-c; 3827

Hadrianus 715; 716; 717; 753; 1200; 1202;

1204; 1206; 1207; 1208; 1209; 1227; 1276; 2639a; 3827

Antoninus Pius 718; 1216(?); 2121; 3827

Marcus Aurelius 2813; 3827 Lucius Verus 2813

Commodus 2337; 2338; 3467; 3827

 Pertinax
 1211

 Septimius Severus
 719; 1211

 Caracalla
 719; 1285

 Geta
 719

 Iulia Domna
 719

 Fulvia Plautilla
 719

 Severus Alexander
 2563

 Severus Alexander
 2563

 Philippus Arabs
 1212

 Probus
 1267; 1270

 Diocletianus
 1286

 Maximianus
 1213; 1214

Constantius I 1271

Galerius Iulianus Eudocia Anastasius Iustinus I Iustinianus Iustinus II Mauricius Theodosius Tiberius Constantina Phocas		1268; 1272 2326 816 784; 2373(?) 2676(?) 785; 800; 2373(?) 2676(?); 2833 786; 1006 786c 786d 786b 2367
(?)Marcus Aurelius []		1224
(?)[Anto]ninus Au[g(ust	115)]	3110
(?)[A]nto[ninus]	40, 1	1308
(.)[11]IItO[IIIII43]		1300
Kings (chron. order)		
•		2461
David	דויד	2461
Uzziah		3834
	עוזיה	602
Ptolemaeus II	الحوار والموازوان	2172
Philadelphus Ptolemaeus III	Πτο[λε]μα[ίο]υ	21/2
	Hand suglar	2172
Euergetes	Πτολεμαίου Πτ[ολεμαίου]	2172 3514
	[Πτολεμαίου]	3514
Berenice II	Βερενίκης	2172
Defenice II	Βερενίκης Βερενίκ[ης]	3514
	[Βερενίκης]	3514
Ptolemaeus IV	[Βερενικής]	3313
Philopator	Πτολεμαῖον	2172
1 innopator	[Πτολεμαῖον]	3514
Arsinoe III	[Ά]ρσινόην	3513
Seleucus IV Philopator	Σέλευκος	3511; cf. 3512
Antiochus V Eupator	[Άν]τίοχος	2267
·	Άντιόχωι	2267
(?)Antioch[us]	Άντιοχ[]	2439
Diodotus Tryphon	Τρύφωνο(ς)	2137
71	Τρύ(φωνος)	2274
Alexander Iannaeus	Άλεξάνδρου	2332
Hyrcanus II	Υρκανόν	2332
Herodes	Ήρώδου	2300
	· Ήρ(ώδου)	666
Ṣadan (=Helena?)	צדן	123
Agrippa I	Αγρίππου	676
	Άγρ[ί]ππα	1726
Agrippa II	Άγρίπ[πα]	2123
Bar Kochba		→ Shimon

A[]us	Α[]ΟΥ	3608
L. A[] P[]	L(ucius/o) A[]   P[]	1325
T. A[] Po[]	T(itus/o) A[] Po[]	1386
Ab[]	'Aβ[]	977
Ababilus	Άβαβίλου	2564
Abas	Աբասու	839
Abascantus	Άβασκάντου	205
Abba	Apao kavioo 828	18; 288; 347
Auda	אבה	55; 3850
Abbi		
Abbiba	Αββι	2222
Abbomares	Άββιβα	3434
	Άββομαρης	2230
- Abbomari	Άββομαρι	2182
- Ambomare	Άμβωμαρη	2187
Abbones(?)	Άββωνες	2230
Abbosobus	Αββοσόβου	2675
- Abbosobbus	Αββοσούββ(ου)	2676
- Abesobus	Αβεσοβου	3899
- Abesombus		→ Yehoḥanan (under Ioanis)
- Abysob	Αβυσοβ	3902
Abd	Άβδ	3648
Abdallah	Άβ΄δ'αλα	3823
	Άβιδελλα	842.15
Abdes	Άβδέους	2573
Abdo()	Άβδο()	2613b
Abel	Աբեղ	874
Abesobus, Abesombus		→ Abbosobbus
Abesobus, Abesombus Abidella		→ Abbosobbus → Abdallah
	Άβλάβιος	
Abidella	Άβλάβιος	→ Abdallah
Abidella Ablabius	Άβλάβιος	→ Abdallah 2564
Abidella Ablabius Abraamius, Abramius		→ Abdallah 2564 → Abraham
Abidella Ablabius Abraamius, Abramius	אברהם	<ul> <li>→ Abdallah</li> <li>2564</li> <li>→ Abraham</li> <li>953; 1016</li> </ul>
Abidella Ablabius Abraamius, Abramius	אברהם Abpa'h'am	<ul> <li>→ Abdallah</li> <li>2564</li> <li>→ Abraham</li> <li>953; 1016</li> <li>3826</li> </ul>
Abidella Ablabius Abraamius, Abramius Abraham	אברהם Abpa'h'am 'Άβραάμ Αβραμ	<ul> <li>→ Abdallah</li> <li>2564</li> <li>→ Abraham</li> <li>953; 1016</li> <li>3826</li> <li>1079a; 3326</li> </ul>
Abidella Ablabius Abraamius, Abramius Abraham	אברהם Abρa´h`am 'Aβραάμ	<ul> <li>→ Abdallah</li> <li>2564</li> <li>→ Abraham</li> <li>953; 1016</li> <li>3826</li> <li>1079a; 3326</li> <li>2290</li> </ul>
Abidella Ablabius Abraamius, Abramius Abraham - Abram - Abraamius	אברהם Abpa'h'am 'Άβραάμ Αβραμ 'Άβραάμιος	<ul> <li>→ Abdallah</li> <li>2564</li> <li>→ Abraham</li> <li>953; 1016</li> <li>3826</li> <li>1079a; 3326</li> <li>2290</li> <li>2476; 3828</li> </ul>
Abidella Ablabius Abraamius, Abramius Abraham  - Abram - Abraamius - Abramius	אברהם Abpa'h'am Άβραάμ Αβραμ Άβραάμιος Άβραμίου	<ul> <li>→ Abdallah</li> <li>2564</li> <li>→ Abraham</li> <li>953; 1016</li> <li>3826</li> <li>1079a; 3326</li> <li>2290</li> <li>2476; 3828</li> <li>3825</li> </ul>
Abidella Ablabius Abraamius, Abramius Abraham  - Abram - Abraamius - Abramius	ΑΕΓΠΩ Αδρα΄ h'am Άβραάμ Αβραμ Άβραάμιος Άβραμίου Άψελᾶμος	<ul> <li>→ Abdallah</li> <li>2564</li> <li>→ Abraham</li> <li>953; 1016</li> <li>3826</li> <li>1079a; 3326</li> <li>2290</li> <li>2476; 3828</li> <li>3825</li> <li>3649</li> </ul>
Abidella Ablabius Abraamius, Abramius Abraham  - Abram - Abraamius - Abramius Abramius	ΑΕΓΠΩ Αδρα΄ h'am Άβραάμ Αβραμ Άβραάμιος Άβραμίου Άψελᾶμος Αψελ[αμος]	<ul> <li>→ Abdallah</li> <li>2564</li> <li>→ Abraham</li> <li>953; 1016</li> <li>3826</li> <li>1079a; 3326</li> <li>2290</li> <li>2476; 3828</li> <li>3825</li> <li>3649</li> <li>3733</li> </ul>
Abidella Ablabius Abraamius, Abramius Abraham  - Abram - Abraamius - Abramius Abrahams  Abudas Abudas Abudemmus	ΑΕΓΠΩ ΑΒρα΄ h'am Άβραάμ Αβραμ Άβραάμιος Άβραμίου Άψελᾶμος Αψελ[αμος] Αβουδας 'Άβουδεμμου	<ul> <li>→ Abdallah</li> <li>2564</li> <li>→ Abraham</li> <li>953; 1016</li> <li>3826</li> <li>1079a; 3326</li> <li>2290</li> <li>2476; 3828</li> <li>3825</li> <li>3649</li> <li>3733</li> <li>3450b</li> <li>2179</li> </ul>
Abidella Ablabius Abraamius, Abramius Abraham  - Abram - Abraamius - Abramius Abselamus Abudas	ΑΕΓΠΩ Αδρα΄ h'am Άβραάμ Αβραμ Άβραάμιος Άβραμίου Άψελᾶμος Αψελ[αμος] Αβουδας	<ul> <li>→ Abdallah</li> <li>2564</li> <li>→ Abraham</li> <li>953; 1016</li> <li>3826</li> <li>1079a; 3326</li> <li>2290</li> <li>2476; 3828</li> <li>3825</li> <li>3649</li> <li>3733</li> <li>3450b</li> </ul>
Abidella Ablabius Abraamius, Abramius Abraham  - Abram - Abraamius - Abramius Abselamus  Abudas Abudemmus - Abudemus(?) Abuna	ΑΕΓΠΩ ΑΒρα΄ h'am Άβραάμ Αβραάμιος Άβραμίου Άψελᾶμος Αψελ[αμος] Αβουδας Άβουδεμμου +απα	<ul> <li>→ Abdallah</li> <li>2564</li> <li>→ Abraham</li> <li>953; 1016</li> <li>3826</li> <li>1079a; 3326</li> <li>2290</li> <li>2476; 3828</li> <li>3825</li> <li>3649</li> <li>3733</li> <li>3450b</li> <li>2179</li> <li>2179</li> </ul>
Abidella Ablabius Abraamius, Abramius Abraham  - Abram - Abraamius - Abramius Abselamus  Abudas Abudemmus - Abudemus(?)	Αρα΄ h 'am 'Αβραάμ Αβραάμ Αβραάμιος 'Αβραάμιος 'Αβραμίου 'Αψελᾶμος Αψελ[αμος] Αβουδας 'Αβουδεμμου +πτα	<ul> <li>→ Abdallah</li> <li>2564</li> <li>→ Abraham</li> <li>953; 1016</li> <li>3826</li> <li>1079a; 3326</li> <li>2290</li> <li>2476; 3828</li> <li>3825</li> <li>3649</li> <li>3733</li> <li>3450b</li> <li>2179</li> <li>2179</li> <li>3482</li> </ul>
Abidella Ablabius Abraamius, Abramius Abraham  - Abram - Abraamius - Abramius Abselamus  Abudas Abudemmus - Abudemmus - Abudemus(?) Abuna Abysob	Αρα΄ h 'am 'Αβραάμ Αβραάμ Αβραμ 'Άβραάμιος 'Άβραμίου 'Αψελᾶμος Αψελ[αμος] Αβουδας 'Άβουδεμμου +πτακίων	<ul> <li>→ Abdallah</li> <li>2564</li> <li>→ Abraham</li> <li>953; 1016</li> <li>3826</li> <li>1079a; 3326</li> <li>2290</li> <li>2476; 3828</li> <li>3825</li> <li>3649</li> <li>3733</li> <li>3450b</li> <li>2179</li> <li>2179</li> <li>3482</li> <li>→ Abbosobus</li> </ul>
Abidella Ablabius Abraamius, Abramius Abraham  - Abram - Abraamius - Abramius Abselamus  Abudas Abudemmus - Abudemus(?) Abuna Abysob Acacion	Αρα΄ h 'am 'Αβραάμ Αβραάμ Αβραμ 'Άβραάμιος 'Άβραμίου 'Αψελᾶμος Αψελ[αμος] Αβουδας 'Άβουδεμμου +πτιπ Αβουνου 'Ακακίων 'Ακακίων 'Ακακ[ου]	<ul> <li>→ Abdallah</li> <li>2564</li> <li>→ Abraham</li> <li>953; 1016</li> <li>3826</li> <li>1079a; 3326</li> <li>2290</li> <li>2476; 3828</li> <li>3825</li> <li>3649</li> <li>3733</li> <li>3450b</li> <li>2179</li> <li>2179</li> <li>3482</li> <li>→ Abbosobus</li> <li>767</li> </ul>
Abidella Ablabius Abraamius, Abramius Abraham  - Abram - Abraamius - Abramius Abselamus  Abudas Abudemmus - Abudemus(?) Abuna Abysob Acacion Acacius Acholia	Αρα΄ h 'am 'Αβραάμ Αβραάμ Αβραμ 'Άβραάμιος 'Άβραμίου 'Αψελᾶμος Αψελ[αμος] Αβουδας 'Άβουδεμμου +πτιπ Αβουνου 'Ακακίων 'Ακακ[ου] 'Αχολίας	<ul> <li>→ Abdallah</li> <li>2564</li> <li>→ Abraham</li> <li>953; 1016</li> <li>3826</li> <li>1079a; 3326</li> <li>2290</li> <li>2476; 3828</li> <li>3825</li> <li>3649</li> <li>3733</li> <li>3450b</li> <li>2179</li> <li>2179</li> <li>3482</li> <li>→ Abbosobus</li> <li>767</li> <li>2116</li> </ul>
Abidella Ablabius Abraamius, Abramius Abraham  - Abram - Abraamius - Abramius Abselamus  Abudas Abudemmus - Abudemus(?) Abuna Abysob Acacion Acacius	Αρα΄ h 'am ' Αβραάμ Αβραάμ Αβραάμ ' Άβραάμιος ' Άβραμίου ' Αψελᾶμος Αψελ[αμος] Αβουδας ' Άβουδεμμου + πιπκ Αβουνου ' Ακακίων ' Ακακίων ' Ακακίων ' Ακακίως Αcilius Cleobu[lus]	<ul> <li>→ Abdallah</li> <li>2564</li> <li>→ Abraham</li> <li>953; 1016</li> <li>3826</li> <li>1079a; 3326</li> <li>2290</li> <li>2476; 3828</li> <li>3825</li> <li>3649</li> <li>3733</li> <li>3450b</li> <li>2179</li> <li>2179</li> <li>3482</li> <li>→ Abbosobus</li> <li>767</li> <li>2116</li> <li>2192</li> <li>1270</li> </ul>
Abidella Ablabius Abraamius, Abramius Abraham  - Abram - Abramius - Abramius Abselamus  Abudas Abudemmus - Abudemus(?) Abuna Abysob Acacion Acacius Acholia Acilius Cleobulus Acrisius	Αρα΄ h 'am	<ul> <li>→ Abdallah</li> <li>2564</li> <li>→ Abraham</li> <li>953; 1016</li> <li>3826</li> <li>1079a; 3326</li> <li>2290</li> <li>2476; 3828</li> <li>3825</li> <li>3649</li> <li>3733</li> <li>3450b</li> <li>2179</li> <li>2179</li> <li>3482</li> <li>→ Abbosobus</li> <li>767</li> <li>2116</li> <li>2192</li> </ul>
Abidella Ablabius Abraamius, Abramius Abraham  - Abram - Abramius - Abramius Abselamus  Abudas Abudemmus - Abudemmus - Abudemus(?) Abuna Abysob Acacion Acacius Acholia Acilius Cleobulus	Αρα΄ h 'am ' Αβραάμ Αβραάμ Αβραάμ ' Άβραάμιος ' Άβραμίου ' Αψελᾶμος Αψελ[αμος] Αβουδας ' Άβουδεμμου + πιπκ Αβουνου ' Ακακίων ' Ακακίων ' Ακακίων ' Ακακίως Αcilius Cleobu[lus]	<ul> <li>→ Abdallah</li> <li>2564</li> <li>→ Abraham</li> <li>953; 1016</li> <li>3826</li> <li>1079a; 3326</li> <li>2290</li> <li>2476; 3828</li> <li>3825</li> <li>3649</li> <li>3733</li> <li>3450b</li> <li>2179</li> <li>2179</li> <li>3482</li> <li>→ Abbosobus</li> <li>767</li> <li>2116</li> <li>2192</li> <li>1270</li> <li>1085</li> </ul>

Adius         γ Adaeus           Aelianus         Αἴλ(ανός         842.24           Aelius         Αἴλ(10ς)         978           Aelio         1387           - Aelius Iulianus         Aelio Iulian(0)         1279           - Cn. Aelius Optatus         γ Valeria           Aemiliana         γ Valeria           Aemilianus         ΣΙΜΙΛ=ΙΜΙΛ?=Αἰμιλ(τανός)?         842.20a; γ Valerius           Aeneas         Λινέ[ου]         3626; γ Flavius           Aetius         'Aeriou         3748           Africana         'Aeriou         3748           Africanus         'Aφρεικανός         421b; γ Arbaeus; Furius           Aga         μα         321           Agapetus         'Αγαπητός         3211d1           Αγαπητός         3211d1         γγαπητός           Agas         'Αγάπης         3796           Agath         'Αγάβαρχος         3483           Agatharchus         'Αγαθήμερον         3823           Agathemerus         'Αγαθοκλέους         3680           Agathocles         'Αγαθοκλέους         3680           Αγαθοκλέους         3681           Αγαθοκλέους         3676           Αγαθοκλέους	Adem	Άδημ	3800a
Aelianus         Alλιανός         842.24           Aelius         Alλ(log)         978           Aelio         1387           - Aelius Iulianus         Aelio Iulian[o]         1279           - Cn. Aelius Optatus         Cn(aei) Aeli Optati         2709           Aemilianus         ΣIMIΛ=AIMIΛ?=Aiμιλ[ιανός]?         842.20a; → Valerius           Aemilianus         Airefou         3748         Ailinus         Aili	Adius	K	→ Adaeus
Aelius         Afλ[ιος] Aelio         978 Aelio           - Aelius Iulianus         Aelio Iulian[o]         1279           - Cn. Aelius Optatus         Cn(aei) Aeli Optati         2709           Aemilianus         ∑IMIΛ=AIMIΛ?=Aiμιλ[tανός]?         842.20a; → Valerius           Aemilianus         ∑IMIΛ=AIMIΛ?=Aiμιλ[tανός]?         842.20a; → Valerius           Aeneas         Ab/e[ou]         3626; ⇒ Flavius           Aetius         λετίου         3748           Africana         → Ευτία           Africanus         Λάρεικανός         421b; ⇒ Arbaeus; Furius           Aga         μα         321           Agapetus         Αγαπητοῦ         963           Agapetus         Αγαπητοῦ         963           Agapetus         Αγάπης         3796           Agas         Αγάτης         3796           Agas         Αγάξαρχος         3483           Agathenus         Αγάξαρχος         3483           Agathenerus         Αγαθημέρρον         3823           Agathocles         Αγαθοκλέου[ς]         3677, 3678           Αγαθοκλέου[ς]         3677, 3678           Αγαθοκλέου[ς]         3681           Αγαβοκλέου[ς]         3679           Agathon	Aelianus	Αἰλιανός	
Aelio         1387           - Aelius Optatus         Aelio Iulian[o]         1279           - Cn. Aelius Optatus         2709         Aemiliana           Aemilianus         ΣIMIΛ=AIMIΛ?=Aiμιλ[ιανός]?         842.20a; → Valerius           Aeneas         Alνέ[ου]         3626; → Flavius           Aetius         ½ πετίου         3748           Africana         → Furia           Africanas         Å φετίου         3748           Africana         → Furia           Africana         Å φερικανός         421b; → Arbaeus; Furius           Aga         μι         321           Agar         μι         321           Agapetus         Åγαπητός         3211d1           Agapetus         Åγαπητός         3211d1           Agapetus         Åγάπης         3796           Agas         Åγάπης         3796           Agath         Η13         413           Agathenus         Åγάθερος         3483           Agathenerus         Åγαθοκλέους         3680           Agathocles         Åγαθοκλέου[ς]         3677; 3678           Åγαθοκλέου[ς]         3676           Åγαθοκλέου[ς]         3676           Åγαθοκλέους] <td></td> <td></td> <td></td>			
- Aelius Iulianus         Aelio Iulian[o]         1279           - Cn. Aelius Optatus         Cn(aei) Aeli Optati         2709           Aemilianus         ΣIMIA=AIMIA?=Alμιλ[ιανός]?         842.20a; → Valerius           Aeneas         Alνé[oυ]         3626; → Flavius           Aetius         Åeríou         3748           Africana         → Furia           Africanus         Λφρεικανός         421b; → Arbaeus; Furius           Aga         μια         3211           Agapetus         Αγαπητός         3211d1           Αγαπητοῦ         963         321           Agapetus         Αγάπης         3796           Agasa         Αγάπης         3796           Agasa         Αγάπης         3796           Agasa         Αγάπης         3483           Agatharchus         Αγάθαρχος         3483           Agatherenus         Αγάθαρχος         3823           Agathemerus         Αγάθως         2166           Agathocles         Αγάθως         3680           Αγαθοκλέου[ς]         3677; 3678           Αγαθοκλέου[ς]         3681           [Αγαθοκλέους]         3681           [Αγαθοκλέους]         3681           <			
-Cn. Aelius Optatus         Cn(aei) Aeli Optati         ⇒ Valeria           Aemilianus         ΣΙΜΙΛ=ΑΙΜΙΛ?=Αἰμιλ[ιανός]?         842.20a; ⇒ Valerius           Aeneas         Aἰν[ου]         3626; ⇒ Flavius           Aetius         'Aeτίου         3748           Africana         → Furia         - Furia           Africanus         'Aφρεικανός         421b; ⇒ Arbaeus; Furius           Aga         μικ         321           Agapetus         'Αγαπητοῦ         963           Agapetus         'Αγαπητοῦ         963           Agapetus         'Αγάθης         3796           Agas         'Αγάης         3796           Agas         'Αγάης         3796           Agath         * Αγάβ         2391           Agathe         * Κητας         3483           Agathe         * κητα         413           Agathes         'Αγάθοκλέους         3680           Αγαθοκλέου[ς]         3677; 3678           Αγαθοκλέου[ς]         3681           (Αγαθοκλέους]         3681           (Αγαθοκλέους)         3681           (Αγαθοκλέους)         3681           (Αγαθοκλέους)         3679           Agathonicus         Αγαθοκλέ	- Aelius Iulianus		
Aemilianus         ΣΙΜΙΛ=ΑΙΜΙΛ?=Αἰμιλ[ιανός]?         842.20α; → Valerius           Aeneas         Aἰνέ[ου]         3626; → Flavius           Aetius         'Aετίου         3748           Africana         → Furia           Africanus         'Aφρεικανός         421b; → Arbaeus; Furius           Aga         ya         321           Aganetus         'Aγαπητός         321Idl           Agapetus         'Αγάπης         3796           Agas         'Αγάπης         3796           Agas         'Αγάς         2391           Agatharchus         'Αγάθαρος         3483           Agathe         ************************************			
Aemilianus         ΣΙΜΙΛ=ΑΙΜΙΛ?=Αἰμιλ[ιανός]?         842.20a; → Valerius           Aeneas         Aἰνέ[ου]         3626; → Flavius           Aetius         Aeríou         3748           Africana         → Furia           Africanus         'Αφεικανός         421b; → Arbaeus; Furius           Aga         μι         321           Agapetus         'Αγαπητός         3211d1           Agapis         Αγάπης         3796           Agas         'Αγάπης         3796           Agas         'Αγάπης         3483           Agatharchus         Αγάθαρχος         3483           Agathe         ΝΠΝ         413           Agathenerus         Αγάθημερον         3823           Agathes         'Αγάθες         2166           Agathocles         'Αγάθοκλέους         3680           Αγαθοκλέου[ς]         3677; 3678           Αγαθοκλέους]         3681           Αγαθοκλέους]         3681           Αγαθοκλέους]         36681           Αγαθοκλέους]         3679           Agathonicus         Αγαθονίκου         841           Aggus         Αγγου         2469           Agias         Αγήσο         1785		chi(wel) from o prints	
Aeneas       Alvé[ου]       3626; ⇒ Flavius         Aetius       'Aeτίου       3748         Africana       → Furia         Africanus       'Aφρεικανός       421b; ⇒ Arbaeus; Furius         Aga       νικ       321         Agapetus       'Αγαπητοῦ       963         Agapis       'Αγάπης       3796         Agas       'Αγάπης       3796         Agas       'Αγάβαρχος       3483         Agathe       κηικ       413         Agathemerus       'Αγάθαρχος       3483         Agathes       κηικ       413         Agathes       'Αγάθημερον       3823         Agathes       'Αγάθνες       2166         Agathocles       'Αγάθοκλέους       3680         'Αγαθοκλέου[ς]       3677, 3678         'Αγαθοκλέου[ς]       3676         'Αγαθοκλέους]       3681         ['Αγαθοκλέους]       3681         ['Αγαθοκλέους]       3679         Agathonicus       'Αγαθονίκου       841         Aggus       Αγγου       2469         Agra       πικ       192c; 193; 198         Agrias       Αγήθου       1785         Agr       Τρινικ; I		$\Sigma IMI\Lambda = AIMI\Lambda? = Aimi\lambda[i\alpha\nu\delta\epsilon]?$	
Actius       'Aετίου       3748         Africanus       'Aφρεικανός       421b; → Arbaeus; Furius         Aga       μικ       321         Agapetus       'Αγαπητός       3211d1         Αgapis       'Αγάπης       3796         Agas       'Αγάς       2391         Agatharchus       'Αγάθαρχος       3483         Agathe       κπικ       413         Agathemerus       'Αγαθήμερον       3823         Agathes       'Αγαθήμερον       3823         Agathocles       'Αγαθοκλέους       3680         Αγαθοκλέους       3680         Αγαθοκλέους       3680         Αγαθοκλέους       3681         [Αγαθοκλέους]       3676         Αγαθοκλέους       3681         [Αγαθοκλέους]       3679         Agathonicus       'Αγαθονίκου       841         Aggus       Αγγου       2469         Agais       'Αγήθου       1785         Agra       'Πλα       192c; 193; 198         Αβτίου       - Flavius; Iulius         Aha       ΝΠκ       67; 78         Αβα       - Ελβα       192c; 193; 198         - Αβα       - Ελβα       192c; 193;		•	
Africana Africanus Africanus Africanus Africanus Aga  Aga  Aga  Aga  Aga Agapetus  Agamyτός Agapetus  Ayamyτός Agas  Ayamyτο  Agas  Agatharchus Agatharchus Agathe  Ayaθθαρχος  Agathe  Ayaθθαρχος  Agathes  Ayαθοκλέους  Ayαθοκλέους  Ayαθοκλέους  Ayαθοκλέους  Ayαθοκλέους  Ayαθοκλέους  Agathonicus  Aγαθοκλέους  Agathonicus  Aγγου  Agath  Agra  Aγγου  Agath  Agra  Aγγου  Agath  Agra  Aγγου  Agath  Agra  Aβrippa  Aha  Agrippa  Aha  Aii[]li[]  Ai[-]λi[]  Aianis  Aiα  Aiα  Aiα  Aiα  Aiα  Aiα  Aiα  A			
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Aga       μικ       321         Agapetus       Άγαπητός       3211dl         Αgapis       Άγάπης       3796         Agas       Άγάς       2391         Agatharchus       Άγάθαρχος       3483         Agathe       κηικ       413         Agathes       Άγαθημερον       3823         Agathes       Άγάθες       2166         Agathocles       Άγαθοκλέους       3680         Αγαθοκλέου[ς]       3677; 3678         Άγαθοκλέου[ς]       3673         Αγαθοκλέους       3681         [Αγαθοκλέους]       3681         [Αγαθοκλέους]       3679         Αgathonicus       Άγαθονίκου       841         Αggus       Αγγου       2469         Αgaiss       Άγήου       1785         Αgra       171       1785         Αgra       171       1785         Αgrippa       > Flavius; Iulius         Αha       192c; 193; 198         Αβτίρα       > Flavius; Iulius         Αha       192c; 193; 198         Αβτίρα       367; 78         Αμα       2182         Αληα       2182         Αληα       2182		Ά φοεικανός	
Agapetus       Άγαπητός       3211d1         'Αγαπητοῦ       963         Agapis       'Αγάπης       3796         Agas       'Αγᾶς       2391         Agatharchus       'Αγάθαρχος       3483         Agathe       κηικ       413         Agatheerus       'Αγαθήμερον       3823         Agathes       'Αγάθες       2166         Agathocles       'Αγαθοκλέουξος       3680         'Αγαθοκλέουξος       3677; 3678         'Αγαθοκλέουξος       3682         'Αγαθοκλέουξος       3681           [Αγαθοκλέουξος]       3681           [Αγαθοκλέουξος]       3681           [Αγαθοκλέουξος]       3677; 3678         'Αγαθοκλέουξος]       3681           [Αγαθοκλέουξος]       3681           [Αγαθοκλέουξος]       3679         Agathonicus       'Αγαθοκλέουξος]       3679         Agathonicus			
Αβαρίs       Άγαπητοῦ       963         Αgas       Άγᾶς       2391         Αgatharchus       Άγάθαρχος       3483         Agathe       ΝΠΝ       413         Agathemerus       Άγαθημερον       3823         Agathes       Άγαθοκλέους       3680         Αgathocles       Άγαθοκλέους       3680         Αγαθοκλέους?       3682         Άγαθοκλέους?       3682         Άγαθοκλέους       3681         [Άγαθοκλέους]       3679         Αgathonicus       Άγαθονίκου       841         Αggus       Αγγου       2469         Αgias       Άγήου       1785         Αgra       πλπ       67;78         Αgrippa       → Flavius; Iulius         Αλα       2182         Αλαοι       12182         Αλαοι       2182         Αλαοι       2182         Αλαοι       2445         Αἰαι       441         Αία-[-]li[]       Αίανίς       3307a-b         Αἰαιοι       Αλανίς       3307a-b         Αἰαιοι       Αλανίς       842.13         Αἰαιοι       Αλανίας       2931         Αλακου       'Ανεό	· ·	-	
Agapis       Άγάπης       3796         Agas       'Άγᾶς       2391         Agatharchus       Αγάθαρχος       3483         Agathe       ΝΠΑΝ       413         Agathemerus       'Αγαθήμερου       3823         Agathes       'Αγάθες       2166         Agathocles       'Άγαθοκλέουξ       3680         'Αγαθοκλέουξ]       3677; 3678         'Αγαθοκλέουξ]       3682         'Αγαθοκλέουξ]       3682         'Αγαθοκλέουξ]       3681         ['Αγαθοκλέουξ]       3681         ['Αγαθοκλέουξ]       3679         Agathonicus       'Αγαθονίκου       841         Aggus       Αγγου       2469         Agias       'Αγήου       1785         Agra       πΙΠΑ       192c; 193; 198         Agrippa       → Flavius; Iulius         Aha       192c; 193; 198         → Flavius; Iulius       Αλα         Aha       2182         Aharon       μπκ       67; 78         'Αα       2182         Aharon       μπκ       55; 881         Ai[-]-]       Αίαν(-)       3821         Aia       Αλαν(-)       3821 <t< td=""><td>rigapetus</td><td></td><td></td></t<>	rigapetus		
Agas 'Αγᾶς 2391 Agatharchus 'Αγάθαρχος 3483 Agathe κημκ 413 Agathemerus 'Αγαθημερον 3823 Agathes 'Αγάθως 2166 Agathocles 'Αγαθοκλέους 3680 - Αγαθοκλέου[ς] 3677; 3678 - Αγαθοκλέου[ς] 3682 - Άγαθοκλέου[ς] 3682 - Άγαθοκλέους] 3681 - [Άγαθοκλέους] 3681 - [Άγαθοκλέους] 3681 - [Άγαθοκλέους] 3679 - Αgathonicus 'Αγαθοκίκου 841 - Αggus Αγγου 2469 - Αgias 'Αγήου 1785 - Αgra πημκ 192c; 193; 198 - Αgrippa - Αgrippa - Αμπκ 67; 78 - Άα 2182 - Αλαποη μηπκ 441 - ηπκ 55; 881 - Αί[]li[] Αι[]λι[] 2639b - Αia Αία 2445 - Αian() Αίαν() 3821 - Αianis 'Αιανίς 3307α-b - Αianon Αἰάνων 3023 - Αianus Αίανός 842.13 - Αίαλος 842.13 - Αίαλος 842.13 - Αίαλος 842.13 - Αίαλος 842.13 - Αίαλος 842.13 - Αίαλος 842.13 - Αίαλος 971 - Ακανίνα Αλανίνα 3921 - Ακανίνα Αλανίνα 3921 - Ακανίνα Αλανίνα 3921 - Αλαλον 842.52 - Αλαλον 842.53 - Αλαλον 842.52 - Αλαλον 842.52 - Αλαλον 842.52 - Αλαλον 842.52 - Αλαλον 842.52 - Αλαλον 842.53 - Αλαλον 942.52 - Αλαλον 94	Aganic		
Agatharchus       Άγάθαρχος       3483         Agathe       κπικ       413         Agathemerus       Άγαθήμερου       3823         Agathes       Άγάθες       2166         Agathocles       Άγαθοκλέους       3680         'Αγαθοκλέου[ς]       3677; 3678         'Αγαθοκλέου[ς]       3682         'Αγαθοκλέους]       3681         [Άγαθοκλέους]       3681         [Αγαθοκλέους]       3679         Agathonicus       Άγαθονίκου       841         Aggus       Αγγου       2469         Agias       'Αγήου       1785         Agra       192c; 193; 198       - Flavius; Iulius         Aha       Αηπικ       67; 78         'Αα       2182         Aharon       μπκ       67; 78         'Αα       2182         Aharon       μπκ       55; 881         Ai[]       Αι[-] λία[]       2639b         Aia       Αία       2445         Aianon       Αίαν()       3821         Aianon       Αἰάνων       3023         Aianon       Αἰανόν       842.13         Aianus       Αίανόν       842.13         Ai	• •		
Agathe Αμπικ 413 Agathemerus Άγαθήμερον 3823 Agathes Άγαθοκλέους 2166 Agathocles Άγαθοκλέους 3680 Αγαθοκλέου[ς] 3677; 3678 Αγαθοκλέου[ς] 3682 Αγαθοκλέου[ς] 3682 Αγαθοκλέους] 3681 [Άγαθοκλέους] 3681 [Άγαθοκλέους] 3679  Agathonicus Άγαθονίκου 841 Aggus Αγγου 2469 Agias Άγήου 1785 Agra πιπικ 192c; 193; 198 Αgrippa			
Agathemerus Άγαθήμερον 3823 Agathes Άγαθες 2166 Agathocles Άγαθοκλέους 3680 Αγαθοκλέου[ς] 3677; 3678 Αγαθοκλέου[ς] 3682 Αγαθοκλέους] 3682 Αγαθοκλέους] 3681 [Άγαθοκλέους] 3681 [Άγαθοκλέους] 3679 Agathonicus Άγαθονίκου 841 Aggus Αγγου 2469 Agias Άγήου 1785 Agra 1788 Αβrippa	-		
Agathes       'Aγάθες       2166         Agathocles       'Aγαθοκλέους       3680         'Aγαθοκλέου[ς]       3677; 3678         'Aγαθοκλέου[ς]       3682         'Aγαθοκλέους]       3681         ['Aγαθοκλέους]       3679         Agathonicus       'Aγαθονίκου       841         Aggus       Αγγου       2469         Agias       'Aγήου       1785         Agra       1785       192c; 193; 198         Agrippa       → Flavius; Iulius         Aharon       μπκ       67; 78         'Aα       2182         Aharon       μπκ       441         μπρ       55; 881         Ai[]li[]       Ai[-]λι[]       2639b         Aia       Aiαν()       3821         Aianis       Aiαν()       3821         Aianon       Aiανίς       3307a-b         Aianus       Aiανός       842.13         Aiανόν       842.52         Aidas       Φτκ       130         Aiglon       → Eglon         Ainias       Alνίας       2931         Akeson       'Aκέσωνος       3	_		
AgathoclesΆγαθοκλέους 'Άγαθοκλέου[ς]3680΄Αγαθοκλέου[ς]3677; 3678΄Αγαθοκλέου[ς?]3682΄Αγαθοκλέους]3676΄Αγαθοκλέους]3681['Αγαθοκλέους]3679Agathonicus'Αγαθονίκου841AggusΑγγου2469Agias'Αγήου1785Agraπλκ192c; 193; 198Αgrippa→ Flavius; IuliusAhaκπκ67; 78'Αα2182Aharonμπκ441μπκ55; 881Ai[]li[]Αι[]λι[]2639bAiaAiα2445Aian()Aiαν()3821Aianis'Αιανίς3307a-bAianonΑἰάνων3023AianusΑἰανόν842.13Aiανόν842.52AidasΦΤκ130Aiglon→ EglonAiniasΑἰνίας2931Akaviyaἀναρυς516a-bAkeson'Ακέσωνος3	· ·		
Άγαθοκλέου[ς]3677; 3678Άγαθοκλέου[ς?]3682Άγαθοκ[λ]έ[ο]υς3676ʹΑγαθοκλέους]3681[ʹΑγαθοκλέους]3681[ʹΑγαθοκλέους]3679AgathonicusʹΑγαθονίκου841AggusΑγγου2469AgiasʹΑγήου1785Agraπικ192c; 193; 198Agrippa→ Flavius; IuliusAḥaκπκ67; 78᾿Αα2182Aharonμπκ55; 881Ai[]li[]Αι[]λι[]2639bAiaAlα2445Aian()Aἰαν()3821Aianis᾿Αιανίς3307a-bAianonAἰάνων3023AianusΑἰανός842.13AianusΑἰανός842.13Aiglon→ EglonAiniasΑἰνίας2931Akaviyaἢτςτη516a-bAkeson᾿Ακέσωνος3			
Άγαθοκλέου[ς?]3682Άγαθοκ[λ]έ[ο]υς3676Άγαθοκλέους]3681[Άγαθοκλέους]3679AgathonicusΆγαθονίκου841AggusΑγγου2469AgiasΆγήου1785Agraπικ192c; 193; 198Agrippaγ Γανιώς; IuliusΑḥaκπκ67; 78᾿Αα2182Aharonμπκ55; 881Αί[]li[]Αι[]λι[]2639bAiaAla2445Aian()Αἰανίς3307a-bAianonΑἰάνων3023AianusΑἰανός842.13Aiανόν842.52AidasΦΤκ130Aiglonγ ΕglonAiniasΑἰνίας2931Akaviyaἢαςτη516a-bAkeson᾿Ακέσωνος3	Agathocies		
Αγαθοκ[λ]έ[ο]υς   3676   Αγαθοκλέους]   3681   [Άγαθοκλέους]   3679			
'Αγαθοκλέους  3681   ['Αγαθοκλέους  3679   3679			
Agathonicus Άγαθονίκου 841 Aggus Αγγου 2469 Agias Άγήου 1785 Agra 192c; 193; 198 Agrippa 567; 78 Aha 67; 78 Aharon 1916[] Αι[]λι[] 2639b Aia Αλίανος 32182 Aianon Αλίανος 3307a-b Aianus Αλάνος 842.13 Aiglon Αλίνίας 2931 Akaviya Αλέσωνος 36			
Agathonicus ἀγαθονίκου 2469 Agias Αγγου 2469 Agias ἀγήου 1785 Agra 192c; 193; 198 Agrippa → Flavius; Iulius Aḥa κπκ 67; 78 ἀα 2182 Aharon μπρκ 55; 881 Ai[]li[] Αι[]λι[] 2639b Aia Αἰα 2445 Aian() Αἰαν() 3821 Aianis ἀιανίς 3307a-b Aianon Αἰάνων 3023 Aianus Αἰανόν 842.52 Aialon Αἰανόν 842.52 Aidas Αἰνίας 2931 Ainias Αἰνίας 2931 Akaviya Ακεκου ἀκεσωνος 3			
Aggus Αγγου 2469 Agias Άγήου 1785 Agra 192c; 193; 198 Agrippa	A (1 :		
Agias Άγἦου 1785 Agra אגרה Agrippa Agrippa Aha κπκ 67; 78 Αα 2182 Aharon אהרון Αί[]li[] Αι[]λι[] 2639b Aia Αἰα 2445 Aian() Αἰαν() 3821 Aianis Ἰαινίς 3307a-b Aianon Αἰάνων 3023 Aianus Αἰανός 842.13 Aiανόν 842.52 Aidas Ντκ 130 Aiglon Ainias Αἰνίας 2931 Akaviya Ακεκοη Ἰακέσωνος 3	-	-	
Agra אגרה Agrippa Agrippa Agrippa Aha אחר			
Agrippa Aḥa	-		
Aḥa אחא 67; 78 'Aα 2182  Aharon וואר 441  Ai[]li[] Ai[]λi[] 2639b  Aia Aiα 2445  Aian() Aiαν() 3821  Aianis 'Aιανίς 3307a-b  Aianon Aiάνων 3023  Aianus Aiανός 842.13  Aiανόν 842.52  Aidas DTN 130  Aiglon  Aiνίας 2931  Akaviya Αλκέσωνος 3  Aiπον Ακέσωνος 3  Απον 2182  Απον 441  Απον 55; 881  Απον 2445  Απον 2445  Απον 3821  Απον 3023  Απ	•	אגרה	
'Aα2182AharonאהרוןאורןאורןAi[]li[]Aι[]λι[]AiaAlαAian()Alαν()Aianis'AιανίςAianonAlάνωνAianusAlανόςAianusAlανόνAiavóν842.13Aiανόν842.52AidsשידאAiglon→ EglonAiniasAlνίαςAkaviyaψημείςAkeson'Ακέσωνος			
Aharon       אהרון       441         καί[]li[]       Αι[]λι[]       2639b         Aia       Aἰα       2445         Aian()       Αἰαν()       3821         Aianis       ᾿Αιανίς       3307a-b         Aianon       Αἰάνων       3023         Aianus       Αἰανός       842.13         Αἰανόν       842.52         Aidas       מדיא       130         Aiglon       → Eglon         Ainias       Αἰνίας       2931         Akaviya       ἢτρενη       516a-b         Akeson       ᾿Ακέσωνος       3	Aḥa		
אורון  Ai[]li[]  Ai[]li[]  Aia  Aia  Aia  Aia  Aia  Aiaν()  Aiaνίς  Aianon  Aiάνων  Aianon  Aiάνων  Aianus  Aiανός  Aianus  Aiανός  Aianus  Aiανόν  Aianon  Aiανόν  Aianon  Aiανόν  Aianus  Aianus	4.1		
Ai[]li[]	Aharon	·	
Aia Aiα 2445 Aian() Aiαν() 3821 Aianis 'Aιανίς 3307a-b Aianon Aiάνων 3023 Aianus Aiανός 842.13 Αiανόν 842.52 Aidas סידא 130 Aiglon + Eglon Ainias Aiνίας 2931 Akaviya קבריה Ακεσωνος 3	4 15 2115 2		
Aian() Aianis 'Aiανίς 3307a-b Aianon Aiάνων 3023 Aianus Aiανός 842.13 Aiανόν 842.52 Aidas מידע 130 Aiglon			
Aianis 'Aiανίς 3307a-b Aianon Alάνων 3023 Aianus Alανός 842.13 Alανόν 842.52 Aidas סידא 130 Aiglon + Eglon Ainias Alνίας 2931 Akaviya קביה 130 Akeson 'Ακέσωνος 3			
Aianon Aiάνων 3023 Aianus Aiανός 842.13 Aiανόν 842.52 Aidas סידא 130 Aiglon → Eglon Ainias Aiνίας 2931 Akaviya קביה 130 Akeson ἀκέσωνος 3		_	
Aianus Aiανός 842.13 Aiανόν 842.52 Aidas סידע 130 Aiglon $\rightarrow$ Eglon Ainias Aiνίας 2931 Akaviya קביה 516a-b Akeson Άκέσωνος 3			
Aἰανόν 842.52 Aidas אידס 130 Aiglon			
Aidas אידט 130 Aiglon	Aianus		
Aiglon → Eglon Ainias Αἰνίας 2931 Akaviya אַקביה 516a-b Akeson ἀχέσωνος 3	4.1		
Ainias Αἰνίας 2931 Akaviya עקביה 516a-b Akeson ἀχέσωνος 3		אידס	
Akaviya עקביה 516a-b Akeson ἀκέσωνος 3		/	
Akeson Άκέσωνος 3			
•	•	• •	
Akıva עקיבא 274			
	Akıva	עקיבא	2/4

Alapheus	'Αλαφέου	3821
Alaphtha	Αλαφθα	2183
Alcius	'Αλκίου	2698; 2765; 2767; 2768; 2769; 2770;
		2771; 2775
	'Αλκίο<υ>	2764
	Άλκ[ί]ου	2776
	[Άλ]κίο[υ]	2772
Ale[]	'Αλε[]	1498
Aleksa		→ Alexander
Alexa	'Αλέξας	517a
Alexander	Άλέξανδρος	324a-b; 2940; → Flavius; Iulius;
	, ,	Nonius; Novius
	Άλέξαν[δρο]ς	842.25
	Άλεξάνδρου	232a-b; 324c; 408b-c; 894; 895;
		2191; 2368(?); 2433; 2470; 2530;
		2547; 2581a; 3542
	Άλεξά[νδρ]ου	1446
	Άλε(ξάνδρου)	408a
	Άλε[]	324b
	אלכסנדרוס	324c
	[אל]כסנדרוס	635
- Aleksa	אלכסא	344; 468; 1088
11101104	אלכשה	457
Alexandr()	Άλεξανδρ()	3312
Alexas	Άλεξᾶ	2773
Allato	Αλλατο	210
C. Allius Iustus	G(aius) Allius Iustus	1353
Aloth	Αλωθ	479
Alpheius	Άλφείου	2539
1117110100	Άλφει(ός?)	2611b
- Alphius	Άλφίου	2581a
Alypius, Alypis	Άλῦπις	1515
111, p140, 111, p10	Άλυπίου	3197a
	Άλυπίω	1264
Alypus	Άλύπου	2140
Amachius	Άμαχίου	2232
Amantius	Άμαντίου	979
Amatius	Amati	755
Amb[]	AMB[]	1445
Ambomare	THID[]	→ Abbomares
Ambros	"Αμβρος	1388
Ami	עמי	3762
- Ammaidus	'Αμμαίδος	3762
Amia	Άμία	361
- Ammia	Άμμία	410b
- Allillia	אווואא אמיה	410b 410a
Amibellus		1450
Amideilus	'Αμιβέλλ'ο'<υ>	1450 → Ami
Amme	'Δ	→ Ami 2184
	'Αμμη	
Ammia		→ Amia

	24 /	2520 2520 2550
Ammoius	Άμμωίου	3528; 3529; 3570
Ammonius	Άμμώνιος	2474
	Άμμωνίου	3547
Amos	Άμος	923c; 980
	Άμουτος	1727
Ampelius	'Αμπελίω	1336; 1339
Amram	עמרם	106; 108; 981
Amunis	Άμοῦνιν	2513
An[]	An[]	1379
	Άν[]	1448; 2981
Ana[]	'Ανα[]	2241
Anael	'Αναήλ	3325; 3326; 3327
Anamus	"Αναμος	949
	"Αναμον	842.42
Ananas		→ Ḥanan
Anania		→ Ḥananiah, Ḥananiya
Ananias		→ Ḥananiah, Ḥananiya
Anasia	Άνασίας	2656
Anastasi[]	Άνασ[τασι]	1529
Anastasia	Άναστασία	835; 2479; 3057
	[Ά]ναστασία	2574
	Άναστασίας	835; 1476; 2480; 2746
	Άναστ(ασίας)	899
	['Αναστ]ασίας	1449
	Άναστασίαν	2481; 3823
	אנסטסיה	791
- Anestasia	Άνεστασία	2477
Anastasius, Anastasis	Άναστάσις	2862; 2868; 2909; 3312
	['Αν]αστάσι<ο>ς	1005
	Ά[ν]αστ[ά]σις	3073
	Άναστασίου	1059a; 1450; 2327a; 2373(?);
		3195b
	Άναστασ[ίου]	1451
	[Ά]ναστασίου	1060
	Άναστ(ασίου)	899
	Άν(αστασίου)	1059b
	Άναστασίω	879
	[Ά]ναστασι[]	3157
	translation only	2533
Anatolia	Άνατολία	875
Anatolius	Άνατόλιος	3359
	Άνατολίου	2217
	[?'Ανα]τολίου	1452
Anaxicles	Άναξικλῆς	2172
Andr[]	Άνδρ[]	2739b
Andreas	Άνδρέας	3062
	Άνδρέου	2746
	Άνδρέο[υ]	931
	Ά[ν]δρέου	1331
	Άνδροῦς	208; 269b
		200, 2000

Anemus	'Ανεμ<ο>υ	550
Anestasia		→ Anastasia
Ani	אני	270
Anianus	Άνιανοῦ	1453; 3862; 3866
	Άνιανόν	842.52
Anin		→ Ḥanan
Aninas		→ Ḥananiah, Ḥananiya
Anis		→ Ḥananiah, Ḥananiya
Anna	"Αννα	2185
Annaeus	Annaei	3743
Annas	"Αννας	2692
	$ANNA\Sigma(?)$	3211p2
Annius	Άννίου	581
Anno[]	Anno[]	1379
Antagoras	Άντάγορα	3574
Antas	"Αντας	656
Anth[]s	ANΘ[.]O[.]ς	2908
Anthusa	Άνθοῦσα	2341
	Άνθούση	2155
Antigona	 Άντιγόνα	469
	'Α<ν>τιγόνα	513
Antinous	[?Anti]noo	1415
Antiochus	Άντίοχος	938; 2883; 2967
	Άντίωχος	2699
	Άντιόχου	2789; 3621
	Άντ[ι]όχου	3585
	(A)NTIO(X-)	2790
Antipas	['Α]ντίπας	737
Antipater	Άντίπατρος	3660
•	Άντίπατρο[ς]	1289
	Άντιπάτρου	3674
	Άντιπά[τρου]	3515a
	[Ά]ντιπάτρ[ου]	3683
Antiphilus	Άντιφίλου	3619; 3638
-	{Α}'Αντιφίλου	3636
Antiquus		→ Gargilius
Antochianus	Άντωχιανοῦ(?)	3192
Antoninus	Άντωνίνου	2098
	[Άν]τ[ω]νίνου	1784
	[Άντ]ωνίν[ου]	1049
	Άντωνίνε	1454
Antonius, Antonis	Άντῶνις	3197b
	Άντονίου	795
	Άντωνίου	2314; 2315
	Άντωνίο[υ]	1087
	[Ά]ντω[νίου]	842.53
	ანტონი	3201
- C. Antonius	G(ai) Antoni	755
- L. Antonius	L(ucius/o) An[tonius/o?]	1310

- L. Antonius		
Epaphroditus	L(ucio) Anton[io] Epaphro[dito]	1389a
Epapinounus	[Λουκίω Άντωνίω Έπαφρ]ωδείτω	1389b
- Antonius I onginus	Ant(oni) Lon(gini)	3231
- Antonius Longinus	Ant(oni) Lon(gii)	3231
- Antonius Longus		
- Antonius Nicanor	Άντ(ωνίου) Νικάν(ωρος)(?)	2383
- Antonius Vettius	Άντώνιος Οὐέττιος Άπελλαίου	3477
Apellaius		1124
Apellianus	Άπελλιανός	2856
Aphleus	Αφλεος	2672
Apo()	$A\pi o()$	2604; 3684
Apoll[]	$\Lambda \pi \circ \lambda \{ \circ \lambda \} + + +$	3581
Apollo[]	Άπολλω[]	3739
Apollodorus	Άπολλοδώρου	3530; 3557; 3587; 3618; 3628
	Άπολλο{υ}[δώρου]	3604
	Άπολλοδώρω	2537
Apollodotus	Άπολλοδό[του]	2338
	[Άπολ]λοδότ{τ}ου	2337
Apollogena	אפלגנה	597
Apollonia	Άπολλ{ι}ωνίας	3608
Apollonides	Άπολλωνείδου	1015
Apollonius	Άπολλωνίου	2594a; 2627; 2634; 3671
		→ Aurelius; → Rusticius
	'Απολλωνί(ου)	3672
	Άπολλω(νίου)	2633
	Άπολ(λωνίου)	2630b
	Άπ[ο]λ(λωνίου)	2630a
	Άπολ(λώνιος?)	2594b
Apollophanes	Άπολλοφάνης	3573
	Άπολλοφάνου	3520; 3580; 3586
	'Απολλο{υ}[φάνου]	3604
Aponius	[A]poni	761
Apphias	Άπφιάς	456a
	אפיחס	456b
Apphus	[Ά]πφου	1111
Arabianus	Άραβιανοῦ	2537
Arbaeus Africanus	Arbaeus Africanus	1213
Arcadius	Άρκαδίω	1455
Archagatha	Άρχαγάθας	2482
Archelaus	Άρχελάου	2774
Areobindus	Άρεοβί[νδου]	978
Ares	"Αρης	1
Aretes	Ά[ρή]της	1165.1a
Ari[]	Αρι[]	585b
	[] ארי	698
Arion	λΡΙ <b>Ϣ</b> Ν	1044
Aristarchus	Άρι[σ]τάρχ[ου]	2298
Aristeia	Άρίστ'ε ια	3604
Aristeides	Άριστεί δ'ου	3603
Aristobule	Άριστοβούλης	418
	1 1 12	

Aριστοβούλου 325a Aristobulus Αριστοβούλου 387 Aristocleia Άριστολέιας 3653 Aristodamus Άριστοδάμου 3515a Αριστοδάμου 3515a Αριστοδάμου 3674 Ariston Αριστοδάμου 304 Αρίστον 2262 Αρίστων 309a; 2162a Αρίστων(ος) 308a Αρίστων(ος) 308a Αρίστον(ος?) 3674 Αρίστων(ος) 308a Αρίστων(ος) 308a Αρίστων(ος) 308a Αρίστον(ος?) 3674 Αρίστον(ος?) 3674 Αρίστων(ος) 308a Αρίστων(ος) 308a Αρίστων(ος) 308b Αρίστον[ος] 3515a Αρίστων α 2570 Πυσημα 304; 309a Πυσημα 308a Πίβισσημα 309b - Ariston Α[] Αρίστων Α[] 2570 Ατίστω Α[] 2570 Ατίστω Α[] Αρίστων Α[] 2570 Ατίστω Αρίστου 1733 Ατπεπίμα, Ατπεπίμα Αρμάνος 2874 Αρμένος 2874 Αρμένος 2861 Αττίαπμα Αρριανο[ΰ] 2629 Αττίστου 1085 Αττάπα Αρριανο[ΰ] 2629 Αττίστου 1085 Αττάπα Αποτημα 225 Αττάπα Νηπημα 225 Αττάπα Νηπημα 225 Αττάπα Νηπημα 225 Αττάπα Αττέπιδοτί 740 Αττέπο Αρτέμωνος 20 Αρτέμωνος 2143b Ασκλήπιν 1680 Ασκλίξ 842.14; 842.18; 842.22	- Arristobula	Άρριστοβόλα	325b
Aristocleia         Άριστολέιμου         3653           Aristodamus         Άριστοδάιμου         3515a           Αρίστων         3674           Ariston         Άρίστων         304           Αρίστωνος         309a; 2162a           Αρίστων(ος)         308a           Αρίστων(ος?)         3674           Αρίστων(ος?)         368b           Αρίστων(ος?)         308b           Αρίστωνα         2570           ηίυση         304; 309a           ηυση         304; 309a           ηυση         308a             ηίστων α         2570             ηίστων         309b           - Ariston A[]         Αρίστων A[]         2570           Aristus         Αρίστων A[]         2570           Aristus         Αρίστων A[]         2570           Aristus         Αρίστων A[]         2570           Aristus         Αρίστων A[]         2874           Αρμενίς         2861           Arristobula         - Απίειτου A[]         Αρίμενος           Απτικου Αρφινος         1085           - Απεκαεεε         Αρσάχου         1085           Αττικου Απτικου         225		Άρριστοβού[λα]	325a
Aristodamus       Άριστοδά μου       3515a         Αρίστων       3674         Αρίστων       304         Αρίστωνος       309a; 2162a         Αρίστωνος)       308a         Αρίστων(ος)       308b         Αρίστων(ος)!       308b         Αρίστων(ος)!       3515a         Αρίστωνα       2570         μυσηκ       304; 309a         μυσηκ       304; 309a         μυσηκ       308a         []ηυσηκ       309b         - Ariston A[]       Άρίστων A[]       2570         Aristus       Άρμενίς       2861         Armenius, Armenis       Άρμενίς       2861         Arrianus       Άρριανο[ῦ]       2629         Arristobula       - Απίστου       1085         Arsacces       Άρσάχου       1085         - Arsacces       Άρσάχου       3277         Artaka       καρηκ       225         Artawan       Աριμιμιμιώμιμη       925         Artemidorus       Artemidorui       740         Artemidorus       Artemidorui       740         Artemidorus       Artemidorui       740         Artemidorui       Απλάς       3904	Aristobulus		387
Ariston	Aristocleia		3653
Ariston       Άρίστων       304         Αρίστωνος       309a; 2162a         Αρίστων(ος)       308a         Αρίστων(ος)       308b         Αρίστον(ος?)       3674         Άρίστον(ος?)       308b         Αρίστωνα       2570         ηυσην       304; 309a         ηυσην       308a           ηυσην       309b         - Ariston A[]       Αρίστων A[]       2570         Aristus       Αρμένιος       2874         Αρμενίς       2861       2874         Αρμενίς       2861       2629         Arristobula       - Απίστιού       2629         Arristobula       - Απίστιού       3277         Artaka       Αρπην       225         Artaka       Αρπην       225         Artem()       Άρτέμωνος       20         Αττέμωνος       20       2612b         Artemidorus	Aristodamus	Άριστοδάμου	3515a
Άρίστονς         2262           Άρίστωνος         309a; 2162a           Άρίστων(ος)         308a           Αρίστον(ος?)         3674           Άρίστον(ος)         308b           Άρίστον(ος?)         308b           Αρίστον(ος?)         308b           Αρίστον (ος?)         308b           Αρίστον (ος?)         308b           Αρίστον (ος?)         308b           Ιρυση (ονημα (ος)         308b           Αρίστον (ος)         308a           Ιρυση (ονημα (ος)         304; 309a           Ιρυση (ονημα (ος)         309b           - Ariston A[]         Άρίστων A[]         2570           Aristus         Άρίστων A[]         2570           Aristus         Άρίστων A[]         2570           Aristus         Άρμένιος         2874           Αρμένιος         2874         Αρτέμοις           Αγιέστου Αρτέμους         3277           Αττακα         Αρσάχου         1085           Ατταμ()         Άρτεμονς         20           Ατταμ()         Άρτεμονος         2143b           Ατταμος         20         Αρτέμονος           Ανταμησιου         842.1           Ασκληπι		Άριστοδά μ'ου	3674
'λρίστωνος       309a; 2162a         'λρίστων(ος)       308a         'λρίστον(ος?)       3674         'λρίστον(ος)       308b         'λρίστων(ος)       308b         'λρίστωνα       2570           ηστωνα       2570           ηστων       308a                                     309b         - Ariston A[]       'λρίστων A[]       2570         Aristus       'λρμένιος       2874         'λρμενίς       2861       2861         Arristus       'λρφμενίς       2861         Arristobula       - Απεικοίξη       2629         Arristobula       - Απεικοίξη       2629         Arristobula       - Απεικοίξη       225         Artaka       καρπκου       3277         Artaka       καρπκου       3277         Artaka       καρπε()       'λρτέμωνος       20         'λρτέμωνος       20	Ariston	Άρίστων	304
ঔρίστων(ος)       308a         ঔρίστον(ος?)       3674         ঔρίστον(ος?)       308b         ঔρίστον(ος?)       3515a         ঔρίστωνα       2570         Νρίστωνα       2570         Νρίστων       304; 309a         ΙρΌτα       308a         [1]10τη       309b         - Ariston A[]       Άρίστων A[]       2570         Aristus       Άρίστου       1733         Armenius, Armenis       Ἀρμένιος       2874         Ἀρμενίς       2861         Arristobula       - Αρρίανοίξ)       2629         Arristobula       - Αρτάκου       1085         - Ατεαοεε       Ἀρσάκου       1085         - Αντακοε       Ἀρσάκου       3277         Artaka       ΝΠΠΕ       225         Artawan       Աριπμιμιμίμη       925         Artemidorus       Ατεπίσου       2612b         Artemidorus       Ατεμίσους       20         Ἀρτέμωνος       20       20         Ἀρτέμωνος       20       2413b         Asclas       Ασκλᾶξ       3904         Asclepius, Asclepis       Ἀσκλλῆπιν       1680         Ασκλῆπιν       1680		Άρίστον	2262
'λρίστον(ος?)       3674         'λρίστον(ος?]       308b         'λρίστον(ος?]       3515a         'λρίστωνα       2570         ηιυσηκ       304; 309a         μοσηκ       308a         []]υσηκ       309b         - Ariston A[]       'Αρίστων A[]       2570         Aristus       'Αρίστων A[]       2570         Aristus       'Αρίστων A[]       2570         Aristus       'Αρίστων A[]       2570         Aristus       'Αρμένιος       2844         Αρμένιος       2874       2861         Armenius, Armenis       'Αρμένιος       2861         Αrranus       'Αρμένιος       2861         Αrranus       'Αρμένιος       2861         Αrasaces       'Αρσάχου       1085         - Arsaces       'Αρσάχου       3277         Artaka       "Επικτούμε       925         Artaka       "Επικτούμε       925         Artem()       'Αρτέμωνος       20         Αγτέμωνος       20       20         'Αρτέμωνος       20         'Αρτέμωνος       2143b         Asclas       'Αστάμουος       2143b         Asclepi		Άρίστωνος	309a; 2162a
'Αρίστον[ος?]       3515a         'Αρίστονα       2570         ηυσηκ       304; 309a         ηυσηκ       304; 309a         ηυσηκ       308a         []]υσηκ       309b         - Ariston A[]       'Αρίστου       1733         Armenius, Armenis       'Αρμένιος       2874         'Αρμένις       2861         Arrianus       'Αρρίανο[ΰ]       2629         Arristobula       - Ατεικοτου       1085         Α-πεαces       'Αρσάχου       1085         - Ατεαces       'Αρσάχου       3277         Ατtaka       καπητα       225         Ατταμα       Υηπιωμωτωμ       925         Ατταμα       Υηπεμ()       2612b         Ατταμόστυς       Ατταμίσοτος       20         Ατταμονος       2143b         Ακολα       3904         Asclas       'Ασκληπίου       842.1         Ασκληπίν       1680         'Ασκληπίν       1680         'Ασκληπίν       1680         'Ασκληπίν       1680         Ασκληπίν       1680         Ασκληπίν       1680         Ασκληπίν       1680         Ασκληπίν		Άρίστων(ος)	308a
'Αρίστον[ος?]       3515a         'Αρίστωνα       2570         ηιστη       304; 309a         μοτη       308b         - Ariston A[]       'Αρίστων A[]       2570         Aristus       'Αρίστου       1733         Armenius, Armenis       'Αρμένιος       2874         'Αρμένιος       2861         Arrianus       'Αρράχου       1085         Arristobula       + Αristobule         Arsacces       'Αρσάχου       3277         Artaka       κηπα       225         Artawan       Աριπωιωτίωι       925         Artemidorus       Artemidor(i)       740         Artemidorus       Artemidor(i)       740         Artemon       'Αρτέμωνος       20         'Αρτέμονος       2143b         Asclas       'Ασκλᾶς       3904         Asclepius, Asclepis       'Ασκλῆπίου       842.1         'Ασκλῆπίι)ν       1680         'Ασκλῆπίι)ν       1680         Ascm       [A]σεμ       842.55         Ashini       *** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** **		Άρίστον(ος?)	3674
'Αρίστωνα   304; 309a   1007k   304; 309a   308a   1007k   309b   309b   309b   309b   309b   309b   309c   30		Άρί<σ>των(ος)	308b
Νατούρικ   304; 309a   100πκ   308a   10πκ   309b   309		Άρίστον[ος?]	3515a
Τουτικ   308a   [1]   100		Άρίστωνα	2570
[]   Νοτηκ   309b   - Ariston A[]   Άρίστων Α[]   2570   Aristus   Άρίστου   1733   Armenius, Armenis   Άρμένιος   2874   - Άρμενίς   2861   Arrianus   Άρμενίς   2629   Arristobula		ארסטון	304; 309a
- Ariston A[]		ארסטן	308a
Aristus Άρίστου 1733 Armenius, Armenis Άρμένιος 2874		[ן]ארסטו	309b
Armenius, Armenis       Άρμένιος       2874         'Αρμενίς       2861         Arrianus       'Άρριανο[ῦ]       2629         Arristobula       → Aristobule         Arsaces       'Άρσάκκου       1085         - Arsacces       'Άρσάκκου       3277         Artaka       κρπικου       225         Artawan       Աριπμιμίμιμη       925         Artem()       'Άρτεμ()       2612b         Artemidorus       Artemidor(i)       740         Artemon       'Άρτέμωνος       20         Αρτέμονος       2143b         Asclas       'Άσκλᾶς       3904         Asclepius, Asclepis       'Ασκλῆπιν       1680         'Ασκλῆπιν       1680         'Ασκλῆπιν       1680         'Ασκλῆπ[ι]ν       1680         Asem       [Α]σεμ       842.15         Ashini       'μυκ       69         Asiaticus       'Ασατικός       842.14; 842.18; 842.22         Asiya       πυψ       85         Aslas(?)       ΑΣΛΑ       2264         ASOMEY       ΑΣΟΜΕΥ       3800a         Aste       'Άστερίου       2192; 2244         'Άστ[ρείου	- Ariston A[]	Άρίστων Α[]	2570
Άρμενίς   2861   Arrianus   Άρριανο[ῦ]   2629   Arristobula   → Aristobule   Arsaces   Άρσάκου   1085   3277   Artaka   βυπικόυ   3277   Artaka   βυπικόυ   325   Artawan   Unumumumum   925   Artemidorus   Artemidorus   Artemidorus   Artemidorus   Artemon   Άρτέμονος   20   Aρτέμονος   2143b   Asclas   Άσκλῆπιν   1680   Άσκλῆπιν   1680   Άσκλῆπίν   1680   Άσκλῆπίν   1680   Ascλῆπίν   1680   Ascλῆπίνη   1680   Aschailius   Artemidorus   Artemid	Aristus	Άρίστου	1733
Άρμενίς   2861   Arrianus   Άρριανο[ῦ]   2629   Arristobula   → Aristobule   Arsaces   Άρσάκου   1085   3277   Artaka   βυπικόυ   3277   Artaka   βυπικόυ   325   Artawan   Unumumumum   925   Artemidorus   Artemidorus   Artemidorus   Artemidorus   Artemon   Άρτέμονος   20   Aρτέμονος   2143b   Asclas   Άσκλῆπιν   1680   Άσκλῆπιν   1680   Άσκλῆπίν   1680   Άσκλῆπίν   1680   Ascλῆπίν   1680   Ascλῆπίνη   1680   Aschailius   Artemidorus   Artemid	Armenius, Armenis	Άρμένιος	2874
Arristobula Arsaces			2861
ArsacesΆρσάχου1085- ArsaccesΆρσάχκου3277Artakaκρακκου3277Artakaκρακκου225ArtawanUnumuluiui925Artem()Άρτεμ()2612bArtemidorusArtemidor(i)740ArtemonΆρτέμωνος20Άρτέμονος2143bAsclasΆσκλᾶς3904AsclasΆσκληπίου842.1Ασκλήπιν1680Άσκλήπιν1680Ασκλήπ[ι]ν1680Asem[Α]σεμ842.55Ashiniτυπκ69AsiaticusΆσιατικός842.14; 842.18; 842.22Asiyaπυψ85Aslas(?)ΑΣΛΑ2264ASOMEYΑΣΟΜΕΥ3800aAsteΆστη1456AsteriusΆστερίου2192; 2244'Αστ ρερίου2192; 2244'Αστ ρερίου2466AsubusΑσουβος120a	Arrianus	Άρριανο[ῦ]	2629
- Arsacces	Arristobula		→ Aristobule
Artakaκρπκ225ArtawanUpumulumum925Artem()ἀρτεμ()2612bArtemidorusArtemidor(i)740Artemonἀρτέμωνος20ἀρτέμονος2143bAsclasἀσκλᾶς3904Asclepius, Asclepisἄσκληπίου842.1ἀσκλῆπιν1680ἀσκλῆπίν1680Ασκλῆπ[ι]ν1680Asem[Α]σεμ842.55Ashiniκυκ69Asiaticusἀσιατικός842.14; 842.18; 842.22Asiyaκυν85Aslas(?)ΑΣΛΑ2264ASOMEYΑΣΟΜΕΥ3800aAsteἄστη1456Asteriusἄστερίου2192; 2244ἀσ(τ)ερίου2466AsubusΑσουβος120a	Arsaces	Άρσάκου	1085
ArtawanUριπωιωύωυ925Artem()ἀρτεμ()2612bArtemidorusArtemidor(i)740Artemonἀρτέμωνος20ἀρτέμονος2143bAsclasἀσκλᾶς3904Asclepius, Asclepisἀσκλῆπιν1680ἀσκλῆπιν1680ἀσκλῆπ[ι]ν1680Asem[Α]σεμ842.15Ashini϶ων69Asiaticusἀσιατικός842.14; 842.18; 842.22Asiyaπυυ85Aslas(?)ΑΣΛΑ2264ASOMEYΑΣΟΜΕΥ3800aAsteἄστη1456Asteriusἄστερίου2192; 2244ἀσ() Ερίου2466AsubusΑσουβος120a	- Arsacces	Άρσάκκου	3277
	Artaka	ארתכא	225
Artemidorus       Artemidor(i)       740         Artemon       Άρτέμωνος       20         Αρτέμονος       2143b         Asclas       Άσκλᾶς       3904         Asclepius, Asclepis       Άσκληπίου       842.1         Ασκλῆπιν       1680         Ασκλῆπ[ι]ν       1680         Asem       [Α]σεμ       842.55         Ashini       "μυκ       69         Asiaticus       Άσιατικός       842.14; 842.18; 842.22         Asiya       "μυψ       85         Aslas(?)       ΑΣΛΑ       2264         ASOMEY       ΑΣΟΜΕΥ       3800a         Aste       "Αστη       1456         Asterius       "Αστερίου       2192; 2244 $''$ $''$ $''$ $''$ $''$ $''$ $''$ $''$	Artawan	Արտաւանայ	925
Artemon $^{'}$ Άρτέμωνος $^{'}$ 20 $^{'}$ 2143b $^{'}$ Asclas $^{'}$ Ασκλᾶς $^{'}$ 3904 $^{'}$ Asclepius, Asclepis $^{'}$ Ασκληπίου $^{'}$ 4σκλῆπιν $^{'}$ 1680 $^{'}$ 4σκλῆπιν $^{'}$ 1680 $^{'}$ 4σκλῆπ[ι]ν $^{'}$ 1680 $^{'}$ 4σκλῆπ[ι]ν $^{'}$ 1680 $^{'}$ 4σκλῆπ[ι]ν $^{'}$ 1680 $^{'}$ 4σκλῆπ[ι]ν $^{'}$ 1680 $^{'}$ 4σκλῆπ[ι]ν $^{'}$ 1680 $^{'}$ 4ς 42.55 $^{'}$ 4shini $^{'}$ 19 $^{'}$ 842.55 $^{'}$ 4shini $^{'}$ 19 $^{'}$ 842.15 $^{'}$ 4σιατικός $^{'}$ 4σιατικός $^{'}$ 842.14; 842.18; 842.22 $^{'}$ Asiya $^{'}$ 19 $^{'}$ 2264 $^{'}$ ASOMEY $^{'}$ AΣΟΜΕΥ 3800a $^{'}$ Aste $^{'}$ Αστη 1456 $^{'}$ Asterius $^{'}$ $^{'}$ Αστερίου $^{'}$ 2192; 2244 $^{'}$ $^{'}$ $^{'}$ Ασίτ]ερίου 2466 $^{'}$ Asubus $^{'}$ Ασουβος 120a	Artem()	Άρτεμ()	2612b
Αsclas 'Αστέμονος 2143b  Asclas 'Ασκλᾶς 3904  Asclepius, Asclepis 'Ασκληπίου 842.1  'Ασκληπιν 1680  'Ασκλῆπιν 1680  Ασκλῆπιν 1680  Αsem [Α]σεμ 842.55  Ashini 'μνκ 69  Asiaticus 'Ασιατικός 842.14; 842.18; 842.22  Asiya πυψ 85  Aslas(?) ΑΣΛΑ 2264  ASOMEY ΑΣΟΜΕΥ 3800a  Aste 'Άστερίου 2192; 2244  'Ασ[τ]ερίου 2466  Asubus Ασουβος 120a	Artemidorus	Artemidor(i)	740
Asclas       Άσκλᾶς       3904         Asclepius, Asclepis       ᾿Ασκληπίου       842.1         Ασκλῆπιν       1680         ἀσκλῆπ[ι]ν       1680         Asem       [Α]σεμ       842.55         Ashini       ϶υψκ       69         Asiaticus       ᾿Ασιατικός       842.14; 842.18; 842.22         Asiya       πυψ       85         Aslas(?)       ΑΣΛΑ       2264         ASOMEY       ΑΣΟΜΕΥ       3800a         Aste       Ἅστη       1456         Asterius       Ὠστερίου       2192; 2244         ἢσ[τ]ερίου       2466         Asubus       Ασουβος       120a	Artemon	Άρτέμωνος	20
Asclepius, Asclepis $ Aσκληπίου $ $ Aσκληπίου $ $ Aσκληπίου $ $ Aσκληπίου $ $ Aσκληπίου $ $ 1680 $ $ Aσκληπίου $ $ 1680 $ $ 1690 $ $ 1680 $ $ 1680 $ $ 1680 $ $ 1680 $ $ 1680 $ $ 1680 $ $ 1680 $ $ 1680 $ $ 1680 $ $ 1680 $ $ 1680 $ $ 1680 $ $ 1$		Άρτέμονος	2143b
Άσκλῆπιν   1680     Άσκλ[ῆ]πιν   1680     Ασκλῆπ[ι]ν   1680     Αsem   [Α]σεμ   842.55     Ashini   ενικ   69     Asiaticus   Άσιατικός   842.14; 842.18; 842.22     Asiya   ενικ   85     Aslas(?)   ΑΣΛΑ   2264     ASOMEY   ΑΣΟΜΕΥ   3800a     Aste   Αστη   1456     Asterius   Άστερίου   2192; 2244     ὰσ[ερίου   2466     Asubus   Ασουβος   120a	Asclas	Άσκλᾶς	3904
	Asclepius, Asclepis	Άσκληπίου	842.1
Asem [A] σεμ 842.55 Ashini '' νν 69 Asiaticus 'Ασιατικός 842.14; 842.18; 842.22 Asiya νυ 85 Aslas(?) ΑΣΛΑ 2264 ASOMEY ΑΣΟΜΕΥ 3800a Aste ''Αστη 1456 Asterius ''Αστερίου 2192; 2244 $^{1}$ $^{1}$ $^{1}$ $^{1}$ $^{2}$ $^{1}$ $^{2}$ $^{$		Άσκλῆπιν	1680
Asem [A] σεμ 842.55 Ashini אשיני 69 Asiaticus Ἀσιατικός 842.14; 842.18; 842.22 Asiya $η$ $η$ $η$ $η$ $η$ $η$ $η$ $η$ $η$ $η$		Άσκλ[ῆ]πιν	1680
Ashini אשיני 69 Asiaticus Άσιατικός 842.14; 842.18; 842.22 Asiya 70 אטיה 85 Aslas(?) ΑΣΛΑ 2264 ASOMEY ΑΣΟΜΕΥ 3800a Aste 7Αστη 1456 Αsterius Άστερίου 2192; 2244 λσ[τ]ερίου 2466 Asubus Ασουβος 120a		Άσκλῆπ[ι]ν	1680
Asiaticus	Asem	[Α]σεμ	842.55
	Ashini	אשיני	69
$ \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	Asiaticus	Άσιατικός	842.14; 842.18; 842.22
$ \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	Asiya	עשיה	85
Aste       "Αστη       1456         Asterius       'Αστερίου       2192; 2244         'Ασ[τ]ερίου       2466         Asubus       Ασουβος       120a	Aslas(?)	ΑΣΛΑ	2264
Asterius       Άστερίου       2192; 2244         'Ασ[τ]ερίου       2466         Asubus       Ασουβος       120a	ASOMEY	ΑΣΟΜΕΥ	3800a
'Aσ[τ]ερίου 2466 Asubus Ασουβος 120a	Aste		1456
Asubus Ασουβος 120a	Asterius		2192; 2244
•			2466
Asus Ασους 120b-c	Asubus	Ασουβος	120a
	Asus	•	120b-c
At()			2257
Athamas $^{2}A\theta \acute{a}\mu \alpha$ 676; 677; 678	Athamas	'Αθάμα	
Athanaeus → Athenaeus	Athanaeus		→ Athenaeus

Athanasia	Άθανασία	2478
	Άθανασίαν	2651
Athanasius, Athanasis	'Αθανάσιος	3211d2
	Άθανάσι[ς]	2279
Athenaeus	Άθήναιος	3654
- Athanaeus	'Αθάναιος	3652
Athenagoras	Άθηνα[γόρου]	456a
	Athenag[ora]	720
	אתנגרש	456b
Athenion	Άθηνίου	3457a; 3458; 3459a
Athenodorus	Άθηνοδώρου	3673
C. Atilius Sabinus	G(aius) Atili[us] Sabinus	3096
Ato[]	Ατο[]	1729
Att[]	Άττ[ιον]	2120
Attianus	Άττιανο[ῦ]	1361
Au[]	Au[]	1408
Audocus	Αὐδοκώσου	3635
Aufidius Priscus	Aufid(ius) Priscus	1268; 1271; 1272
Auge	Αὔγης	300
	$A[v]\gamma\eta$	1131
	Αὔʹγ⊓ν	3860
Augurinus	Auguri(ni)	756
Aurel()	Aurel()	1442
Aurelianus		→ Flavius
Aurelius	Αὐρήλιο[ς]	842.48
- C. Aurelius	G(aius) Aure[lius]	1232
- Aurelius Apollonius	Αὖρ(ηλίου) Άπολλωνίου	2615
- Aurelius Bellicus	Αὐρ(ηλίου) Βελλικου	2628a-b
- Aurelius Clemens	[Aure]l(ius) Cleme(n)s	1286
- Aurelius Dionysius	Αὐρ(ηλίου) Διον(υσίου)	2630a-b
- M. Aurelius E[]	Μ. Αὐρ. Ε[]	2537
- Aurelius Eu[.]thus	Αὐρ(ηλίου) Εὐ[.]θου	2631
- Aurelius Hermogenes	Αὐρ(ήλιον) Έρμογένην	1457
- M. Aurelius Herodes	Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἡρώδου	2643
- Aurelius Iustinus	Aur(elius) Iustinus	1287
- M. Aurelius Macedon	Μᾶρ. Αὐρή. Μακεδών	2573
- Aurelius Maron	Αὐ[ρ(ήλιον) Μ]άρωνα	1288
- Aurelius Maximianus	Aur(elius) Maximianus	2565
- Aurelius Paulus	[Au]reli Pauli	3077
- Aurelius Theophilus	Aurel(io) Theophilo	1278
C. Aurunculeius	G(aius) Aurunculeius	1302
Auxentas	Αὐξέντα	2814
Auxentius	Αὐξεντίου	3145
Tuxentus	אובסנטיס	3468
Av[]	Av[]	1408
Avira	עוירא	519
Avishalom	עו ו רג	→ Avshalom
Avshalom	אבשלום	→ Avsiiaioiii 44
- Avishalom	אבשלום	347
- Avishalom Awai	אבישלום	180
AWdl	עו	100

Axia	Άξίας	1451
Axiana	Άξιάνα	3174
Azariya	עזריה	191; 403a; 693
- Azarian	עזרין	3853
- Azarias	, Άζαρίας	189; 3006
Azizus	"Αζιζος	3746
- Azzizus	Αζζίζου	3747
	33 3	
Ba[]	Βα[]	808
Ba[]us	Βα[]ος	2962
Baanes	Βα(ά)νου	1068b
Baba	$B\alpha\beta(\tilde{\alpha})$	3612
	$B\alpha\beta(\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma)$	3612
Babaeis	Βαβαειν	2186
Babas	Βαβᾶς	1123; 3529
Babata	Βαβάτας	3528; 3632
Babosa	Βαβοσα	1125
Badon	Βαδῶνος	3588
Bai[]	Bai[]	733
M. Bai[]	M(arco) Bai[io]	732
Baïsius	Βαεισήου	1460
Bakur	ბაკურ	3202
Bal[]	Bal[]	733
M. Bal[]	M(arco) Bal[io]	732
Balbus		→ Popillius
Balsalo	Βαλσαλω	3576
Balys	Βάλυος	2499
	Β[άλυος]	2497
Balzama	בלזמא	520
Ban[]	Βαν[]	1484
Banus	Βάνου	1068b
Barabbas	Βαραβ(βας)	842.31
Baracheus	Βαραχέου	3865
Barachon	Βαράχων	2445
Barachus	Βαράχου	1461
Barbabi (family)	Βαρβαβι	2224
Barbarus	[Β]άρβαρος	1130
Bardas	Βάρδας	1756
Bar Giora	בר גיו[רא]	6
D : 1 (2)	בר גירא	521
Barichas(?)	Βαρίχα	2710
Bar Kathros	בר קתרס	674
Bar Kochba		→ Shimon
Bar Lazar	בר לעזר	2838
Barnile Barochis	Βαρνιλε	2175
		→ Baruch
Bar Qamṣa Bar-shabbath	בר קמצא בר קמצא	522 842.31
Bar-snabbath Baruch	Βαραβ(σα)	042.31
	Deschauses	076
- Barochis	Βαρώχι<ο>ς	976

Bas(-)         Baσ(-)         1459; 3056           Bas(-)         Hasp; 3056         Basilius           Basilius         ⇒ Basilius         3049           Basilius, Basilis         Baσιλίφ         2933; 3036           Basilius         Baσιλίφ         3155           Basilus         Baσιλου         808           Basilus         Baστου         808           Bassus         Βάσσου         856           Bάσε         2836a           Batha         ππ         3850           Baucis         Βαῦμίς]         3463a           Bd'         κτα         2293 col. I           'bd'         κτα         2293 col. I           'bd'         κτα         2293 col. I           'bd'         κτα         2293 col. I           bd bst         πα         2293 col. I           bd mlk         γτα         2293 col. I           bd mlk         γτα         2293 col. I           bd mn         γα         γα           bd's         κτα         γα           bd's         κτα         γα           bd's         κτα         γα           bd's         κτα         γα	- Baruchius	Βαρουχιου	2234
Bas]			2607
Basiliscus         Βασιλίσκος         3049           Basilius, Basilis         Βασιλίφ         2933; 3036           Basilo         Βασιλίφ         3155           Basilo         Βασιλου (β)         808           Basilus         Βασίλου         808           Bassus         Βάσσος         769; 2858; 3027 → Lucilius           Βάσσε         2836a           Batha         ππα         3850           Baucis         Βαὔκι[ς]         3463a           Bd'         κτα         2293 col. I           'bd'         κτα         2293 col. I           'bd'         κτα         2293 col. I           'bd' br         ματαμα         2293 col. I           'bd' br         ματαμα         2293 col. I           'bd mn         ματαμα         2293 col. I           'bd' sn         ματαμα         2293 col. I           'bd's         ματαμα         2293 col.	` '		1459; 3056
Basilius, Basilis   Bασίλις   Bασιλίφ   3155     Basilo   Bασιλοῦ[ς]   808     Basilus   Bαστλοῦ   808     Basilus   Bαστος   769; 2858; 3027 → Lucilius     Bάσσος   856   856     Bάσσος   2836α     Batha   ππ			
Basilo Baσιλοῦ[ς] 808 Basilus Baσιλοῦ[ς] 808 Bassus Bάσσος 769; 2858; 3027 → Lucilius Bάσσε 2836a Batha πηπ 3850 Baucis Bαῦκι[ς] 3463a Bd' κπαμ 2293 col. I + col. II 'bd' κπαμ 2293 col. I + col. III 'bd' κπαμ 2293 col. I + col. III 'bd's κπαμ 2293 col. I + col.	Basiliscus	Βασιλίσκος	3049
Basilus Baσίλου (5] 808 Basilus Baσίλου 808 Bassus Bάσσου 856	Basilius, Basilis	-	2933; 3036
Basilus Baσίλου (5] 808 Basilus Baσίλου 808 Bassus Bάσσου 856		Βασιλίω	3155
Basilus       Βαστλου       808         Bassus       Βάσσος       769; 2858; 3027 → Lucilius         Βαστου       856         Βάσσε       2836α         Batha       πππ       3850         Baucis       Βαῦκι[ς]       3463α         Bd'       κτπ       2293 col. I         'bd'       κτπ       2293 col. I + col. II         'bd'b'       μππμ       2293 col. I         Bdl       μππμ       2293 col. I         'bd'bst       μπμπμ       2293 col. I         'bd'ml       μπμπμ       2293 col. I         'bd'mn       μπμπμ       2293 col. I         'bd's       μπμπμ       2293 col. I         'bd's       μπμπμ       2293 col. III         'bd's       μππμμ       2293 col. III         'bd's       μπμμ       2293 col. III         'bdysn       []       μπμμ       2293 col. III         'bdysn       []       μπμμ       2293 col. III         'bdysn       []       μπμμ       2293 col. II <td>Basilo</td> <td></td> <td>808</td>	Basilo		808
<ul> <li>Βάσσου</li> <li>Βάσσε</li> <li>2836α</li> <li>Βασου</li> /ul>	Basilus		808
Bάσσε   2836a     Baucis   Βαῦκι[ς]   3463a     Baucis   Βαῦκι[ς]   3463a     Bd'	Bassus	Βάσσος	769; 2858; 3027 → Lucilius
Batha       מתח       3850         Baucis       Βαῦχι[ς]       3463a         Bd'       אדם       2293 col. I         'bd'       אדמן       2293 col. I + col. II         'bd'       אדמן       2293 col. I         'bd' bst       מבדאבות       2139         'bdmlk       לדמרן       2293 col. I         'bd' mn       אבדאבות       2293 col. I         'bd'snn       שבדאבות       2293 col. I + col. III         'bd'snn       שבדאבות       2293 col. I-III         'bd'smn       שבדאבות       2293 col. III         'bd'sr       שבדאבות       2293 col. II         'bd'sr       שבדאבות       2293 col. II         'bd'sr       שבדאבות       2293 col. II         'bd'sr       שבדיבון       2293 col. II         'bdwyn       יבודוד       2293 col. II         'bdwyn       יבובעוד       2293 col. II         'bdwyn       שבדיבון         'bdyn       שביבעיב         'bdyn       שביבעיב         'bdyn       שביבעיב         'bdyn       שביבעיב         'bdyn       שביבע         'bdyn       שביבע         'bdyn       שביבע		Βάσσου	856
Baucis       Βαῦχι[ς]       3463a         Bd'       אדם       2293 col. I         'bd'       אדם       2293 col. I         'bdb'       אדם       2293 col. I         'bd' bst       בדאם       2139         'bd'bst       בדלק       2293 col. I         'bd'mn       אבדמראן       2293 col. I         'bd'mn       אבדמשמן       2293 col. I         'bd'sn       עבדאשמן       2293 col. I+ col. III         'bd'smn       עבדאשם       2293 col. I-II         'bd'sr       ישבראשם       2293 col. II         'bdwpn       ישבראשם       2293 col. III         'bdwpn       ישברויון       2293 col. III         'bdwpn       **       2293 col. III         'bdwpn       **       2293 col. II         'bdwpn       **       2293 col. II         'bdwpn		Βάσσε	2836a
### 2293 col. I    "bd"   עבדאע   2293 col. I     "bd"   עבדאע   2514     "bd"   ב514   2514     "bd"   ב514   2514     "bd"   ב514   2139     "bdmlk   ב71   2293 col. I     "bdmlk   ב71   2293 col. I     "bdmlk   ב71   2293 col. I     "bdmn   ב72   2293 col. I     "bd"   2293 col. I     "bd"   2293 col. I     "bd"   2293 col. I     "bd"   2293 col. I     "bd"   2293 col. I     "bd"   2293 col. I     "bd"   2293 col. I     "bd"   2293 col. I     "bd"   2293 col. I     "bd"   2293 col. I     "bdy   ב71   2293 col. I     "bdy   2293 col. I     "	Batha	בתה	3850
לשלי לשלי שלי ביד ביי ביד ביי לי ביד ביי ביד ביי לי ביד ביי ביד ביי ביד ביי ביד ביי ביד ביי ביד ביי ביד ביי ביד ביי ביד ביד	Baucis	Βαῦκι[ς]	3463a
Section   בדרעל   Section   Sect	Bd'	בדא	2293 col. I
"bd" bst   בדאבסת   בדאבסת   2139   "bdmlk   בדל   2139   "bdmlk   בדל   2293 col. I   "bdmn   בדל   2293 col. I   "bdmn   בדל   2293 col. I   "bdmn'n   בדל   2567   "bd's   2567   "bd's   2567   "bd's   2293 col. I + col. III   "bd'šmn   בדאשתן   2293 col. I - col. III   "bd'šmn   בדאשתן   2293 col. I   "bd'sr   בדי   2293 col. I   "bd'sr   בדי   2293 col. II   "bdtwyn   בדי   2293 col. II   "bdtwyn   בדי   2293 col. II   "bdtwyn   בדי   2293 col. II   "bdysn   בדי   2293 col. II   "bdysn   בפר   2293 col. II   "bdysn   בפר   2293 col. II   "bdysn   בפר   2293 col. II   "bdysn   בפר   2293 col. II   "bdysn   2293 col. III   "bdysn   2293 col.	'bd'	עבדא	2293 col. I + col. II
Bdl	ʻbdbʻl	עבדבעל	2514
אינדמלן (2293 col. I (16 mm) (2293 col. I (16 mm	'bd'bst	עבדאבסת	2293 col. I
"bd'mn אבדמראן ב 2293 col. I "bdmr'n אבדמראן ב 2567 "bd's אבדמראן ב 2293 col. I + col. III "bd'šmn אבדמשן ב 2293 col. I - col. III "bd'šmn אבדמשן ב 2293 col. I-II "bdspn אבדמשן ב 2293 col. I "bd'sr אבדמשן ב 2293 col. III "bdtwyn אבדמשן ב 2293 col. III "bdtwyn אבדמשן ב 2293 col. III "bdysn אבדמשן ב 2293 col. III "bdysn אבדמשן ב 2293 col. III "bdysn אבדמשן ב 2293 col. III "bdysn אבדמשן א 2293 col. III "bdysn אבדמשן א 2293 col. III "bdysn אבדמשן א 2293 col. III "bdysn אבדמשן א 2293 col. III "bdysn אבדמשן א 2293 col. II "bdysn אבדמשן א 2293 col. III "bdysn אבדמשן א 2293 col. II "bdysn אבדמשן א 2293 col. II "bdysn אבדמשן א 2293 col. II "bdysn אבדמשן א 2293 col. II "bdysn א 2293 col. III "bdysn א 2293 col.	Bdl	בדל	2139
Seminary   Seminar	ʻbdmlk	עבדמלך	2293 col. I
yethod's (צבדאסט צבי (צבדאסט צבי (צבי (צבי (צבי (צבי (צבי (צבי (צבי	ʻbd'mn	עבדאמן	2293 col. I
Second	ʻbdmr'n	עבדמראן	2567
Septiment   Se	'bd's	עבדאס	2293 col. I + col. III
<ul> <li>bd'sr</li> <li>γαπαν</li> <li>γαπτιν</li> /ul>		עבדאשמן	2293 col. I-II
<ul> <li>bdtwyn</li> <li>bdy</li> <li>γστιση</li> /ul>	ʻbdşpn	עבדצפן	2293 col. I
y color y c		עבדאסר	2293 col. III
Seithynice   Βείθυνική   944   944		עבדתוין	2293 col. I
Beithynice       Βειθυνική       944         Bellicus       Βελλικο[ῦ]       2629; → Aurelius         Bena(-?)       2243         Benaya       ⊐ □       543         Beniamin, Biniamin       □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □	ʻbdy	עבדי	2293 col. III
Bellicus Bena(-?) Bena(-?) Benaya Beniamin, Biniamin Beniamin, Biniamin Beniamin, Biniamin Beνιαμήν Beniamis - Beniamis - Beniamin Beνιαμίς - Beniamin Beνιαμίς - Benniamin Beνιαμίν - Benniamin Beνιαμίν - Benniamin Beνιαμίν - Benniamin Beνιαμίν - Benniamin Beνιαμίν - Benniamin Beνιαμίν - Benniamin Beνιαμίν - Benniamin Beνιαμίν - Benniamin Beννιαμίν - Bennice Beρνίκης - Bernice - Beρνίκης - Bernice	ʻbdyṣn	[ן] עבדיצ	2293 col. II
Bena(-?)	Beithynice	•	944
Benaya   בוניותין   2734a     Beniamin, Biniamin   Βενιαμήν   523     Βινιαμίν   419     [Βεν]ιαμίν   1497     - Beniamis   Βενιαμίς   2187     - Benniamin   Βεννιαμίν   2193     Ben Kosiba   → Shimon     Berenice   Βερενίκης   3600     - Bernice   Βερνίκης   399a     Βερνίκης   399b     Βερνίκι   1176     τησία   τησία   τησία     Βεριας   Εθεριας   2923     Bernice   Θεριατίς   305b     Beruthus   Βεροῦτος   293b     Berutus   Βεροῦτος   293b     Βεριακί   Εθεροῦτος   293b     Επιακία   Επιακία   Εθεροῦτος   293b     Επιακία			2629; → Aurelius
Beniamin, Biniamin	` '	Βενα(-?)	2243
Βενιαμήν   523     Βινιαμίν   419     [Βεν]ιαμίν   1497     - Beniamis   Βενιαμίς   2187     - Benniamin   Βεννιαμίν   2193     Ben Kosiba   → Shimon     Βερενίκης   3600     - Bernice   Βερενίκης   399a     Βερνίκης   399b     Βερνίκι   1176     τησιαμίν   1176     τησιαμίν   2193     Βεριαμίν   2193     Βεριαμίν   399b     Βεριαμίν   2923     Βεριακίν   305b     Βερυτικίν   Βεροῦθος   305b     - Berutus   Βεροῦτος   293b	•		543
Bινιαμίν   1497    - Beniamis   Βενιαμίς   2187    - Benniamin   Βεννιαμίν   2193    - Ben Kosiba   → Shimon    - Bernice   Βερενίκης   3600    - Bernice   Βερνίκης   399a    - Beρνίκης   399b    - Berlas   Βερλας   2923    - Bernice   Bεροῦθος   305b    - Berutus   Βεροῦτος   293b	Beniamin, Biniamin	בינימין	2734a
[Βεν]ιαμίν   1497    - Beniamis   Βενιαμίς   2187    - Benniamin   Βεννιαμίν   2193    - Ben Kosiba   → Shimon    - Bernice   Βερνίκης   3600    - Bernice   Βερνίκης   399a    - Βερνίκης   399b    - Βερνίκης   1176    - τοι τοι τοι τοι τοι τοι τοι τοι τοι τοι			523
- Beniamis			
- Benniamin			
Servical   Servical		•	
Berenice   Βερενίκης   3600    - Bernice   Βερνίκης   399a    - Bernice   Βερνίκης   399b    - Berνίκι   1176    - στη   399b    - Βεγίκι   399b    - Βεγίκι   2923    - Βεγιτικι   Βεροῦθος   305b    - Berutus   Βεροῦτος   293b		Βεννιαμίν	
- Bernice			
Βερνίκης       399b         Βερνίκι       1176         τςτ       399b         Berlas       Βερλας       2923         Bernice       → Berenice         Beruthus       Βεροῦθος       305b         - Berutus       Βεροῦτος       293b		1 . "	
Βερνίκι   1176   399b   399b     Berlas   Βερλας   2923   305b   305b   305b   395b   305b    - Bernice			
399b  Berlas Βερλας 2923  Bernice → Berenice  Beruthus Βεροῦθος 305b  - Berutus Βεροῦτος 293b			
Berlas       Βερλας       2923         Bernice       → Berenice         Beruthus       Βεροῦθος       305b         - Berutus       Βεροῦτος       293b			
Bernice       → Berenice         Beruthus       Βεροῦθος       305b         - Berutus       Βεροῦτος       293b		•	
Beruthus       Βεροῦθος       305b         - Berutus       Βεροῦτος       293b		Βερλας	
- Berutus Βεροῦτος 293b		75 410	
Beryllus Βηρύλλος 1140			
	Beryllus	Βηρύλλος	1140

Besas	Βησας	2188
Bizzus	Βιζζου	2189; 2190
B'lr'y	בעלרעי	2548
Bʻlşlḥ	בעלצלח	2171; 2293 col. I
Bʻlşr/d	בעלצר/ד	2294
Bʻlytn	בעליתן	2293 col. I
Bm <sup>'</sup>	במא	2293 col. I
Boethus		→ Flavius
Bonosus	Bonosu	1761
	Βονόσου	1761
Borceus	Βορκέου	592
Boton	בוטון	76a-b
Botrichus	Βοτρίχου	3456; 3461
	Βοτρίχ(ου)	3461; 3463
Branaius	Βραναίου	2643
Brasidia	Βρασιδία	1462
Brolion	Βρολιωνος	1069b
Bryon	Βρύωνος	3454b; 3455a; 3465b; 3466
Bursen	ბო(ვ)რ8ნ	3203
Butas	Βούτου	3451
By	ביעא	1120
B'yh	בעיה	543
2 7		0.10
C[] Marcella	C[] Marcellae	740
Q. Caecilius	Κ. Καικίλλιος	1135
Caesarius	Κεσαρίου	932
Caiaphas	קיפא	461a; → Qafa
	קופא	461a
Cal()	Καλ()	2604b
Calapodius		→ Calopodius
Calistratus	Καλιστράτου	930
Calla	Καλλα	577
	Κάλλης	3220
Callinicus	Καλλινίκου	816
Callistus		→ Flavius
Callit[]	Kα[λ]λιτ[]	2344
Callon	Καλλων	366a
	Καλλωνος	372
	Καλ(λ)ωνος	372
	קלון	367a-b; 368a-b; 369a; 370; 371c
	קלוג	371b
Calopodius	Καλοποδίου	2314
- Calapodius	Καλαποδίου	2315
Calpurnianus		→ Valerius
Calpurnius		
- C. Calpurnius	G(aio) Cal(purnio?)	1382d+e
	G(aio) C[al(purnio)?]	1383e
	[G(aio) Cal(purnio)?]	1383d
- Calpurnius Quintianus	[Calp]urnio Quin[tian]o	1283
Calycion	Καλύ[κιο]ν	842.47
•		

Calypso	Καλυψοῦς	3533
Candidus	Κάνδιδος	738
Caninius	Canin(i)	757
Canlis[]	Κανλισ[]	2344
Capito	Capit(onis)	3232
Capitolinus	Capit(olinus)	3232
Capitoninus	Capit(oninus)	3232
Carbus	Καρβους	512b
Carpia	Καρπία	104
Carpus	Κάρπου	1495
Carzala	Καρζαλα	589
Casius	Κασίου	992; 3026(?)
Casperius	Caspe(ri)	757
Cassa	Κασσα	360a
Cassander	Κάσσαν(δρος)	2599b; 2603b
Cassi[]	Cassi[]	2844
Castor	Κάστωρ	3024
Castus	Κάστου	218
Catulla	100000	→ Cotolla
Celadus	Κελάδου	2714b
Genadas	Κελά(δου)	2714a
Cerdonas	Κέρδωνα	2645
Cericus, Cerycus	Κηρ'ι'κοῦ	977
Gerieus, Geryeus	Κηρυκοῦ	1757
Chairomenes	Χερομένης	3284
Chanomenes	Χερομένην	1682
Charate	Χαρατ΄η΄	909
Chares	Χάρητος	290
Charmadas	Χαρμάδα Χαρμάδα	2482
Chionion	Χιονίου	842.1
Cholbidias	Χολβιδια	2231
Chresimus	Χρήσιμος	200
Chreste		842.23; → Licinia
	Χρησ[τή] Υ[-ή-]	
Christanhama	Χρησ[τός]	842.23
Christophorus	Χριστοφόρος	3016
Chry[]	Χρυ[]	2747
Chrys[]	Χρυ[σ] 	982
Chrysus	Χρυσῷ	1179
Ci[]	Κι[]	3009
Cilo	Cilo[ni/e]	1391
Cimolius	Κιμώλιος	3571
Clarus	Clari	3233
Clau[]	Clau[dius/a]	781a
	Clau[dianus/a]	781a
Claudia Ionice	Cl(audia) Ionice	734
Claudianus	Κλαυδιανοῦ	3195b; 3323
Claudius	m 0 / 172 5/ 5	2422
- Ti. Claudius	Τιβερίου Κλαυδίο[υ ]	2123
- Ti. Claudius Fatalis	Ti(berius) Cl(audius) Fatalis	734
- Ti. Claudius G[]	Ti(berio) Cl(audio) G[]	1233

- Ti. Claudius Italicus	Ti(berio) Cl(audio) Italico	1350
- Claudius Potens	Cl(audi) Potentis	1351
- Claudius Protianus	Cl(audius) Protianus	1351
- Claudius Severus	Cl(audius) Severus	1275
Clemens	_ (	→ Aurelius; Flavius; Lorius;
		Mucius
Clementianus		→ Lorius
Clementillus		→ Lorius
Clementinus		→ Lorius
Cleobulus		→ Acilius
Cleodoxa	Κλεοδόξα	2482
Cleontius	Κλεοντήου	993
Cleopatra	Κλεοπάτρα	558
Cleopatrus	Κλευπά<τ>ρους	594a
Clodius	Κλώδι(ο)ς	559
- Clodius Passenianus	Clod(ius) Passenianus	1267
- C. Clodius Rom[]	G(aius) Clodius Rom[anus?]	1238
- Clodius Saturninus	Clo(dii?) Sat[urnini?]	3234
L. Co[]	Λ(ούκι) Κο[]	2124
Com[]	Κομ[]	2321
Comazon	Κωμάζοντος	2271
C. Comisius Memor	G(ai) Comisi(i) Memoris	2342
	Γαίου Κομισίου [Μέμορις]	2342
Commodus		→ Iulius
Condus		→ Zachariah
Conon	Κόνω[ν]	2866
Cononias	Κωνωνίας	2989
Constantinus,	•	
Costantinus	Κοσταντῖνος	3055
	Κωνστατνίνου	1762
	Κοσταντίνου	3264
	Κωσταντίνου	2809
Constantius		→ Flavius
Cor[]	KOP[]	1614
Coredius		→ Gargilius
Cornelia	Κορν<η>λίας	1464
Cornelius		
- Cornelius Quintianus	Cornel[[ius Quintianus]]	1269
- Sex. Cornelius Taurinus	Sex(ti) Corneli Taurini	1269
Cosacabus	Κοσακάβου	3525
Cosbanus	Κοσβάνου	3524
Cosiabus	Κοσιάβου	3639
Cosmas	Κοσμᾶς	2987
	Κοσμ[ᾶς?]	2916
	Κοσμᾶ	1010; 1123; 2452
	$\mathrm{Ko}[\sigma]\mu\widetilde{lpha}$	1073
Cosmia	Κο[σμί]ας	994
Cosmiane	Κοσμιάνη	2491
Cosnatanus	Κοσνατᾶνος	3570; 3634
	Κοσνατάνου	3528; 3529; 3553

L. Cossonius Gallus etc.	[L(ucio) Coss]onio [Gallo Vecil]io Cris[p]ino Ma[nsuanio Marc]ellino	
	Numi[sio Sabino]	1227
Costantia	Κωσταντίας	2728a
Costantinus	11.00 1.07 1.03	→ Constantinus
Cotolla	Κοτολλα	428
Craterus	Κρατερ[ο]ῦ	3499
Craton	Κράτωνος	3507
Crispa	Κρίσπα[ν]	3698a
Crispinus	κριο πα[ν]	→ Cossonius
Crocus	Κρόκος	125
Crocus	קרקס	249
Cronides	Κρονίδου	2697
		1466
Crunus	Κρούνου	
Cumma		→ Cyriacus
Cunorus	קנרס	84a; 560
	קנרוס איז	3847b
0.1.1	Κύνωρος	3847a
Cy[]	ΚΥ[]	1532
Cyprianus	Κυπριανός	3040
0 [ ]	Κυπρι[αν]ός	3020
Cypro[]	Κυπρο[]	2935
Cyr()	Κύρ(ος/α)	2321
Cyra	Κύρας	2227
	קירא	2174; 2247
- Cyra Domna	Κύρα Δόμνα	2321
Cyria	Κυρία	296; 302
	Κυρίας	2715
	קריה	47
Cyriaca	[Κυ]ριακ[ή]	995
Cyriacus	Κυριακός	2945; 2993; 3031
	Κυριακοῦ	856; 2833; 3292
	Κυ[ρι]ακοῦ	2450
	Κυ[ριά]κου	1496
- Cyriacus Cumma	Κυριάκου Κοῦμμα	1534
Cyricus	Κύρικος	2890; 2905; 3746
	Κυρικοῦ	855; 2910
	[Κυρ]υκοῦ	2655
	Κυρικο	2575
Cyrilla	Κυρίλλας	979; 1511
- Cyrile	Κυρίλη	296
Cyrillus	Κύριλλος	915; 2888
•	Κήριλλος	3211q1
	 [Κύρ?]ιλλος	3793
	Κυρίλλου	1512; 2191; 2242; 3792
- Cyrilus	Κυρίλο(?)	3345
Cyrthas	Κυρθας	250
Cyrus	Κῦρος	2917; 3265
,	Κύρ[ος]	2321
	Κύρου	59; 2098
		/ =

Cymus Mari	[Villa(as) Mina	2321
<ul><li>Cyrus Mari</li><li>Cyrus Megalus (Megas?)</li></ul>	[Κύ]ρ(ος) Μάρι Κύου Μονάλου	2291
- Cyrus Megarus (Megas:)	Κυρω Μεγαλου	2291
Damas	$\Delta \alpha \mu \widetilde{lpha}$	3656; 3657
Damianus	Δαμ[ιανός?]	3211n1
Dumanao	Δαμιανοῦ	1010
Damon	Δάμωνος	330
Damophilus	<u> </u>	→ Demophilus
Daniel	דניאל	95
Dumer	Δανιήλ	2812; 3051; 3401
	Δανιῆλος	1079b
	Δανιίλ	1079c
	Δανιήλου	2201
Daphnin	Δάφνιν	842.41
Dassa(a)	Δαφνιν	→ Yaakov (under Iacobus)
David	דוד	45
De[]	ΔH[]	2301
Deba(?)	Δηβα	3636
Deipheus	Δειφεος	88
Dem()	Δημ()	2608b
Dem[]	Δημ[]	3517
Demarchia	Δημαρχίας	202
Demarcina	Δημαρχ<ία>ς	200
Demas	Δημᾶς	3774
Deme[]	Δημη[]	3606
Demetria	Δημητρία	1720
Demetria	Δ[ημητ]ρία(?)	3624
	Δημητρίας	3521; 3610
Demetrianus		→ Flavius
Demetrias	Δημητρίας	3503
Demetrius, Demetris	Δημητρίου	1728a; 2643; 3551; 3690
2 cmctrao, 2 cmctro	Δημ[ητρί]ου	1728a
	Δημήτριν	3816
Demophilus	Δημοφίλου	3451; 3453; 3455a-b; 3457a;
2 timopinius	=-/fee 4 c	3459a+c; 3465a
- Damophilus	Δαμοφίλου	3454a
Di[]	ΔI[]	2310; 2319; 2926
Diaphorius	Διαφόρι[ος]	948
Dicaius	Δικαίου	2438
Digunthas	Διγουνθάν	2483
Dimus	Δίμου	305a-b
Dio()	Διο()	2605b
Diodorus	Διόδωρος	3211m1
	Διοδώρου	3671
Diodotus	Διόδοτος	3453
	Διοδότου	3622
	Διοδό[τ]ου	3847a
- Dotus	דוטוס	3847b
Diogenes	Διογένης	181a-b
Diogenianus	Διογενιανόν	842.66
- 6	,	

<b>.</b> . <b>.</b>		
Dionysius, Dionysis	Διονύσιος	2694; → Aurelius
	Διονυσίου	2580; 2621; 3619
	Δ[ιο]νυσίου	2615
	Διο(νυσίου)	771a
	Δι(ονυσίου)	771b
	Δειονύσει	1343
Diophanes	Διοφάνει	3511
Diophantes	Διοφάντου	2617a; 2627
Diphi	דיפי	88
Dolens	Dole[ns]	735
Domesticus	Δομεστίκου	2474
Dometianus		→ Domitianus
Dometius		→ Domitius
Domitia Maximilla	Domitia Maximilla	1434
Domitianus	Domit[ianus/o]	1392
- Dometianus	Δομετ[ι]ανός	2471
Domitilla	Δομετίλ(λ)α	924
Domitius	Domit[ius/o]	1392
	Δομίτιυς	3298
	[Δομι]τίου	1024
- Dometius	Δομετίου	825
- C. Domitius Iulius	G(aius) Dom(itius) Iul(ius)	
Honoratus	Honoratus	721
Domna		→ Cyra
Domnina	Δομνείνας	2716
Domninus	Δομνῖνος	842.45
	Δομνίνου	816
	Δομνῖνο<ν>	1679
- M. Domninus	M(ani?) Domn(ini)	3235
M. Domnio	M(ani?) Domn(ionis)	3225
Domnis	Δόμνι	2343
Domnus	$\Delta \delta[\mu]$ νος	842.56
	Δόμνου	2717; 2834
Doras	Δωρᾶτος	294
	Δω(ρᾶτος)	300
	דורס	495
Dorcas	Δόρκας	2761
Dorothea	Δωροθέας	983
	Δ΄ω ρο[θέας]	872
	Δ[ωρο]θέας	1465
	[Δω]ροθέας	3695a
	Δωροθέα[]	3695a
Dorotheus	Δωροθέου	2443; 3456; 3462; 3464; 3465a
	Δ΄ω ρο[θέου]	872
	[Δ] ωροθέου	1558
Dorymenes	Δορυμένης	3511
,	Δορυμένει	3511
Dosa	$\Delta\omega\sigma\widetilde{lpha}$	1517
Dosithea	Δωσιθέα	3630
Dositheus	Δωσιθέου	332a; 3620; → Yehuda

	דוסתס	109; 375a-b; 376; 496
	דסתס	525
Dostas	דוסתס	3763
Dosus	$\Delta$ ωσοῦς	497b+d1
	[Δω]σοῦς	497c+d2
Dothe	Δωθη	→ Iaco
Dotus	2007	→ Diodotus
Drosus	$\Delta$ ρόσου	124
Dsnw	<u> </u>	→ Shimon
Dulis	Δουλ[ίς]	984
Dulis	Δουλ[ίζ]	704
Eburius Valentinus	Eburi[us] [V]alentinus	1393
Eglon	עגלון	541
0 -	Έγλῶνος	2313; 2674
- Aiglon	Αιγλωνος	3291
Eiaco	111/11/0705	→ Iaco
Eias	Εἰάς	2198
Eire()	Είρη()	2606b
Eiren()	Είρην()	2611b
Eirenaius, Irenaeus	Έρην() Έρεινῆος	3000
Ellellatus, fiellaeus	• •	
Einama Imama	Εἰρηναίου	2484
Eirene, Irene	Εἰρήνη	3598
Г' (	[Εἰρή]νη	951
Eirete	Εἰρήτη	985
Eisa		→ Isas
Eisak		→ Yizḥak
Eisakius		→ Yizḥak
Eisas	5/	→ Isas
Eisidote	Εἰσιδότη	2162a
Eision	Εἰσίω[ν]ος	2621
Eisisa	Εἰσίσα	1548
Eizikia		→ Ḥezqiya
El[]	'EΛ[]	2248
Elasa	אלעשה	225; 514a
	(א)לעשה	514b
Elazar	אלעזר	19a-b; 92; 93; 100; 101; 111; 137;
		186; 207; 242a; 244a; 334; 340;
		348a; 377a; 377b; 378a-b; 420a-b;
		485; 544; 2198; 2670; 2681; 2723;
		2779; 2826a; 3850
	הלעזר	335
	אלעז	55
	[.]לעזר	251
- Elazar Goliath	אלעזר גלית	2816a-b
- Elazarus	Έλαζάρου	199
- Eleazarus	Έλεάζαρος	2826b
LICALAI US	Έλεαζάρου	348b; 566
	Έλεαζαρου Έλε(α)ζάρ(ου)	355b
- Eliezer	באפ(מ)גמף(סט) אליעזר	348a; 2778
- Eliezei	Έλιέζρος	
	Ενιεζρος	348b

- Helazar	הלעזר	335
- Heiazai - Laazarus	Λααζάρ[ου]	3286
- Laazarus - Lazar	לעזר	251; 2202; 3868; 3876; 3877;
- Lazai	יעוו	231, 2202, 3808, 3878, 3877, → Bar Lazar
	ל>עזר>	2214
	Λαζαρ	3850
- Lazarus	Λάζαρ[ος]	2468
- Lazarus	Λαζάρου	1485; 2198; 2202; 2215; 2218
	Λάζαρον	842.1
- Leazarus	Λεάζαρος	81
- Liezer	ליעזר	342; 502
Eleutherius, Eleutheris	'Ελευθέρις	3007
Eleatherias, Eleatheris	'Ελευθερίου	1069a
Elḥanan	לחנן[.]	421a
Elias	'Ελίας	1021
Elitas	'Ηλίας	1165.3b; 2495; 2860; 2873; 2912;
	11,,,,,	2915; 2994; 3041; 3068
	['Ηλί]ας	1165.3a
	'Ελέου	1504
	Ήλία	1466; 3025
Eliezer		→ Elazar
Elisabe	'Ελισάβη	349
- Elisha	אלישע	62
- Elisheva	אלישבע	349; 535
Eliseus	Έλισέος	2672
	'Ελισέ[ου]	2676
Elisha, Elisheva		→ Elisabe
Elkana	'Ελκανα	2195
Elpagoras	'Ελπα[γόρας?]	3694
Elpidia	'Ελπ<ι>δία[ς]	3317
Elpidius	'Ελπιδίου	841; 1779; 3142
	'Ελπιδ[ί]ου	2645
	'Ελ[πιδίου]	3143
	'Ελπιδίω	2119
Emmanuel	['Εμμανουή]λ	842.55
Entimus	'Εντί[μου]	1473
Entolia	Έντωλία	3478
	'Εντολί[ας]	2246
Entolius	Έντ[όλιος]	2466; → Flavius
	Έντολίου	1520
	'Εντ[ολίου]	2466
	Έντουλίου	1466
Epanacia	'Επανακία	1680
Epanagia	Έπαναγία	3748
Epaphroditus	[Ep]aphroditus	1433; → Antonius
Ephymia		→ Euphemia
Epicerus	'Επίκηρος	1347
Epictetus	Έπίκτητος	432b
Epimachus	Έπιμάχου	2481
Epiphani[]	'Επιφανι[]	2857

Epiphanius, Epiphanis	'Επιφάνις	2942
Erenius	Έρενίου	2315
Eros	"Ερωτος	294
Erotarein	Έρωτός Έρωτάρειν	322a-b
Erotarion	Έρωταρείν Έρω[τ]αρίου	114
Erotas	Έρωτᾶς	292; 293a
Erotion	Έρωτίου	3659
Eskias	Έσκίας	389
Esses	Ησσης	2230
Eu[]	Eὐ[]	1468; 1469
Eu[.]thus	20[ ]	→ Aurelius
Euagrius	Εοὐαγρίω	3076
Euch[]	Εὐχ[]	1532
Eudoxius	[Εὐδο]ξίου	1050
Euelpi[]	Εὐελπιο[]	1470
Euelpidius		→ Flavius
Eug[]	Εύγ[]	1337
Eugenia	Εὐγήνια	59
	Εὐγενίας	3317
Eugenius	Εὐγενίου	841
O	Εὐγένιε	796
Eugenus	Εὐγένος	3266
Euhodus	Εὐόδου	582
Eulogius	Εὐλογίου	1763
Eunelus	Εὐνήλου	2761a-b
Eunice	Εὐνίκης	3617
Eunicus	Εὐνίκου	2622
Euphemia	Εὐφημία	986
- Ephymia	Έφυμίας	3977
- Euphimia	Εύφιμ[ί]α	1346
Euphemus	Εὐφήμου	2633
Euphimia		→ Euphemia
Euphorius	Εὐφορίου	3435a
	[Εὐ]φορίου	3435b1
Euphrasi[]	[Ε]ὐφρασι[]	1471
Euphratas	Εὐφρατᾶ	841
Euphronius	Εὐφρόνι(ος)	2423
	Εὐφρόνι<0>ν	842.61
Euposia	Εὐποσία	1720
Euptolemus	אפטלמוס	407a-b
Eusebius, Eusebis	Εὐσέβι(ο)ς	842.12; → Flavius
	Εὐσέβις	2900; 3033; 3034; 3060
	Εὐσεβίου	841; 931; 1512; 2176; 2177
	Εὐσεβίο[υ]	2669
	Εὐσ[ε]βίου	1758
	Εὐσεβίω	1342
	Εὐσέβι[ον]	1264
	[Ε]ὖσέβιν	3830
Eustat		→ Ewstat'

Eustathius	Εὐσταθίου	1472
	Εὐστάθι<ο>ν	842.58
Eustochium	Eustochiae	3263
Eustochius	Εὐστοχίω	3076
Eutha()	Εὐθα()	2622
Eutherius	Εὐθήρι<ε>	950
Euthymius	Εὐθυμίου	883
Eutochnia	Εὐτοχνία	59
Eutocius	Εὐτοκίω	1346
Eutrapelus	Εὐτραπέλου	515
Eutropia	Εὐτροπίας	1455
Eutych[]	Εὐτυχ[]	2872
	[Εὐ]τυχ[]	1500
Eutyches	Εὐτύχης	2577
Eutychius, Eutychis	Εὐτύχ[ιος]	3842b
	Εὐτύχις	1347; 2934
Eutychus	[Eut]ychu[s]	1394
Ewstat	Եւստաթ	817
Ezekias, Ezekios, Ezikias		→ Ḥezqiya
Ezinobia	Έζινωβίας	1473
Ezra	עזרא	266a
	"Εζρας	266b
D 141	* 1000	1.500
Fadilla	Φάδιλλα	1680
Fatalis	- /	→ Claudius
Faustina	Φαυστίνας	1506
Faustus	Fausto	3501
Felicla	Φηλίκλα	1444
Felix	± ~ P	→ Magnius
Fidus	Φΐδος	3894
Filol()	[Φ]ιλολ()	2159
Firmus	*> /	→ Vibius
Flavia	Φλαία	2446
Flavianus	Flavian(us)	1235
71 .	Φλαβιανόν	842.67
Flavius	Fl(avius)	1297
	Φλ(αουίου)	1330
- Flavius []	Flavi A+SE+[]	3237
- Flavius Aeneas	Φλ(άουιος) Αἰνίας	3431
- M. Flavius Agrippa	M(arcum) Fl(avium) Agrippam	2095
- Flavius Aurelianus	'F'l(avi) Aurel(iani)	3236
- Flavius Boethus	Fl(avi) Boethi	1229
- T. Flavius Callistus	T(ito) Flavio Callisto	1302
- T. Flavius Clemens	T(itus) Flavius Clemens	740
- Flavius Demetrianus	Fl(avio) Demetriano	740
- Flavius Entolius	Φλ(αουίου) Έντολίου	1263
- Flavius Euelpidius	Φλ(αουίου) Εὐελπιδίου	1262
- Flavius Eusebius	Φλ(άουιος) Εὐσέβις	987
- Flavius Florentius	Φλ(αουίου) Φλωρεντίου	1259
- T. Flavius Hieronymus	Τ(ίτε) Φλ(αουίε) Ἱερώνυμε	1474

- Flavius Hime[]	Φλ(άουιον) Ίμε[]	3508
- T. Flavius Maximus	Τ(ίτον) Φλ(άουιον) Μάξιμον	1266
- Flavius Patric(i)us	Φλ(άουιος) Πατρίκος	3735
- Flavius Procopius	Φλ(αουίου) Προκοπίου	
Constantius Severus	Κωνστα(ντίου) Σευήρου	
Alexander	Άλεξάνδρου	1261
- Flavius Pusaeus	Φλ(αουίου) Πουσέου	1197
- Flavius Quintianus	Φλ(αουίου) Κυντιανοῦ	3479
- M. Flavius S[]	M(arcus) Fl(avius) S[]	1231
- Flavius Stephanus	Φλ(αβίου) Στεφάνου	1730a-b; 1731
- Flavius Strategius	Φλ(άουιος) Στρατήγιος	1263
- Flavius Theodorus	Φλ(αουίου) Θεοδώρου	
Procopius	Προκο[πίου]	2662
- T. Flavius Valens	Τί(τος) Φλ(άουιος) Οὐάλη(ν)ς	3297a
	Τίτος Φλ(άουιος) Οὐάλ(ηνς)	3297b
Flo[]	Flo[]	732
Florentius		→ Flavius
Florianus	Φλωριανός	941
Florus	Florus	842.51
Fortunata	Fortunatae	1434
Frontina	Φροντίνας	1506
Fronto	Φρόντονος(?)	2376
Fuficius	Fuficius	3191
	[F]uficius	739
Furia Africana	Φο<υ>λεία Άφρεικανά	423
	Φουλεία Άφρεικανά	424
Furinius	Φουρινίου	582
Furius		
- Furius Africanus	Άφρεικανὸς Φούλειος	416
- C. Furius Timesitheus	G(aio) Furio Timesitheo	1287
Gabalas	Γαβαλου	2594
Gabriel	Γαβριήλ	2880
0.11	Γαβρ[ιήλ]	1447
Gaddes	Γάδδης	3640
- Gades	Γάδη	1481
Gaia	Γαίαν	2837
Gaianus	Γαιανό[ς]	923a
	Γαιαν[ός]	842.38
	Γαιανοῦ	1569
Caian	Γαιαν<έ>	3299
Gaion	Γάιωνος	498a-b
Gaius	Γάιος Γαίου	3904
- Gaius Nanus	גאוס ננוס	20
		60
Galene Galgul	Γαλήνη גלגול	527 620col.b
Galgui Gallus	Γάλλου	
Galogas	Γαλου Γαλογᾶ	2233; → Cossonius; Gargilius 3197b
Ganogas Gamla	גמלא	369a-b
Gaillia	27 /123	J07a-U

Camus	Γά	2107
Gamus	Γάμος	3107
Gannai(?)	גני	2779
Gaocosi(us)	Γαοκοσι(ου?)	1727
Gargilius	Gargiliu(s)	3743
- M. Gargilius Antiquus		
	Σιλουανὸν Κ(οίντον) Κορήδιον	
	Γάλλον Γαργίλιον Άντείχουον	2122
Gelasius, Gelasis	Γελάσι[ος]	940
	Γελάσις	2738
	Γελασίου	946
Genarius	<u>Γ</u> ε[ναρ?]ίου	3054
Genesius	Γενεσίου	3140; 3141
Genethlius	Γενεθλίου	1029
Georgia	Γεωργία	878
	Γηοργίας	1460
	Γεωργία(?)	2370
Georgius, Georgis	Γεώργιος	824; 2494
	Γεώρ[γιος]	3211p1
	Γεώργις	2889; 2907; 2950
	[Γεώ]ργι[ς]	3004
	Γιόργις	2885
	Γειωργίου	2143a
	Γεοργίου	962
	[Γεορ]γίου	1475
	Γεωργίου	825; 880; 1476; 1755; 2475; 2536;
		3142; 3143; 3197b-c; 3320; 3866;
		3900
	Γεωργ(ίου)	2676
	Γεωργίο[υ]	2146
	Γεωρ[γίου]	1477
	Γε[ω]ργίου	846
	Γεωργίο	2708
	Γεωργίω	3155; 3223(?)
	Γεόργιν	3429
Germanus	Γερμανός	2938
	Γερμ[ανός]	842.5
Geronius	Γέρονιος	3466
Gerontius	Γερόντιος	2485
Giora	•	→ Bar Giora
Girgun	as in	3864b
Glaucus	Glauc[i]	740
	Glauco	740
Glegoria		→ Gregoria
Glyceria	Glyceriae	842.10
Glycon	Γλύκων	1457
Gobar		→ Shimon (under Simon)
Goliath		→ Elazar; Yehoezer
Gorgonius	Γορ[γω]ν[ίου]	919
Gorion	[Γω]ρίων(ος)	241
Gozmi()	Γωζμι()	2259a
` '	** * /	

Gracchus	Gracchi (pl.)	3263
Graptus	-	→ Hetereius
Grata		→ Iulia
Greda	גרידא	73
Gregoria	Γληγορίας	2210
Gregorius	Γρηγορίου	1070; 1506
O	[Γρ]ηγορίο[υ]	1855
	Γρηγω[ρίου]	1590
Grigor	Գրիգոր	817B
Gri-Ormizd	გრი ორმიზდ	3202
Gr'mn	גראמן	2293 col. I
G	1,224 75.	22/0 001.1
Ḥaddu	חדו	2846
Ḥaggai	חגי	454a-c
Ḥalfi	חלפי	3853
Ḥalfon	חלפון	2174
Ḥaliba	חליבא	224
Ḥalifu	חליפו	2731
Ḥalwan	חלוג	530
Ḥanan	חנן	288; 379
•	חנג	2164
	[]חננ	624
- Ananas	Άνάνας	518
- Anin	Ανιν	411a
Ḥanana	חננא	79a
•	חננה	1119a-b
Ḥananiah, Ḥananiya	חנניה	68; 70; 72; 86; 90; 94; 102a-b; 106;
, , .		142b; 187a- e; 192a-b; 246a-b; 252;
		277; 446a-b; 453a; 528a-b+d; 572a-
		b; 610; 2197; 2464; 2670; 2718
	חנניא	501
	חנןיה	161
	[]	624
- Anania	Άνανία	2464
- Ananias	'Ανανίας	518; 2226
	Άναν[ία]ς	2466
	Άναν[ίας]	2466
- Aninas	Άνίνας	99a+c
	'Αναίνας	99b
- Anis	Ανις	417
Ḥanin	חנין	85; 411b
Haninah	വാഹവ	3864b
Ḥaniya	חניה	137
Ḥannah	חנה	79b; 299
Ḥanun	חנון	2777
Haphişeş	הפיצץ]	1145a-b
Harpagius	Άρπάγι(ο)ς	936
Hat()	Άτ()	2257
Ӊbby	חבבי	439
Hedea	'Ηδήα	243

Hedylion	'Ηδυλίου	3466
Hegesias	Ήγησίου	3465b
Heilasius	Είλασίου	2185
Hekia		→ Ḥezqiya
Hela()	Ήλα()	1733
Helazar	,	→ Elazar
Helcias	Έλκίας	3813
- Helicias	Έλικίου	2321
Heleinus	Έλείνου	1446
Helena	הלנא	303
Helicias		→ Helcias
Heliodora	'Ηλιοδώρα[ς]	3626
Heliodorus	Ήλιόδωρος	3511
	Ήλιοδώρου	3511; 3674
	'Ηλιοδώρ[ο]υ	3585
	['Ηλιο]δώρου	3515a
	'Ηλιοδώρ{δ}ο{ω}υ{ρο}	3544
	Ήλιοδώρωι	3511
Helius	'Ηλίου	1262
Heortasius	Έορ[τασί]ου	1479
Heracl[]	'Hρακλ+[]	3363
Heracleides	'Ηρακλ[ε]ίδ(ου)	3672
Heraclius	'Ηρακλίου	2809
Heras	'Ηρᾶτος	529
Herennius Verus	Here(nni) Veri	3238
	'Here'(nni) Veri	3239
Herma	Έρμα	1725b
	['Ερμα]	1725a
Hermes	Έρμῆς	3734
Hermias	Έρμίου	3465b
Hermione	Έρμιόνης	294
Hermogenes	Έρμογένης	2992; → Aurelius
Herodes	Ήρώδου	2617a; → Aurelius
Herus	Ήροῦτος	301
Hesiod	Ήσιόδ(ου)	2091
Hesses	Ησσης	2230
Hesychia	Ήσ[υχία]	1005
TT 1: TT 1:	Ήσυχία[ς?]	2657
Hesychius, Hesychis	Ήσυχίου	2242
	Ήσυχίω	898b; 3076
II.damaina	Ήσύχιν	3285
Hetereius Crentus	Hatanaia Cuanta	741
- Hetereius Graptus	Hetereio Grapto	741
- Hetereius Rufus	Hetereius Rufus	741
Ḥezir	חזיר	137; 138
Harlel	[חזיר]	1145a
Ḥezkil Ḥezaiya	חזקיל	50
Ḥezqiya	חזקיה	121; 524
Fizilzio	חזקיא ביי	530
- Eizikia	Εἰζικία	2194

- Ezekias	Έζεκίας	422
	'Εζεκία	1543
- Ezekios	'Εζεκίου	356b; 493
- Ezikias	'Εζικίαν	2186
	'Ηζικία	2196
- Ḥekia	חקיה	188
- Ḥizqian	חזיקין	3853
	חזקין	3853
- Yeḥekiya	יחקיה	356a; 493b
- Yeḥezkiya	יחזקיה	630
Hgr	הגר	2293 col. III
Ḥidka	חדקא	282
Hie()	Ίε()	2617b
Hierissa	Ίερίσσας	1480
Hieronymus	1	→ Flavius
Hilarion	Ίλαρίων	2444
	Ίλαρίωνος	2459; 2531
	ΙΛΑΡΙΩ	2560
Hilarius	Είλαρίου	921
Hillel	הלל '	45
Hime[]		→ Flavius
Hiracus	Ιρακου	350
Ніууа	חייא	2198
Ḥizqian		→ Ḥezqiya
Ḥn[]	[]+++	2288
Ḥon .	חונ	504
Ḥoniya	חוגיה	277; 3763
• 1	חניה	457
Honoratus		→ Domitius
Horatianus	Hora[tiano]	1435
Horcanus	Όρκανός	236
Horea	'Ωρήα	326a-b
Hosaias	. ,	→ Hoshea
Hoshea	הושע	139; 443
- Hosaias	'Ωσαίας	588
Huanas(?)	Υαναδος	2183
Hygia	Ύγίαν	3823
Hygienon	Ύγιένων	2687
Hypati[.]us	Ύπατί[.]ου	1735
Hypatius	Ύπάτ[ιος]	988
Hyperechi[]	[Ύπε]ρεχί[]	1645
Hyph()	Ύφ()	2593b
/ P···( )	-+( )	20,00
Iacchus	'Ιάκ[χου]	995
Iacimus	'Ιακίμου	2680
Iaco	Ίακω	2210; 2212; 2237; 2464
- Eiaco	Εἰακῶ	2192
- Iaco Dothe	Ἰάκω Δωθη	1490
Iaco[]	Ίακο Δωση	1482
1400[ ]	IAKO[]	2529
	111KO[]	

Iacob, Iacobus		→ Yaakov
Iacon	'Ιάκωνος	1485
	Ίάκωνα	1484; 1555
Iacus	'Ιάκου	1486
Iaeirus	'Ιάειρος	164; 400a-b
	'Ιαείρου	401b
	'Ιαιερε	452b
Iamus	Ίαμου	1701
Ianacius		→ Yehoḥanan
Ianuarius	'Ιανο[υά]ρι<ο>ς	842.26
Iar[]	Ιαρ[]	842.17
Iasion	'Ιασίων	388b-c
	'Ιασίωνος	388a
	'Ιασίωνο(ς)	387
	יסיון	388b-c
Iason	'Ιάσων	1721
	'Ιάσωνος	1721
	יסון	103; 392
	יסן	643; 695; 700
Iconion	Εἰκονίου	3627
Ieremias	'Ιε[ρεμ]ίου	3899
Iesua		→ Yeshua
Iesus		→ Yeshua
Ietro Thinu (?)	'Ιητρο Θίνου (?)	2696
Ilaeus	"Ιλαιος	3504
Illasius	Ιλλασιου	3543
Ima	אמא	2214
	אמה	501; 1119a-b
Immanuel	'Ιμαννουέλ	3195b
Imrachius	[]PAXIO[]	842.20b
A. Instuleius Tenax	ι Τένακα	2335
Io[]	'Io[]	2246
Ioana		→ Yehoḥanan
Ioanan, Ioananus		→ Yehoḥanan
Ioanas, Ioanes, Ioanis,		** 1 1
Ioannes, Ioannis	על די '	→ Yehoḥanan
Ioazarus	'Ιωαζάρου	158
Ioda		→ Yehuda
Iodius		→ Yehuda
Ioezer		→ Yehoezer
Iohana		→ Yehoḥanan
Iohannes	7T	→ Yehoḥanan
Ion	"Ιωνος	2761b
Iona, Ionas		<ul><li>→ Yonah</li><li>→ Yehonatan</li></ul>
Ionatha, Ionathe Ionathes		
		→ Yehonatan → Claudia
Ionice Iordanes	'Ιορδάνης	→ Claudia 3028
Iose	τοροανής	3028 → Yosef
		→ Yosef
Ioseph		/ 10501

Iosepus		→ Yosef
Ioses		→ Yosef
Iosiah	იოსია	3201
	იოსიაჲსი	3201
Iphigenia	Εἰφιγενείας	105c
Iras	Εἰρᾶτος	291
Irenaeus		→ Eirenaius
Irene		→ Eirene
Isai	איסי	3870; 3876
	אסיי	3869
- Ise	Ίσἒ	3896
- Isi	איסי	3870; 3876
Isak		→ Yizḥak
Isakis		→ Yizḥak
Isakus		→ Yizḥak
Isas	Ίσᾶ	2196; 2202; → Titius
- Eisa	Εἰσᾶ	2210
- Eisas	Εἰσᾶς	2193
Ise		→ Isai
Isḥak		→ Yizḥak
Ishmael		→ Yishmael
Isi		→ Isai
Isidora	'Ισίδωρα	1531
Isidorus	'Ησίδωρος	2953
	'Ισίδορος	3048
	'Ισίδωρος	2121
	['Ισ]ίδωρος	2952
	'Ισιδώρου	1490; 1491
	'Ισιδώ[ρου]	1856
	Εἰσιδώρου	934
	'Ησηδώρου	2204
Ismael		→ Yishmael
Isodemus	'Ισοδέμ{μ}ου	3582
Israel	ישראל	42; 3765
Isses	'Ισσῆ	2462
	Ίσσῆτος	2460
	[Ἰσσ]ῆτος	2463
Isuus	"Ισουος	2460
Italicus		→ Claudius
Itharus	'Ιθάρου	89
Iu[]	'Iou[]	1659; 2321; 2488
Iuda		→ Yehuda
Iudan		→ Yehuda
Iudas		→ Yehuda
Iudin	17	→ Yehuda
Iudith	Ίουδειθ	590b
Iulesa	'Ιουλέσα	3326
Iulia	'Ιουλία	545c; 554a-b; 3300
- Iulia Grata	Iulia Grata	2268
- Iulia Procula	Iulia Procula	1248

r 1: 0 1:	T 1: 0 1:	740
- Iulia Sabina	Iuliae Sabinae	742
- Iulia Troxallis	'Ιουλία Τρωξαλλίς	555
- Iulia Valentina	'Ιουλία Οὐαλεντείνη	3297a
v 1.	Ό (ὐαλεντείνη) Ἰ(ουλία)	3297b
Iuliana	'Ιουλιάνα	2894
- Iuliane	'Ιουλιανῆ[ς]	1560
Iulianus	'Ιουλιανός	1121; → Aelius; Iulius
	'Ιουλιανοῦ	842.27b; 1486; 1782; 2372
- Iuli(a)nus	'Ιουλινοῦ	2210
- Iuliannus	Εἰουλιαννοῦ	3197d
Iulis		→ Iulius
Iulittus	ΊΟΥΛΙΤΤΕ	1265
Iulius, Iulis	'Ιοῦλις	1139; → Domitius
- Iulius Agrippa	Iuli Agrippae	1248
- Ti. (Iulius) Alexander	Τιβερίου Άλεξάνδρου	2123
- C. Iulius Commodus		
Orfitianus	G(aio) Iulio Commodo Orfitiano	1228
	[Iulio Co]mmodo	2813
- Iulius Iulianus	Iul(ius) Iulianus	1352
- Iulius Lepidianus	Iulio Lepidiano	3827
- Iulius Magnus	Iulius Magnu(s)	1129
- Ti. Iulius Mellon	Ti(beri) Iulii Mellontis	2268
- Ti. Iulius Miccio	Τιβέριον Ἰούλιον Μικκίωνα	2336
- C. Iulius Sabinus	[Gaius Iu]lius Sabinus	707
- Iulius Severus	[I]ulio Sever[o]	1311
- Iulius Tiberianus	Iul(ius) Tiberianus	1352
- C. Iulius Titianus	G(aio) Iuli[o] Titi[ano]	1231
Iullus	'Ιούλλον	2837
Iuncus	Ἰούνκου	1740
Iuni[]	Iuni[]	1398
Iunius		
- Iunius Maturus	Iuni Maturi	3240
- M. Iunius Maximus	M(arco) Iunio Maximo	721
Iuses	(	→ Yosef
Iusta	יוסטה	2730a
Iusti[]	'Ιουστι[]	1489
Iustina	'Ιουστίνας	1488
Iustinianus	'Ιουστινιανός	3860
idotiiiidido	'Ι[ουστ]ινιανοῦ	3860
	'Ιουστινιανοῦ(?)	2373
Iustinus	Ίουστῖνος	3072; → Aurelius
iustiius	'Ιουστίνου	1072
Iustus	'Ιοῦστος	427a; → Allius
Tustus	'Ιούστου	2199; 2212
	[Ἰού]στου	2213
Iutus	'Ιούτου	1140
Iuvenalis	Iuvenali	2471
Iuvenalius	Ίουβενα(λίου)	962
Iuvinus	Ιουβενα(λιου) 'Ιουβῖνος	2939
Izaton	Ιζατω[ν]	440

<b>J</b> ojik	Ջոջիկ	927
$K \rightarrow C$		
Karsa	קרסא	360b
Kathros	•	→ Bar Kathros
Kochadoi (family)	Κοχαδων	2180
Kochathioi (family)	Κοχχαθιων	2179
Kozon	7676	→ Yizḥak (under Eisak)
Krys[]	[]בריס	2736
Kśkwś	כשכוש	2780
Laazarus		→ Elazar
Laeprus	Λαηπρωι	2720b
Laganion	Λαγανιωνος	551
Lami[]	Lami++[]	3261
Lampadius	Λα<μ>παδίου	896
Lazar	,	→ Bar Lazar; Elazar
Lazarus		→ Elazar
Leah	לאה	242a-b; 394
	Λήα	1497
Leazarus	,	→ Elazar
Leon	Λέοντος	1754
Leon[]	Λεον[]	1498
Leonianus	Λεονιαν(ός)	3008
Leontacis	Λεοντάκις	2528a
Leontius, Leontis	Λεόντιος	2946
, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	$\Lambda$ [εό]ντι[ος]	3022
	Λεόντις	3042; 3348a
	Λεοντίου	996; 2319; 2483
	Λεον[τίου]	1494
	Λεοντήου	1499
Leopeis	Ληοπεις	657
Lepidianus	,	→ Iulius
Levi	לוי	233; 354; 563; 693; 2686
	לוי(?)	2753
	Λευεις	354
	Λευει	2194
	Λευι	2245
Libanus	Λιβάνου	3535
Licinia Chreste	Licinia Chreste	743
P. Licinius	P(ubli) (Licini)	743
Liezer		→ Elazar
Lillius	Λιλλιου(?)	2722b
Limius	Λιμιου(?)	2722b
Lina	לינה	2108
L. Livius	Λούκιος Λείο[υιος]	1195
Lo[]	Λο[]	1500
Lollia	לוליא	176
Lollianus	Lolliano	1290
Longina	Λονγεῖνα	2837
<i>6</i> ···	. ,	

C. Longinius	G(aius) Longinius	3861
Longinus	$\Lambda$ ον $\gamma$ ῖνος	2884; → Antonius
Longus	3.57	→ Antonius
M'. Lor(ius)	M(anius) L[or(ius)]	744
	M(anio) Lor(io)	744
Lorius	Y 1 01 15 1	22.44
- Lorius Clemens	Lori Clement[is]	3241
- Lorius Clementianus	Lori Clement[iani]	3241
- Lorius Clementillus	Lori Clement[illi]	3241
- Lorius Clementinus	Lori Clement[ini]	3241
Lucas	Ղուկաս	817
	ഗഹവ	3316d
	Λούκας	2672
	Λούκα[ς]	1028
	Λούκα	2673
Lucianus	Λουκιανός	2216
	Λουκ[ειανός]	842.34
Lucilia		→ Pompeia
Sex. Lucilius Bassus	Sex(to) Lu[cilio Basso]	712
Lulabus	Λουλάβου	2211
Lulianus	Λουλιανοῦ	2204
Lwlm'	לולםא	1016
Lyda, Lydia	Λίδα	947
Lysas	Λῦσας	561
•	Λυσᾶ	2227
Lysias	Λυσίου	512a
,	Λυσία	512c
Lysimache	Λυσιμάχη	1722
Lysimachus	Λυσίμαχος	2791a
,	Λυσιμάχου	3651
	Lysimachos	1138
M++RYITUS(?)	$M++P\Upsilon ITO\Sigma(?)$	3643
Ma[]	Mα[]	373; 781a; 1469; 1504; 1533
	Ma[]	→ Valerius
Macaria	Μακαρία	2870
Macarius, Macaris	Μακάρι<ο>ς	842.43
	Μακάρις	2947
	Μακαρ(ίου)	2812
Macedon	·	→ Aurelius
Macedonius	Μακεδόνιος	3011
Machaius	Μάχαιος	2482
Macrinus	Μακρῖνος	3450a
Macui()	Macui()	758
Magnentius	Μαγνεντίου(?)	2374
Magnianus	Μαγνιανός	2809
L. Magnius Felix	L(ucius) Magnius Felix	736
Magnus	, , , ,	→ Iulius
Maia	Μαῖα	562
Maimmus	Μαιμμο{ι}ς	3522
· <del></del>		

Maior		→ Sabucius
Mairam		→ Mariam
Makai	Μακαί	842.8
Mal()	Μαλ()	2596b
Malchus	Μάλχος	2970; 3808
	Μάλχφ	3807
Malthace	Μαλθάκης	2698
Mama	Μάμαν	3327
Mamas	Μάμα	912
Mamilianus	[M]amilian[o]	1236
Manaamus		→ Menaḥem
Manaem, Manaemus		→ Menaḥem
Mani[]	Μανι[]	1505
Manlius	Μανλ[ίου]	1506
Manna	Μάνναν	3836
Mannus	Μάννου	2190
Mansuanius		→ Cossonius
Mansuetus	[Mans]uetus	3097
Mara	מרה	97; 543; 563
	מרא	262
	Μαρα	200; 477; 517a
	Μάρας	448a
	Μάρες	48
	Μαρου	241
- Maris	, מריס	571
	Μάρις	2243
Marcella	Μ'αρκέλ[λα]	2424; → C[]
Marcellina	Μαρκελλίνα	1123
Marcellinus	[Μα]ρκελλῖνον	773; → Cossonius
Marcelus	Μάρκελος	3001
Marchion	Μαρχίων	2697
Marcianus	Μαρ[κ]ιανό[ς]	3786
	Μαρκιανοῦ	2448; 2450; 3436
Marcius	Μάρκαεος	23b
	Μάρκεος	23a
Marcus	Μᾶρκος	2881
Mareabdenus		→ Yehohanan
Mari		→ Cyrus
Maria		→ Mariam
Mariados		→ Mariam
Mariam	מרים	168b-c; 175a-b; 217; 356a; 368a-b;
		403b; 444; 451; 462; 482; 488;
		503; 519; 537; 564b; 565; 646;
		3295
	Μαριαμ	141b; 355b; 477; 3281
- Mairam	Μαιραμ	141a
- Maraiame	Μαραιάμη	2847
- Maria	מריה	49; 71; 116; 162b; 168a; 192c; 238;
1714114		312; 384; 476; 564a; 2821a-c
	Μαρία	21; 134a; 232a-b; 445
	1114714	21, 137a, 232a-0, 773

	Μαρίας	856; 863; 900; 1507; 2217; 2218;
	"	2447; 2451; 2453; 2546; 2746; 3183
	Μαρί(ας)	855
	Μαρία[ς]	2454
	Μαρί[ας]	1509
	[Μ]αρία[ς]	1508
	[Μ]αρί[ας]	1510
	[Μα]ρίας	803
	$\mathbf{M}$ αρ[ί $\alpha$ ]	1477
	Μαρίαν	997
- Maria Tharsicia	Μαρία Θαρσικία	2958
- Mariados	Μαριαδος	261a; 261b
- Mariame	Μαριάμη	133a-b; 199; 356a-b; 390; 477;
		494a-b; 566; 567; 568; 2815
	Μαριεάμη	451
- Mariamne	Μαριάμνου	133b
- Marin	מרין .	569
	, Մարին	929
- Marya	Μαρύα	2446
- Maryam	Μαρυαμ	2720a
- Miriam	מרים	2797; 3809; 3837
Marina	Μαρίνας	1511
1,1411114	Μα[ρί]νας	2081
Marinus	Marini	1433
111111111111111111111111111111111111111	Μαρΐνος	1122
	Μαρίνου	861a; 1525
	Μαρίνω	1177; 1336
Marion	Marion	570
Mariun	Μαριουν	2918
Maris	141apt001	→ Mara
Maron		→ Aurelius
Marona	Μαρώνα	2719a
Martha	מרתא	52; 97b; 142; 196; 252; 253; 272;
Mattiia	21112	
	[n]	453a; 505; 511a-b 429
	מ]רתא	
	מרתה אל-20	162a; 163a-b; 168a-c; 504a; 572a-b
	Μάρθας	74
	Μάρθα	511; 573
36 (1)	$M$ αρθα $\{\tau\}$	500c
Martialis	3.5 /	→ Valerius
Martyrius, Martyris	Μαρτύρις	2964
	Μαρτυρίου	2930
Maruan	მარ(ჳ)ან	3203
Marulfus	Μαρούλφου	970
Marulla	Μαρύλλας	486
Marunius	Μαρουνίου	2219
Marus	Mαρ[o]ῦ	1512
Maruthas	Μαρουθᾶ	1141
Marya, Maryam		→ Mariam
Matatai		→ Mattiya

Matheus		→ Mattiya
Mathia		→ Mattiya
Mathias		→ Mattiya
Mathithias		→ Mattiya
Mati		→ Mattiya
Matis		→ Mattiya
Matrinus	Ματρίνω	2573
Matrona	Ματρώνας	1143; 2082; 2322
Triationa	[Ματ]ρώνα	1015
- Matruna	Ματρούνας	1491
Mattata	νιατρούνας	
Mattathias		→ Mattiya
		→ Mattiya
Mattatiya		→ Mattiya
Mattiya	מתתיה	75b
	[מת]תיה	4
	מתיה	75a; 204a-b; 381a-b; 575
- Matatai	מתתי	55
- Matheus	Μαθέου	3320
- Mathia	מתיה	146; 188; 451; 478a
	מת[י]ה	478b
	Μαθία	452b
	Μαθίας	451
- Mathias	Μαθίου	218a
	Μα(θίου)	218b
- Mathithias	Μαθιθία	2692
- Mati	מתי	481; 489a-b; 2718
- Matis	מתיס	537
- Mattata	מתתא	185
- Mattathias	Ματταθίου	219
- Mattatiya	מתתיה	276; 277; 380a-b; 621
Maturus		→ Iunius
Mawgin	معر دی	3856
Maximianus		→ Aurelius
Maximilla		→ Domitia
Maximon	Μαξίμωνος	2313
Maximona	מכסימ	2168
Maximus	Maximo	720; → Flavius; Iunius
Maximus	Μαξίμου	1123
	מבסימ	2168
Meceron		1548
	Μηκέρων	
Meerbalus	Μεερβαλου	3551; 3562
Megale	Μεγάλη	3830
M 1	Μεγάλης	2497; 2499
Megalus	Μεγάλου	1513; 2219; 2221; → Cyrus
Megas	Μεγάλου	2219; 2221; → Cyrus
3.5 . 5 . 3	Μεγά[λου]	1514
Megis[]	Μεγισ[]	3641
Megiste	Μεγίστης	297
Megisteria	Μεγιστηρία	2489
Megistus	Μέγιστος	3644

Meke	Μεκη	2220
Mellon	,	→ Iulius
Meltiades		→ Miltiades
Memor		→ Comisius
Menaḥem	מנחם	183; 187a+d-e; 318
	מנחמ	187b-c
- Manaamus	Μανάαμος	2460
- Manaem	Μαναήμ	318
- Manaemus	Μανάημος	2819a
	Μαναήμου	2151
- Menamus	Μενάμου	2322
Menas	Μηνᾶς	38; 3633
	Μήνα	998
	Μηνᾶ	2491
Menashe	מנשה	2686
- Menasses	Μενασσῆ	2222
Menecrates	Μενεκράτου	3673
Menelaus	Μενελάου	2721; 2722
Meniami	Μενιαμι	2223
Menophila	Μηνόφιλα	1515
Mer[]	Μερ[]	842.27
Mercurius	Μερκούριος	2433
Metaborus	Μεταβόρο<υ>	562
Metras	Μητρᾶς	2490
Mevius Romanus	Mevius Romanus	1284
Miccio		→ Iulius
Mika	Μίκα[ς]	886
Mik(k)e	Μίκης	3087
Milt()	Μιλτ()	2597b
Miltiades	Μιλτιάδου	2338
	[Μιλ]τιάδου	2337
- Meltiades	Μελτιάδου	2310
Mimmulla	Μίμμυλλα	1015
Miriam		→ Mariam
Misael	Μισαηλος	2542
	Μισαῆλ(ος)	2539
Mlk[]	[]	439
Mnaso	Μνασοῦς	328
Mo[]	Mo[]	1516
Mocherus	Μωχηρος	573
Modestus	Μοδ[έσ]του	834
Moschas	Μοσχᾶς	254
Moses	Μοσης	2743
Mrw[]	[]	2736
Mryḥy	מריחי	2293 col. I + col. III
T. Mucius Clemens	[Τί]τωι Μουκίωι [Κλ]ήμεντι	2123
Murik	Մուրկան	839
Musonius	Μουσωνίφ	1336; 1339
Myrismus	Μυρισμός	1136
Myron	Μύρων	3533

Nadav	נדב	80
Nage	Ναγης	550
Naḥum	Ναουμ	2224
- Naḥuma	Ναούμα	3615
Namosa(s)	Ναμωσα	2151
Nanus		→ Gaius
Naoa[]	Ναοα[]	3282
Natalis	Natalis	3242
	Natali[s]	3243b
	Natal[is]	3243a
Natanilos		→ Netanel
Natha[]	Ναθα[]	3282
Națira	נטירא	306
Natra	Νατρα	3646
	Να[τρα?]	3647
Ne[]	Nε[]	2955; 3059; 3634
Neḥemia	נחמיה	310
	נח[מיה]	430a
	נחמיה	430b
	[Νε]ημίας	1479
Neicomedes		→ Nicomedes
Nemonianus		→ Priscus
Neriya	נריה(?)	3843e
Nesius	Νησίου	2537
Ness[]	Νεσσ[]ι	2267
Nestabus	Νέσταβος	2863
	Νέ σ ταβος	2426
Nestor	Νέστορα	2568a
Nestorius	Νεστορίου	2532
Netael	נתאל	2821a-b
Netanel	נתנאל	82; 576
- Natanilos	Νατανίλου	255
Nhry	נהרי(?)	2548
Nicander	Νικάνδρου	222; 2358; 3643
Nicanor	Νεικάνορος	98; → Antonius
	נקנר	98
Nicias	Νικία[ς]	2307
Nico	Νικώ	2679
Nico[]	Νικο[]	3658
Nicobule	Νικοβούλης	3460
Nicolaus	Νικολάου	236
Nicomachus	Νικόμαχε	3104
Nicomedes	1 70	
- Neicomedes	Νεικομήδου	2225
Niger	Νίγερ	28
Nikias	ניקיס	620col.b
Nikos	ניקוס	620col.b
Nilus	Νῖλος	3044
	Νῖλον	3823
Nison	Νισον	431a-b

Nittai	נתי	242
Nom[]s	Νωμ[]ς	842.42b
Nomus	Νόμον	1260
Nona	Νόνας	3326
rvona	Νώνας	3326
Nonia	Νονίας	1150
Nonius	[Ν]ωνίου	1518; → Novius
- Nonius Alexander	Νό[ουιο/νιο]ς Ἀλέξανδρος	1288
Nonna	Νόννα	2175; 2245
Nonnus	Νόννα	2181
Nominus	Νόννου	888; 1520; 2321
- Nonus	Νόνου	2188
Novatus	110000	→ Petronius
Novius Alexander	NI/[a.v.a/w.a]a'A \ /8\2	
	Νό[ουιο/νιο]ς Ἀλέξανδρος	1288
Numisius	[ ]	→ Cossonius
Nw[]	[]13	538
Ny[]	[]ני	538
Ob[]	Ωβ[]	2527
Obesha	עובשא	843
Obodianus	'Οβοδιανός	3469
Olpianus	~ poot	→ Ulpianus
Olybrius	'Ολυβρί(ου)	1086; → Theodulus
Cijoriao	'Ολυβρ(ίου)	1086
Olympiodorus	'Ολυμπιόδωρος	1399; 3511
or/improduct do	['Ολυμ]πιόδωρος	3512
	'Ολυμπιόδωρον	3512
Olympius	'Ολυμπίου	2180
Olympias	['Ολυ]μπίου	1522
Olympus	'Ολύμπου	1143
Omabis(?)	ΟΜΑΒΙΣ	3823
Onesigenes	'Ονησιγένου	3646
Onesima	'Ονησίμη	939
Onesimus	'Ον η σ(ίμου)	888
Officialities	Onesimi	2273
P. Oppius []cio	P(ublius) Oppiu[s] []cio	3094
Optatus	i (dolids) Oppid[s] []elo	→ Aelius
Optimus	Onti[mus/o]	1400
Optillius	Opti[mus/o] OPTIM[]	1317
Orbicon	'Ορβικόν	2545
Orestes	'Ορήστου	3845
Orfitianus	Ορηστου	→ Iulius
Orsilas	Ορσιλας	577
Ortamax	Ορταμαξ 'Ορταμαξ	3517
Ortaniax	'Ορτᾶς	3519
Ortas	'Ορτᾶ	3518
Oșebus	עצבו	843
Oșebus Otresus	· · · · · ·	3800a
	Ωτρησου	138
Ovadiya	עבדי[ה] ייירד	
Oved	עובד	137

Pa[]	$\Pi \alpha[]$	298
Pa()	Πα()	842.32
Paccius		→ Gargilius
- Pacius	Πάκιον	3698a
Pachomius	Παχόμιος	966
Pacius		→ Paccius
Paiomtioue	ПАЇОМ†ОҮЄ	1045
Pamphilia	Παμφιλίας	1565
Pamphilus	Πάμφιλος	1020
Pampras	Πάμπρα<ς>	2763
Panagius	Παναγίου	1455
Panaretus	Π[α]ν[α]ρέτου	1766
Pancharia	Παγχαρίαν	3860
Pansemnia	Πανσεμνίης	2728a
Papa	Πάπα	842.9
Papias	Παπίας	412a-b
	Παπίαν	3499
	פפיס	412a
Papion	Παπίωνος	579
Papus	Πάπος	117a-b
	פפוס	505
Paregores	Παρηγόρης	2226
Paregorius	Παρηγορίου	1456; 1525; 2207
	Παρη[γορί]ου	1524
	Παρη[γο]ρίω	3772
- Parigorius	Παριγορίου	2227; 3359
	Παριγορίο[υ]	2221
Paris	Πάρις	3
Parthenis	Παρθένι	3301
Parthenius	Παρθένι	3301
Parthenope	Παρθενόπη(ς)	3173
Pasimus	Πασίμου	904
Passenianus		→ Clodius
Patr()		→ Vettienus
Patraus	Πάτραος(?)	3690
Patrice	Πατρικῆς	2228
Patricius, Patricis	Πατρίκις	3199; → Flavius
	Πατρικίου	2476
Patrobalaus	Πατροβαλαος	3607
Paul[]	ΠΑΥΛ[]	2740
Paula	Παύλη	3312
	[Πα]ῦλα	1786
	Paulae	3263b
	Paulam	3263a
Paulus	Παῦλος	842.11; 1457; 2446; 2451; 2453;
		2889; 2906; 2944; 2971; 2999;
		3005; 3046; 3061; 3063; 3069;
		3071; 3312; → Aurelius
	Παῦλ[ος]	923b
	Παύλου	999; 2314; 2454; 3120; 3147

	Παύλο[υ]	1164
	Παύ[λου]	1081
	[Π]αύλου	1074a
	[Πα]ύλου	2447
		3263
Dh.,	Pauli (pl.)	
Pby	פבי	2552
Pe[]	Πη[]	1526; 2956
Pedaya	פדיה	17b
Pelagius	[Πε]λαγίου	3086
Pelatya	פלטיא	2829
- Pelața	פלטא	2831a-b
Perekh	פרך	600a-b
Peresh	פרש	599
Perpetuus	[P]erpetuo	1318
Persis	Πέρσις	3581; 3589
Petaḥiya Akhla	[פתחיה] אכלה	1145a-b
Petronius	[Pe]tron[io]	1411
- Petronius Novatus	[P]etronio No[vato]	1230
Petrus	Πέτρος	2932; 3052; 3828
	[Πέ]τρος	3029
	Πέ[τρος?]	2922
	Πέτρου	856; 860; 1015; 2746; 2748; 2749;
		3131a; 3844
	Πέτρου(?)	2375
	Πέτρω	842.50; 913
	Πέτρε	3488
	Պետրոսի	873
	Պետրոս	813
Phaidrus	Φαίδρου	231
Phasael	Φασαήλου	105a-b
Pheidon	Φείδωνος	432a
Pheroriya	פרוריה	3762
- Pheroras	Φερώρα	3631
	Φερώρου	3762
Phila	Φίλας	3655
Philinus	Φιλῖνος	3499
	Φιλίνου	3498
Philipia	Φιλιπίας	2721
Philippus	Φιλίππου	2536
- Philipus	Φίλιπος	3221
Philiscus	Φιλίσκος	329
Philoclea	Φιλοκλέας	3464
Philodespotus	Φιλοδέσποτος	842.28
Philodoxias	Φιλοδοξιάδι	767
Philon	Φίλων	170; 433; 580
Philonidas	Φιλωνίδας	3690
1 11110111440	Φιλωνίδη[ν]	3690
Philotarius	Φιλουταρίου	581
Philotion	Φιλωτίου Φιλωτίου	3578
Philoxenus	Φιλοξέ<ν>ου	3602
1 IIIIOACIIUS	41V02c/1/00	3002

ml d	T 2 0	
Philus	Φιλοῦς	315; 3611
Phin[]	Φιν[]	2399
Phineas	Φινέας	313
- Pinḥas	פינחס	83a-b; 434; 2730a-b
	פנסח	406
Phis[.]lius(?)	Φ?ισ[.] $λ$ ιος	2639b
Phoebe	Φοίβη	1004
Photius, Photis	Φῶτις	1680
	Φῶτιν	1680
Phy()	Φυ()	2593b
Physcon	$\Phi$ υσκῶνος	2593a
Pilatus		→ Pontius
Pin[]	Πιν[]	3222
Pinaras	Πιναρᾶ	2204
Pindires	Πινδίρη	883
Pinḥas		→ Phineas
Platon	Πλάτον(?)	3211d3
Playa	פליה	407a
Pobas(?)	ПОВА	3603
Polla	Πώλλα	150
Pollio	Pollionis	3095
Polychronius	Πολυχρονίου	2809
•	[Πο]λυχρο[νίου]	1528
- Pollychronius	Πολλυχρονίου	3024
Pompeia Lucilia	Πονπηία Λουκίλια	709
Pomponianus	Pomponi[ani]	3244
Pomponius	Pomponi	3244
1	Pompo[nio/us]	1401
- C. Pomponius	G(aius) Pomp[oni]us	745
Pompylia	Πομπυλία	2687
Pon[]	Πον[]	2120
Pontius Pilatus	[Po]ntius Pilatus	1277
Pontus	Πώντου	931
Popeli	Ποπελι	583a-b
Popienus	Ποπιῆνο(ς)	842.33a
L. Popillius Balbus	Λούκιον Ποπίλλιον Βᾶλβον	2173
Porphyrius	Πορφύρ[ιος]	2972
101711/1140	Πορφυρίου	2674
Potens	110P 4 0P100	→ Claudius
Potitus	[?Po]titi	3245
Pr[]	Πρ[]	1529
Primiginia	11PL ]	→ Saccia
Primus	Prim(i)	760
Prisc[]	Πρισκ[]	1458
Prisciane	Πρισκιανῆς	1530; 2860
Priscianus	פרקסנה	2168
Priscus	בו קטבו	→ Aufidius
- Priscus Nemonianus	Πρεῖσκε Νεμωνιανέ	1531
Pro[]	Προ[]	1532
Probatius	Προβατίου	3756
1 100 attus	Τιρορατίου	3730

	Πρόκ ΄ λε'	3298
Proclus Procopia	Προκοπίας	1533; 1534
Гюсоріа	•	1178
Duo annius Duo annis	Προκοπία	
Procopius, Procopis	Προκοπίου	1378; 1534; 1535; 2453; 2875;
	TT [/ ]	→ Flavius
	Προκοπ[ίου]	1536
	Προκο[πίου]	2705
	Προκ[οπί]ου	1537
	Προκ[οπίου]	1538; 1540
	[Πρ]οκοπίου	1539
	Προκόπιν	3158
	Π[]	972
_	translation only	2706
Procula		→ Iulia
Proculus	[P]rocu[lus/o]	1313
Promus	[Πρό]μος	1165.2a
	Π[ρό]μος	1165.2b
Prosdocia	Προσδοκίας	3977
Protarchis	Πρωταρχίς	2161
Protas	Πρωτᾶς	118
	Πρωτ(ᾶτος)	497a
	[Πρω]τᾶτ[ος]	497c
	Πρωτ[ᾶ]τος	497d1
	Πρ[ωτ]ᾶτος	497d2
	Πρωτᾶτ[ος]	497e
Protianus		→ Claudius
Protus	Πρώτου	3523
Proxena	פרקסנה	2168
	פצחי	253
Pṣḥy		
•		584
Pṣḥy Psyche Ptolatois	Ψύχης Πτολατοις	
Psyche	Ψύχης Πτολατοις	584
Psyche Ptolatois	Ψύχης Πτολατοις Πτολεμαῖ[ος]	584 593
Psyche Ptolatois	Ψύχης Πτολατοις Πτολεμαῖ[ος] Πτολεμαίου	584 593 3637
Psyche Ptolatois	Ψύχης Πτολατοις Πτολεμαῖ[ος] Πτολεμαίου Πτολεμαί[ου]	584 593 3637 3565
Psyche Ptolatois	Ψύχης Πτολατοις Πτολεμαῖ[ος] Πτολεμαίου	584 593 3637 3565 3637
Psyche Ptolatois	Ψύχης Πτολατοις Πτολεμαῖ[ος] Πτολεμαίου Πτολεμαί[ου] Πτολεμ[αίου] Θυδαιο	584 593 3637 3565 3637 3592
Psyche Ptolatois Ptolemaeus - Ptolma	Ψύχης Πτολατοις Πτολεμαῖ[ος] Πτολεμαίου Πτολεμαί[ου] Πτολεμ[αίου] Θυάταιο Ευταλμα	584 593 3637 3565 3637 3592 693 402a
Psyche Ptolatois Ptolemaeus	Ψύχης Πτολατοις Πτολεμαῖ[ος] Πτολεμαίου Πτολεμαί[ου] Πτολεμ[αίου] Ωτολεμ[αίου] συσταντώμα Πτολμα Πτολμα Πτολμα Πόπι<ο>ς	584 593 3637 3565 3637 3592 693
Psyche Ptolatois Ptolemaeus - Ptolma	Ψύχης Πτολατοις Πτολεμαῖ[ος] Πτολεμαίου Πτολεμαί[ου] Πτολεμ[αίου] Θυάταιο Ευταλμα	584 593 3637 3565 3637 3592 693 402a 842.19
Psyche Ptolatois Ptolemaeus  - Ptolma Pupius Pusaeus	Ψύχης Πτολατοις Πτολεμαῖ[ος] Πτολεμαίου Πτολεμαί[ου] Πτολεμ[αίου] Φτολεμ[αίου]  Ευτολιμα Ευτολιμα Ευτολιμα Ευτολιμα Ευτοκιί Ευτοκι Ευτοκιί Ευτοκι	584 593 3637 3565 3637 3592 693 402a 842.19 842.30 → Flavius
Psyche Ptolatois Ptolemaeus  - Ptolma Pupius	Ψύχης Πτολατοις Πτολεμαῖ[ος] Πτολεμαίου Πτολεμαί[ου] Πτολεμ[αίου] Ωτολεμ[αίου] συσταντώμα Πτολμα Πτολμα Πτολμα Πόπι<ο>ς	584 593 3637 3565 3637 3592 693 402a 842.19 842.30
Psyche Ptolatois Ptolemaeus  - Ptolma Pupius Pusaeus	Ψύχης Πτολατοις Πτολεμαῖ[ος] Πτολεμαίου Πτολεμαί[ου] Πτολεμ[αίου] Φτολεμ[αίου]  Ευτολιμα Ευτολιμα Ευτολιμα Ευτολιμα Ευτοκιί Ευτοκι Ευτοκιί Ευτοκι	584 593 3637 3565 3637 3592 693 402a 842.19 842.30 → Flavius 2698
Psyche Ptolatois Ptolemaeus  - Ptolma Pupius  Pusaeus Pyrinus  Qafa	Ψύχης Πτολατοις Πτολεμαῖ[ος] Πτολεμαί[ου] Πτολεμαί[ου] Πτολεμ[αίου] συά συά συά συά μα ᾶ Πόπι<ο>ς Πόπ(ιος)	584 593 3637 3565 3637 3592 693 402a 842.19 842.30 → Flavius
Psyche Ptolatois Ptolemaeus  - Ptolma Pupius  Pusaeus Pyrinus	Ψύχης Πτολατοις Πτολεμαῖ[ος] Πτολεμαί[ου] Πτολεμαί[ου] Πτολεμ[αίου] συά συά συά συά μα ᾶ Πόπι<ο>ς Πόπ(ιος)	584 593 3637 3565 3637 3592 693 402a 842.19 842.30 → Flavius 2698 461b; 463; → Caiaphas
Psyche Ptolatois Ptolemaeus  - Ptolma Pupius  Pusaeus Pyrinus  Qafa Qamşa Quarta	Ψύχης Πτολατοις Πτολεμαῖ[ος] Πτολεμαίου Πτολεμαί[ου] Πτολεμ[αίου] Εξυαίτου	584 593 3637 3565 3637 3592 693 402a 842.19 842.30 → Flavius 2698  461b; 463; → Caiaphas → Bar Qamṣa 1719
Psyche Ptolatois Ptolemaeus  - Ptolma Pupius  Pusaeus Pyrinus  Qafa Qamşa Quarta Quartus	Ψύχης Πτολατοις Πτολεμαῖ[ος] Πτολεμαί[ου] Πτολεμαί[ου] Πτολεμ[αίου] συ αυτά α Πτολμᾶ Πόπι<ο>ς Πόπ(ιος)  Κοάρτα Quarti	584 593 3637 3565 3637 3592 693 402a 842.19 842.30 → Flavius 2698 461b; 463; → Caiaphas → Bar Qamşa
Psyche Ptolatois Ptolemaeus  - Ptolma Pupius  Pusaeus Pyrinus  Qafa Qamṣa Quarta Quartus Quinctilia	Ψύχης Πτολατοις Πτολεμαῖ[ος] Πτολεμαίου Πτολεμαίου] Πτολεμαίου] Πτολεμ[αίου] Εξυταίου] Πτολμᾶ Πόπι<0>ς Πόπ(ιος) Πυρίνου Κοάρτα Quarti [Qui]nctil[ius/a]	584 593 3637 3565 3637 3592 693 402a 842.19 842.30 → Flavius 2698  461b; 463; → Caiaphas → Bar Qamṣa 1719 3246; 3247
Psyche Ptolatois Ptolemaeus  - Ptolma Pupius  Pusaeus Pyrinus  Qafa Qamsa Quarta Quartus Quinctilia Quinctiliana	Ψύχης Πτολατοις Πτολεμαῖ[ος] Πτολεμαίου Πτολεμαί[ου] Πτολεμ[αίου] υ αυτολεμαί] Πτολεμ[αίου] υ αυτολεμαί] Πτολμᾶ Πόπι<0>ς Πόπ(ιος) Πυρίνου Κοάρτα Quarti [Qui]nctil[ius/a] [Qui]nctil[ianus/a]	584 593 3637 3565 3637 3592 693 402a 842.19 842.30 → Flavius 2698  461b; 463; → Caiaphas → Bar Qamşa 1719 3246; 3247 1435A 1435A
Psyche Ptolatois Ptolemaeus  - Ptolma Pupius  Pusaeus Pyrinus  Qafa Qamṣa Quarta Quartus Quinctilia	Ψύχης Πτολατοις Πτολεμαῖ[ος] Πτολεμαίου Πτολεμαίου] Πτολεμαίου] Πτολεμ[αίου] Εξυταίου] Πτολμᾶ Πόπι<0>ς Πόπ(ιος) Πυρίνου Κοάρτα Quarti [Qui]nctil[ius/a]	584 593 3637 3565 3637 3592 693 402a 842.19 842.30 → Flavius 2698  461b; 463; → Caiaphas → Bar Qamşa 1719 3246; 3247 1435A

Quinta	Κοίντα	2837
Quintianus	Κυνθιανοῦ	3835; → Calpurnius; Cornelius;
		Flavius
Quzma	קוזמה	3973
	[קוזמ]ה	3973
	[קוזמה]	3973
Qwsyt <sup>°</sup>	קוסיתע	2552
Qyp'	קיפא	3295
<b>1</b> /1		
Rabe	Ραβη	1541
Ramon	רמונ	56; 3837(?)
Ravid	רביד	596
Ravikh	רביך	596
Rebecca	'Ρεβέκκα	2190
- Reb(e)ca	'Ρέβκα	2189
- Rivka	רבקה	2730b
Reginus	· Υηγίνω	2264
Reglus	['P]ήγλου(?)	2163
Reuben	ר]אובן	625
- Robe	Ψωβῆ	2213
- Robel	Ψωβήλ	2290
- Rube(s)	'Ρουβῆ	2193; 2229
- Rubelus	'Ρουβήλου	2462
Rhantes	'Ράντη(?)	3801d
RHESO[.]	ΡΗΣΟ+	3800a
Rhion/Rhius	Ψίου	2143c
Rhodion	'Ροδίου	3454a; 3455b
Rhodope	Rhodo[pe]	1436
Rivka	Time de [p e]	→ Rebecca
Ro[]	'Ρω[]	585a
Robe	- **[ ]	→ Reuben
Robel		→ Reuben
Rogatus	'Ρογᾶτος	1542
Rom[]	10/0000,	→ Clodius
Romanus	'Ρωμανός	2898; 2918(?); → Mevius
	'Ρωμαν[ός]	2961
	['Ρ]ομανους	3825
Rosh	רוש	285
Rube(s)	2	→ Reuben
Rubelus		→ Reuben
Rufinus	'Ρουφίνου	2189; 3433
Rufus	[R]ufi	1402; → Hetereius; Tineius
Ruiuo	'Ροῦφος	2679
	'Ρούφου	385
	['Po]ύφου	1113
	'Ρούφω	2738
Rusticianus	'Ρουστικιανοῦ	1740
C. Rusticius Apollonius		746
Rwy	רוי	2555
= 1	• •	

Saba	סבא	483
Sabas	Σάβα	3213b
Sabatheus	Σαβαθέου	586
Sabatios	Σαβατίφ	2113B
Sabatis	Σαβατίς	330
Sabba[]	Σαββα[]	1461
Sabina		→ Iulia
Sabinianus	Σαβινιανοῦ	2707
Sabinus	Σαβῖνος	3275; → Atilius; Cossonius; Iulius
	Σαβίνου	3865
	Σαβίν[ου(?)]	3899
	Σαβεί[νου]	2423
Sabo	Σαβοῦς	3527; 3553; 3618
C. Sabucius Maior	[G(aio) S]abucio Maiore	3827
Saccia Primiginia	Saccia Primiginia	3095
Şada	צדה	123
- Şadan	צדן	123
Safra	ספרה	2731
Salaeanus	Σαλαηανου	2458
Salaeus	Σαλαέου	3326
Salam	24/14000	→ Shalom
Salamath		→ Shalom
Salame, Salami		→ Shalom
Salamps		→ Shelamzion
Salamsion, Sallamsion		→ Shelamzion
Salamtha	Σαλαμθα	2458
Salan	Ζαλαμοα	→ Shalom
Salaon	Σαλαῶν	
Salaoli		2988; → Shalom 3759
C.11	Σαλαῶνος	
Sallamsion	סלמינו	→ Shelamzion
Salminu	טלמינו	3973
Salo		→ Shalom
Salome		→ Shalom
Salon, Salona	5/2 ()	→ Shalom
Salv(i)us	Σάλου(ι)ος	1723
Sama()	Σαμα()	2672
Samaus	Σαμαΰ	3648
Samoes	Σαμωῆ	2231
	[Σα]μωής	2230
- Samues	Σαμουής	2232
Samuel	Σαμουήλ	903; 2233
	Σαμ[ουήλ]	1000
	Σαμουῆλος	2179
	Σαμουήλ[ος]	1001
	Σαμουείλου	1543
	Σαμουήλου	848; 2098
	Σαμουήλω	3863a
- Samulus	Σαμούλου	2322
- Shemuel, Shmuel	שמואל	2733b
	שמ[ואל]	646

	שמאיל	1119a-b
Samues		→ Samoes
Saoras	Σαορας	2676
	Σαῶρα	3835
Saphira, Sapira	·	→ Shapira
Saphrica		→ Saprica
Sapphas	[Σα]πφου	1111
Saprica	Σαπρίκα	3325
•	Σαπρίκαν	3327
- Saphrica	Σαφρίκα	3326
Sara	סר	226
	סרה	201
	שרה	234
	Σάρα	331a; 2722a-b
	Σάρας	331b-c; 1545
Saria	Σαρίας	3593; 3597
Sarochis	Σαρωχις	2977
Saru	סרו	2778
Saturninus	Σατ[ορνίνου]	769; → Clodius
Saul, Saulus		→ Shaul
Saus	Σαου	3283
Savora	סבורא	129a-b
Scho()	Σχο()	2610b
Scholaicus	Σχολαικός	3265
Scipio	Scipio	3262
Scodris	Σκοδρις	3616
Secunda	[Σε]κοῦνδα	171
Secundus	Sec[undus]	1435
Sedata		→ Valeria
D. Seius Seneca	D(ecimo) Seio Senecae	1269
Selacus	Σελακος	3764
Selamanus	Σελαμ(άνου)	2676
Selamon	Σελαμων	3894
	Σηλάμωνος	2729
Selampsin		→ Shelamzion
Selamsio, Selamsion		→ Shelamzion
Selaption		→ Shelamzion
Selasion		→ Shelamzion
Seleucus	Σελευκ[]	291; → Varius
Sen[]	Sen[]	1438
Seneca		→ Seius
Senecio		→ Valerius
Septimius	Septim[ius/o]	1403
Sereidus	Σερείδου	2594
Serges	Σ[έρ]γης	1165.1b
Sergius, Sergis	Σέργιος	2995
3 . 0	Σέρ[γιος]	2920
	Σέργις	2897
	Σεργίου	2456; 3228
	Sergiu	1767
	C	

Sesmaeus	Σεσμαίου	3573; 3527
- Sesmaus	Σεσμάου	3570
Seth	שת	144; 335
Sev[]	Σεβ[]	1547
Severa	Σεβήρα	1548
Severianus	[Σεου]ηριανοῦ	1002
Severina	Σευηρίναν	764
Severus	Severi	3248; 3249; → Claudius; Flavius;
		Iulius
	Σευ[ήρου]	1528
	סברס	3974
Shabatiya	7 ,20	→ Shabtai
Shabtai	שבתי	310
- Shabatiya	שבתיה	1027
Shafan	שבור ו	3446; 3448
Silalali	שפון]	3447
Shallum (Shalum)	שפוןן שלום	53; 954a
Shalmu	שלום שלמ[.?]	
- Shalmai	= =	611
	שלמ[?] שלום	611
Shalom	שלום	25; 58a-b; 66; 72; 84a; 90b; 126;
		147b; 169; 197; 256a-c; 308a; 317;
		339b; 340; 341a-b; 448b; 464; 506;
		528d; 587; 633; 954b; 1017; 1088;
	r. at	1549; 3810; 3889
	של[ום]	528a
	שלם	37; 45; 119; 143; 180; 190; 381a
	מולש (reversed)	159
	(confused order)	595
	Σαλω΄μ΄	308a
	$\Sigma \alpha \lambda \omega(\mu)$	308b
- Salam	Σαλάμ	3614
- Salamath	Σαλαμαθ	435
- Salame	Σαλάμη	587
- Salami	Σαλαμι	436
- Salan	Σαλανος	2458
- Salaon	Σαλαονος	2455
- Salo	Σάλω	134a; 589; 2212
- Salome	Σαλώμη	307; 319b; 339a; 590a; 2680; 2824
	Σαλώμ<η>	412b
- Salon	Σαλων	591
- Salona	Σαλώνα	2847
- Shalon	שלון	342
Shamaya	שמעיה	434; 630
- Shammai	ש[מי]	87
Shapir	שפיר	197
Shapira	שפירא	93; 174b; 215; 398; 598
1	[ש]פיר[א]	174a
	שפירה	596; 597
	שפרא	357
- Saphira	Σαφεῖρα	398
- up u		

	Σαφίρα	591; 592; 593
	[Σ]αφίρα[ς]	1546
- Sapira	Σαπῖρα	208
Shaul	שאול '	25; 26; 27; 110; 471; 472; 571; 3848
	שאל	449a
- Saul	Σαουλ	2234
- Saulus	Σάολος	269a
	Σάουλος	110; 594b
	Σαούλου	594a
Shekhaniya	שכניה	502
Shelamzion	שלמצין	19a-b; 178a-b; 257; 258; 311; 382b;
		500b; 599; 3428
	שלמציון	209; 259a-b; 279b; 309a-b; 343;
		369a-b; 382a; 437; 536
- Salamps	Σαλάμψ	3614
- Salamsion	[Σαλα]μσι[ων?]	165
- Sallamsion	Σαλλαμσείων	588
- Selampsin	Σελάμψιν	309a
	Σε λά μσιν	309b
- Selamsio	Σελαμσιοῦς	2825a+c
- Selamsion	Σελαμασιων	279b
- Selaption	Σηλαπτίωνο<ς?>	2215
- Selasion	Σελασιων	500c
- Shelamsi	שלמשי	87
- Shelamsion	שלמשיון	2825b
- Shelamza	שלמצה	279a
- Shelamzia	שלמציה	278
- Shelamzin	שלמצין	2821a-b
Shemuel		→ Samuel
Shevaț	שבט	43
Shimai(?)	שימעיי	3468
Shimi	שימי	85
Shimon	שמעון	30; 31; 32; 33; 69; 76b; 102b; 122;
		128; 135; 136; 137; 144; 166; 176;
		192a-b; 239a; 259a; 260; 275a-b;
		280; 281; 282; 283; 314; 337b; 343;
		344; 345; 366b; 367a-b; 368a-b;
		370; 371c; 443; 446a-b; 462; 471;
		482; 483; 490; 491b; 567; 571; 598;
		600a; 648; 693; 2753; 2831a-b;
		2798; 3843e; 3876; 3878
	שמעונ	2723
	שמע[וז]	3881
	שמע[ון?]	2781
	שמען	371a
	שמון	491a
	שמעונ	371b; 530
	שימעון	600b
	שמע[ון]	288
	[עון]	646

	[]שמע	649
	ן שמע]ון	2289
	[[שמעון]]	49
- Shimon Ben Kosiba	שמעון בן כוסבא	3426a
- Simmon Den Rosida	שמעון בן כוסבא בן כוסבא	3426b
- Shimon Dsnw	שמעון דסנו	3426b
- Simon	סמונ	54a-b
- omion	סימו	172
	נומס (reversed)	239b
	Σήμων	210
	Σίμον	391
	Σίμων	452b; 517b; 324b; 2819b; 2820a-b
	Σίμωνος	199; 324b; 331a; 372; 2240; 2763;
	Ζιμώνος	
	$\sum (u, c, w(a, c))$	2830; 3813 324a
	Σίμων(ος)	1003
- Simon Gobar	Σίμω[νος]	
	Σίμωνος Γωβαρ	2698
- Soimon	Σοίμωνος	2224
- Symeon	Συμεών	825; 959c
C	Συμε[ῶνος]	1552
- Symon	Σύμων	1555
	Σύμωνος	1554; 2215; 2235; 2237
	Σύμονος	2236
	Σύμον[ος]	1556
Cl1	Συμώ[νου]	1557
Shmuel		→ Samuel
Shoshan - Shoshana	שושן	61
	שושנה	235
Shovai	שבי שולאי	149
Shulai		314
Si[]	Σι[] Σιλᾶ	1615
Silas		892
C:141	لالم. 2:30-% -	2806
Silthous	Σιλθοῦς	2544
Silvanilla	<b>5</b> 3 /	→ Tarquitia
Silvanus	Σιλουανός	2928; → Gargilius
	Σηλβάνου	1150
	Σιλουανοῦ	2535; 3866
	$\sum_{i} [\lambda] o \upsilon[\alpha] v o \widetilde{\upsilon}$	3865
Ō.	[Σι]λουανοῦ	809
Sime	Σιμή	3732
Simis	Σιμίδος	3640
Simon	F 15	→ Shimon
Simonides	Σιμωνίδης	9; 487; 2123
	Σιμωνίδου	36
Sisenna	Sis(ennae)	1114
Sisennius	Σισεννίο[υ]	931
- Sisinius	Σησηνίου	1499
	Σισινίου	3213c
	[Σ]ισινίο $[v]$	916

Cinimirra		791
- Sisiniya Sition	סיסיניה	897
	Σιτίωνος	
Śkwy Šlm	שכוי שלם	2164
Šlm[]	שלמ[] שלמ	2293 col. I 2516
Šlmy	שלבוןן שלמי	2293 col. III
	שלנוי שמאדני	2293 col. III
Šm'dny Šm'	שמאוני	2293 col. I 2293 col. I
So[]	$\Sigma\omega[]$	1558
Sobius	$\sum \alpha \beta \iota(\alpha \varsigma)$	842.33b
Sohemus	Σοήμωι	3504
Soimon	Ζυημωι	→ Shimon
Solomon	Σολομόν	1005
Solomon	Σολομών	
Compon	•	3045 419
Somaon Sonicus	Σομαων Σωνίκου	3522
	Σωπᾶ	
Sopas		2641
Sophia	Σοφία	1004
	Σοφίας	895
Sophronia	[Σ]οφίας	858 2710
Sophroma	Σωφρονήας	
Commo	Σωφρονία	3087
Sorra	Σόρρα	325b
Sosebius, Sosebis - Sosibius	Σωσέβις	2492
	Σωσιβ[ί]ου	3675
Sosimus	Σώσιμος	2879
Sosipater	Σωσιπάτρου	2784
Sosipolis	Σωσιπόλε[ως]	1559
Sotirichus	Σωτιρίχου	2143b
Sozomenus	Σωζόμενος	3030
St[]	ΣΤ[]	842.7; 3058
T. Statilius	T(ito) Statili[o]	704
Stephane	Στεφάν[η]	2494
Stephanephorus	Στεφανηφόρου	2728a
Stephania	Στεφανία	3976
Stephanis	Στεφανίδος	898a
Stephanus	Στέφανος	914; 2493; 2494; 2528b; 2676;
		2869; 2899; 2902; 2903; 2911;
		2913; 2919; 2968; 2983; 3039;
	5 /1/	3065; → Flavius
	Στέφ(ανος)	2672
	[Σ]τέφανος	991
	Στεφάνου	897; 1759; 2422; 2456; 3303;
	5 (1/ )	3838a
	Στεφ[άνου]	3844
	Στε[φάνου]	3228
	Στέφανον	3866
	Στέφα(νον)	3183
	Στέφανε	802
	Στεφα[ν]	3169

Sthenon	Σθένωνα	3703
Stiminius	Stimini	3096
Storge	Στοργή	200
Strategius	.,,	→ Flavius
Straton, Strato	Στράτωνος	558; 3531; 3538
	Strato	1138d
	Straton	1138h
Strobilus	Στρόβιλος	842.16
Sturenius	Stureni(?)	3250
Sturenus	Stureni(?)	3250
Sulla	Σύλλα	2193
Šušan	Շուշան	928
Šušanik	Շուշանկան	925
Sutorius	[S]uto(ri)	761
Sym[]	Συμ[]	1551; 1553
Symeon		→ Shimon
Symmachus	Συμμάχου	2238
Symon		→ Shimon
Symphorus	Symphorus	1351
Syncletice	Συνκλητικήν	2234
Syriacus	Syr[iacus?]	1404
<sup>'</sup> sytn	אסיתן	2293 col. II
P. T. R.	P(ubli/o) T() R()	1382i-k; 1383i
	[P(ubli/o)] T() R()	1383k
Ţafzai	טפזאי	128
Tanḥum	תנחום	374; 2239
- Thanum	Θανουμ	2240
- Thanuma	Θανοῦμα	3484
- Thanumas	Θανοῦμας	2193
Ţarfon	טרפון	349; 358a+c; 2205
Tarquitia Silvanilla	Tarquitiae Silvanillae	747
Tascomenes	Τασκομένους	2482
Taseleas (family)	Τασεληας	2230
Tasella	Τασέλλας	1480
Tati[]	Tati[]	3251
Taurinus		→ Cornelius
Teḥinna	תחנא	438
Teimeiseion	Τει[μει]σείωνος	497d1
	[Τει]μεισείωνο[ς]	497d2
	[Τειμει]σείων[ος]	497b
	[Τειμεισείωνος]	497c
Telemachus	Τελέ(μαχος)	768
	Τηλεμάχου	2628a-b
Telesa	Τελεσα	512d
Telesistratus	Τελεσίστρατος	512c
	Τελεσιστράτου	512a
Tenax		→ Instuleius
Tertia	Τερτίαν	507
T'ew	<b>Թևա</b>	839

Thadda	תדא	204
	$[\Theta \alpha]\delta\delta\alpha$	165
Thaimi	$\Theta$ AIMI	601a
Thaimon	Θαίμωνος	3758
Thaleleus	Θαλελέως	2943
Thaliarchos	Θαλίαρχος	332a-b
Thama	Θαμα	508
Thanum, Thanuma,		
Thanumas		→ Tanḥum
Tharephyllus	Θαρεφυλλον	842.46
Tharsicia	• ,	→ Mariam (under Maria)
Thauma[]	Θαυ[μα]	2241
Thecla	Θέκλα	3360
	Θέκλας	1560
	Θέκλης	816
	Θέκλα	962; 970
Theclus	Θεκλοῦν	3749
Theennas		→ Thenas
Thenas	Θενας	22
Titelias	Θενου	21
- Theennas	Θεεννας	427
- Thennas	Θέννας Θέννας	323
Theo[]	-	3296
Theo[]	Θεω[]	
	Θεοχαρίστου	1768
Theoctista	Θεω[κ]τίστα	2687
Theod[]	Θεοδ[]	1015; 1561
mi 1 [ ]	Θεωδ[]	1658
Theodo[]	Θεοδό[]	1785
	Θεοδ+[]	3642
Theodor[]	Θεοδωρ[]	1562
Theodora	Θεοδώρα	1680; 2495
	Θεοδόρας	856
	Θε[ο]δώρας	1493
Theodorus	Θεόδωρος	2749; 2877; 2887; 2892; 2960; 3015;
		3022; 3050; 3053; → Flavius
	Θεώδωρος	3018
	Θεόδορ[ος]	3267
	Θεόδωρο[ς]	1005
	[Θ]εόδωρος	2990
	Θεό[δω]ρος	2985
	Θεόδωρ[ος]	2915
	[Θεόδ]ωρος	2959
	Θεοδώρου	1753; 2242; 2371; 2496; 2542;
	•	2543; 2561
	Θεωδόρου	3899
	Θεωδώρου	1490
	Θεοδώρ<0>υ	436
	Θε[οδώρ]ου	3216
	Θ[εοδώρου]	1007
	[Θε]ωδώρ[ου]	1061
	[Oc]momb[oo]	1001

	0. 27	
	Θεοδώρι	2724a
	[Θε]οδώρω	3362a
	[Θεο]δόρ{ρ}ω	1051
	[Θεοδ]ώρο[]	821
	Θεωδώροε	1143
m1 1 .	[Th]eodoru	1769
Theodosia	Θεοδωσία	1006
	Θεωδοσία	878
	Θεοδοσίας	999; 3220
	Θ[εο]δοσίας	836
m1 1 . m1 1 .	Θεωδοσίαν	3183
Theodosius, Theodosis	Θεοδόσις	1680
	Θεοδοσίου	657; 786c; 841
	Θεοδοσίο	3347a
	Θεοδόσιν	1680
m1 1	Θε[ο]δόσιν	1680
Theodote	Θεωδότης	2497
Theodotion	Θεοδοτίωνος	212
	תדטיון	211
Theodotus	Θεόδοτος	9
	Θεοδότου	2817a-b
	Θ(εοδότου) (?)	2817c
	Θεόδοτον	842.3
Theodulus	Θεωδούλου	3131b
	Θεοδούλ(ου)	1086
	Θεοδούλω	913
	Θεόδου[λον]	3293
- Theodulus Olybrius	Θεοδούλ(ου) 'Ολυβρ(ίου)	1086
Theogenes	Θεογένους	920
Theomnestus	Θεομνή σ' του	933
Theon	Θέων	3689
Theopemptus	[Θεο]πέμπ[του]	1563
Theophanes	Θεοφά(νους?)	2431
	Θεοφάνη	3863c
Theophanion	Θεοφανίου	898a
Theophanius	Θεοφανίου	898a
Theophile	תפלה	147a
Theophilus	Θεόφιλος	3047; → Aurelius
	Θεοφίλου	898a; 933
	תפלוס	534
Theophirus	Θεόφιρος	2575
Theophylactus	Θεωφύλακτον	3183
	תיופולקטוס	791
Theoreos	Θεώρου	484
Theotecnus	Θεοτέκνου	1564
Theudas	תודוס	237a-b
Theudion	תדיון	209
Theumnas	Θευμνᾶς	213
	Θε(υ)μν<ᾶ>τος	214
Thinu		→ Ietro

Thomas	Θωμᾶς	811; 2893; 2914; 2978; 3038
Tilomas	$[\Theta\omega]\mu\tilde{\alpha}[\varsigma]$	1158b
	Θωμᾶ	1565; 2475; 2699; 3086; 3841
	Θωμ(ᾶ)	3896
	$\Theta\omega[\mu]\tilde{\alpha}$	2456
	$\Theta[\omega]\mu\tilde{\alpha}$	3159
	Θωμᾶ	3863b
Thomasia	Θωμασίαν	3823
Tiberianus	Οωμασταν	→ Iulius
Sex. Tim[]	S(extus) Tim[]	743
Timesitheus	S(extus) Tim[]	→ Furius
Timotheus	Turálacas	2991; 2996
Tillottieus	Τιμόθεος Τιμοθέου	
Timeine Desfer	•	794; 922; 2489; 2498
Tineius Rufus	Tinei Rufi	1276
Tiratur	Տ(ի)ր(ա)տրոյ Ծ	810A
Tit[]	Tit[]	3254
Titia C[]a	Titiae C[]ae	1438A
Titianus		→ Iulius
Titinius	Titinii	3252; 3253
	Titi[nii?]	3245
Titius	Titi[i]	3245
	Τιτίου	2161
- Titius Isas	[Τ]ιτίφ Εἰσᾶ	2537
Tobias		→ Țuvia
Tozmi()	Τωζμι()	2259b
Traianus	Τραιανέ	2395
TREMUS	ΤΡΗΜΟΥ	3800a
ŢRN	טרן	3500
Trosius	Trosi(i)	3255
Troxallis		→ Iulia
Tryphon	Τρύφον	2810
	Τρύφων	358b+d
	Τρύφωνος	220; 2243; 3566
Tsiviya	צביא	115
Tţ'	תטא	2293 col. I
Tubias		→ Ṭuvia
Tullius	Tulli(i)	3256
Tullus	Tulli	3256
Ţuvia	טוביה	198
- Tubias	Τουβίας	2814
Tymy	ת[י]מי	439
Tzana	Τζάνα	3613
Ulpianus	Οὐλπιανός	3864a
	Οὐλπιανοῦ	2446; 2451; 2454
- Olpianus	'Ολπιανός	3864a
Ulth[]	ΟΥΛΘ[]	3862
L. Ummidius	L(ucius) Umm[idius?]	2309
Urb[]	Οὐρβ[]	885
Urbicus	Οὐρβικοῦ	2166
Orbicus	συρρικου	2100

Ursus	Οὔρ[σο]υ	1528
Usia	Οὐσία	2498
Va[]	Va[]	1406
P. Va[]	P(ublius) Va[ius/io]	729
Valad[]	Οὐαλαδ[]	2632
Vałan	վաղան	838
Valens		→ Flavius
Valentina	Vale[n]tinae	1352; → Iulia
Valentinus	Οὐαλεντῖ[νον]	2752; → Eburius
Valeria		
- Valeria Aemiliana	Οὐαλερία Αἰμιλιανή	710
- Valeria Sedata	Valeria Sedata	748
Valerianus		→ Valerius
Valerius		
- L. Valerius	L(uci) (Valeri)	748
- Valerius Aemilianus	Valeri(i) Aemili(ani)	3257
- Valerius Calpurnianus	Val(erio) Calpurniano	1278
- Valerius Ma[]	Valeri Ma[]	759
- Valerius Martialis	Valeri Martialis	1228
- L. Valerius Martialis	L(ucius) Val(erius) Martialis	1228
- C. Valerius Senecio	G(aio) Valerio Sen[ecione]	3827
- L. Valerius Valerianus	L. Val(erius) Valerianu[s]	1285
	L(ucio) Valerio Valeriano	1284
Vani	וני	144
Varius Seleucus	Οὐάριος Σέλευκος	1266
Varus	Οὔαρος(?)	2963
	Οὐάρου	3975
Vecilius		→ Cossonius
Verina	Βερίνης	859
Versenuphius	Οὐερσενουφίου	2494
Verus		→ Herennius
Verutarion	Βερουταρίου	221; 222
Q. Ves[]	Q(uintus) Ves[]	732
Vettennus	Οὐεττήνου	9
Vettienus Patr()	Vettieni Patr()	3258
Vettius		→ Antonius
Vetus	Vetus	3097
C. Vibius Firmus	G(aius) Vibius Firmus	3095
Vicarius	Βικαρίο[υ]	1567
Victor	Βίκτωρ	2458; 2887; 3066
	Οὐίκτορ	1134
	Οὐίκτωρ	749
	Βίκτορος	2369
	Βίκτωρος	2432; 2452
	Βίκτρου	2665
Victor[]	Victor[]	3198
Q. Vis[]	Q(uintus) Vis[]	732
Vitalis	Vitalis	3259
Vitellius	Vitel(li)	758

Sex. Vo[]	Sex(t-) Vo[]	2345
Whhy	והבי(?)	2548
Whby W'lw	ואלו	2516
VV IW	1781	2516
Xenodicus	Ξενοδίκ[ου]	3690
Yaakov	יעקוב	67; 327; 531; 3891
	יעקב	504b; 791; 2464; 3890
	יעק[ב]	2735
	יעק[ב?]	2288
- Iacob	Ίακοβ	2229
	Ίακ(ώβ)	2199
	[Ἰακώβ?]	817A
- Iacobus	'Ιάκωβος	588
140043	'Ιακ[ώβου]	995
	['Ιακώ]βου	1483
Il D(.)	'Ιακώ(βου?)	2468
- Iacobus Dassa(s)	'Ιακκώβου Δασσᾶ	1481
- Yakob	Յակովբա	837
Yadit	ידית	80
Yadua	ידוע	271; 693
Yair	יאיר	402b
Yakim	יכים	183
Yakob		→ Yaakov
Yannai	יני	694
	'Ιηνναη	2208
Yason		→ Iasion
Yeḥekiya		→ Ḥezkiya
Yeḥezkiya		→ Ḥezkiya
Yehoezer	יהועזר	367a-b; 369a; 371b-c; 693; 2816a-b;
	·	2822a+b+d; 2823b; 2826a; 2827a
	יהעזר	31
- Yehoezer Goliath	יהועזר גלית	2823b
- Ioezer	Ίοέζρος	2823c
100201	Ίωέζρος	2818a-c; 2823a; 2824
	['Ι]ωέζαρος	2687
- Ioezer Goliath	Ἰοέζρου Γολιάθου	2823c; 2825c
- loczei Goliatii	Ἰωέζρου Γολιάθου	2823a; 2824; 2825a
Vooran		
- Yoezer	יועזר	137; 338; 367a; 549; 2682a-b; 2801
V 0 1: 41	יעזר	371a
- Yoezer Goliath	יועזר גלית	2825b
Yehoḥanan	יהוחנן	50; 57; 58; 96; 115; 131a-b; 152;
		275a-b; 316; 347; 351; 459; 532;
		534; 535; 536; 537; 538; 542; 564a;
		596; 693; 2682a; 2797
	יהחנן	533
- Ianacius	Εἰανακίφ	1417
- Ioana	'Ιωάνας	64
- Ioanan	Ιοαναν	3280

### 1566 Index of personal names

- Ioananus	'Ιωανάνου	2291
- Ioanas	Ίωανας	447
- Ioanes	'Ιοάνης	3124a
Touries	'Ιωάνης	333a-b; 362a-c; 989; 3842a
	['Ιω]άνης	179
	Ίωανήου	267a
	'Ιοάνου	3157; 3183
	'Ιωάνου	400b; 2974; 3899
	['Ι]ωάνου	3156
	['Ι]ωάνο[υ]	1492
	'Ιωάνην	2445
- Ioanis	'Ι[ωά]νις	3019
- Ioanis	Ίωάγις Ἰωάνιν	3396
- Ioanis Abesombus	['Ιω]άνιν Αβέσομβον	3396
- Ioannes	Ιωμνιν Αρεσομρον Ἰοάννης	3124b
- Idaimes	Ίωάννης	1378; 2867; 2871; 2878; 2882; 2891;
	ιωαννης	2904; 2916; 2917; 2929; 2937; 2949;
		2951; 2976; 2979; 2997; 2998; 3002;
		3003; 3013; 3024; 3037; 3043; 3064;
	'Ιωάννη[ς]	3313; 3401
	ιωαννη <u>ις</u> ] ['Ι]ωάννης	2486
	•	2924
	'Ιωάνν[ης]	2941
	'Ιωάν[νης]	2895; 2973
	'Ιω[άννης] 'Ιοάννου	3023
		3294b
	'Ιοά(ννου) 'Ιωάννου	959a
	ιωαννου	818; 859; 876; 880; 1071; 1378; 1741; 1764; 1765; 1767; 2432; 2487;
		2675; 2746; 2750; 2812; 3141; 3142; 3173; 3316a; 3758; 3838a; 3865;
		3895
	'Ιωάννο(υ)	
	Ίωαννο(υ) Ἰωτά ννου	3195a
		2655
	'Ιωά[ν]νου Γ'Ι	2705 858; 1487; 3085
	['Ι]ωάννου ['Ιω]άννου	1015; 1081; 3143
	[Ἰ]ωάνν[ου]	3083
	'Ιωά[ννου]	3141
	Ιωαίννου <sub>]</sub> ['Ιωάν]νου	3838b
	Ίωανγίου	3310
	Ίωάννους	
	•	3900 990
	'Ιωάννη 'Ιωάννην	
	Ιωάννην Ἰωάν(νην)	1030
- Ioannes Mareabdenus	Ίωάννου Μαρηαβδηνοῦ	3183 2479
- Ioannes Mareaddenus - Ioannes Zetzes	Ιωάννου Ινιαρηαροήνου Ίωάννης Ζήτζης	3014
- Ioannes Zetzes - Ioannis	Ιωάννης Ζητζης Ἰωάννις	2861; 3308a
- Ioannis - Ioannis Zacharias	Ιωάννις 'Ιωάννιν Ζαχαρί[αν]	3396
- Iohana	Iohana	40

- Iohannes	am 3.6a	973
	იოჰანე	
- Yehoḥana	יהוחנה	499b; 534
- Yohan	3nhພ <sub>ິ</sub> ນ	813
- Yoḥana	יחנה	217
	יוחנא	499a
- Yoḥanan	יוחנן	137; 283; 3870
	יחנן	157
- Yonan	<del>ጎ</del>	3316c
Yehonatan	יהונתו	51; 70; 77; 132a-b; 140; 172; 184;
		441; 500b; 702; 2549
	יהונת[ן]	702
	יהנתנ	63
	יהו<נ>ת[ן]	507
	יהו<נ>תן	493b
- Ionatha	'Ιωνάθα	2200
- Ionatha	['Ι]ωνάθη	153
- Ionathes		
	'Ιωνάθης	65; 493a; 500a
- Yonatan	יונתן	3854
	ינתן	701; 3449
Yeḥoni	יחוני	173; 2777
Yehoqim	יהקים	470
	יהקי	470
Yehose, Yehosef		→ Yosef
Yehoshua	יהושוע	2214
- Yoshua Yudan	יושוע יודן	3871
Yehuda	יהודה	96; 108; 137; 161; 194; 215; 237a-b;
		244a-b; 245; 246a-b; 256b-d; 268;
		304; 341b; 353a-b; 405; 453b; 455a;
		459; 473; 510; 544; 601; 651; 2178;
		2681
	יהוד[ה]	543
	י'הו'דה	545a
	יה<ו>דה	341a
Vahuda Dasi(thaus2)		
- Yehuda Dosi(theus?)	יהודה דסי	3745
- Ioda	'Ιόδα	2200
- Iodius	Ίοδίου	552
- Iuda	'Ιούδα	231; 554a-b; 2209
	'Ιούδι/α	545b
- Iudan	'Ιούδαν	174a; 426
- Iuda(s) Zachai	Ἰούδα Ζαχαι	2209
- Iudas	'Ιούδας	23c; 179; 215; 216; 517a; 2178;
		2206; 2207; 2699
	'Ιύδας	2208
	'Ιούδου	231; 409; 2259a-b; 2815
	['Io]ύδου	269b
	Ἰού[δου]	480
	['Ιού]δ[ου]	2259c
	'Ιωύδου	553
	Ίούδους	323
	'Ιουδατος	551
	10000105	551

### 1568 Index of personal names

	'Ιούδα	2080; 3478
	'Ιούδαν	2399
- Iudin	Ίουδιν	550
- Yehud	יהוד	43; 55; 450
- Yehudan	יהודן	103
- Yudan	יודן	2200; 2205; 3848; 3878; 3881;
- Tudan	111.	> Yehoshua
	ידן	455b
Yeḥzaq	יחזק	368a-b
Yeshebab	ישבאב	368a
Testiedad	יישבאב	368b
Yeshua	ישוע	109; 156; 195; 206; 239a; 260; 320;
Testina	ישוע	473; 474; 489a-b; 531; 546; 547;
		3295; 3872
	ישועה	295
- Iesua	Ἰεσούα	295
- Iesus		247
- Iesus	Ἰεσοῦς Ἰ	
	'Ιησοῦς	15a+d; 36; 425; 479; 480; 548a; 583a
	'T., _/	
	'Ιησίου 'Τ· ο	267a
37. 1	Ίησοῦ	548b-c
- Yeshu	ישו	547
Yhw[]	[]יהו	228; 2848
Yishmael	ישמעאל	203; 557a-b; 2831a-b
	יש]מעאל [יש	632
	אשמעל	167; 526a
	י<ש>מעאל	557c
_	ישמעל	248a-b; 273; 442
- Ismael	Εισμαηλ	526a
	'Ισμάηλος	2824
	'Ισμαήλου	2818c-b
Yitra	יתרא	459; 2832
Yizḥak	יצחק	34
	سَيْس	3316d
- Eisak Kozon	Εἰσὰκ Κωζωνος	2186
- Eisakius	Εἰσακίου	2236
- Isak	Ισακ	365
- Isakis	'Ισάκις	2203
- Isakus	"Ισακος	2488
- Isḥak	אשחק	1119a
Yoezer		→ Yehoezer
Yohan, Yoḥana, Yoḥana	n	→ Yehoḥanan
Yokan	יוכן	696
Yonah	יונה	1027
- Iona	'Ιονά	991
	Ιωνα	494b
- Ionas	'Ιωνᾶς	3471
Yonan		→ Yehoḥanan
Yonatan		→ Yehonatan
Yose		→ Yosef

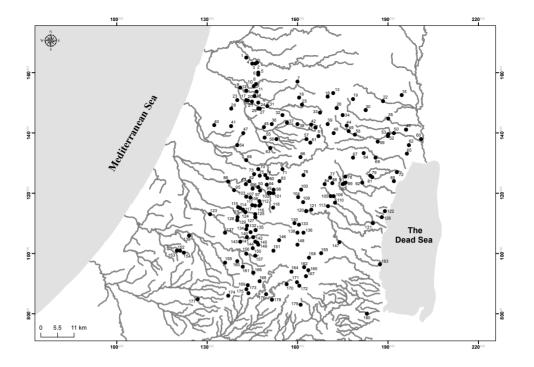
Yosef	יהוסף	7; 86; 95; 148; 157; 182; 193; 316; 318; 319a; 336; 337a-b; 338; 345; 352b; 366b; 404; 407a-b; 411b; 454a-c; 461a-b; 474; 492; 505; 535; 536; 539; 540; 541; 542; 543; 547; 693; 2832; 3843c
	יהוס[ף]	16; 240
	יהוספ	504b-c
	יהוסיף	394
	יהפ	63
	יהסף	471
	יוסף	83a-b; 225; 531; 791
	יוספ	137
	(reversed) פסוי	881
- Iose	'Ιοσε	81
	'Ιωσέ	46
	'Ιωσή	573
- Ioseph	'Ιοσ(ήφ)	318
	'Ιωσήφ	134a-b; 1082; 2187
- Iosepus	'Ιώσηπος	366a; 372; 401a-b; 556; 3185
	['Ι]ωσήπου	124
- Ioses	'Ιωσῆς	231; 583a-b; 3484
	'Ιοσῆ	2206
	'Ιωσῆ	2688
	'Ιωσ[ῆ]	2201
- Iuses	'Ιυσῆς	2211
- Yehose	יהסה	107
	יהוסה	352a
- Yose	יוסה	475; 2734a; 3853
	יסה	116
Yoshua		→ Yehoshua
Ysp	יסף	2293 col. I
Ytnbʻl	יתנבעל	2293 col. I
Yudan		→ Yehoshua; Yehuda
Za[]	Ζα[]	1487; 3176
Zabbaeus	Ζαββαίου	3557; 3645
Zabdada	Ζαβδαδα	3737
Zabdi	Ζάβδου	3547
Zaccai	•	
- Zacchaes	Ζαχχαης	2244
- Zachai	Ζαχαι	2209; → Yehuda (under Iudas)
Zachariah	Ζακκαρίας	959a; → Yehoḥanan (under Ioannis)
	Ζαχαρίας	3067
	Ζαχαρήου	3213c
	Ζαχαρίου	189; 199; 2422; 2539; 2575; 3895
	Ζαχαρ(ίου)	3896
	Ζαχαρ[ίου]	3484
	Ζαχ[αρίου]	3846
	Ζαχαρία	3866

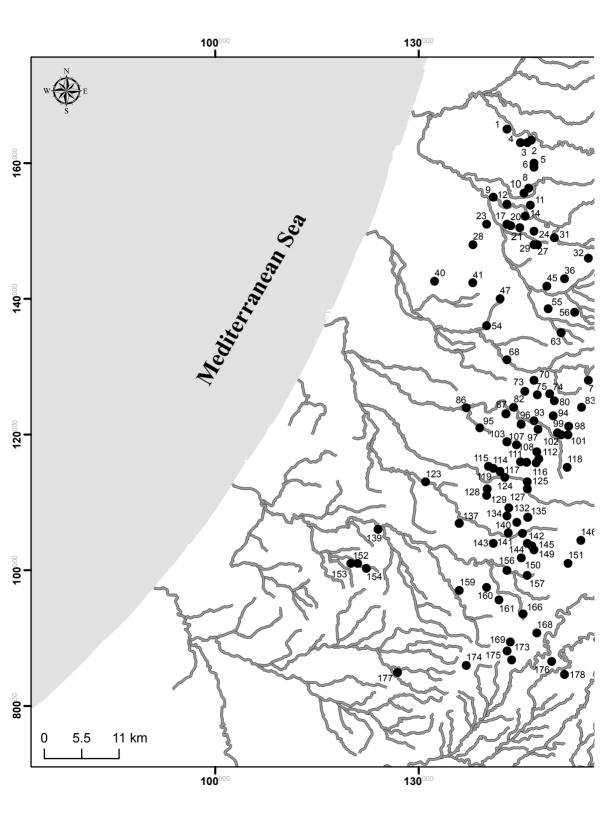
	[7.]	2654
	[Ζα]χαρία	2654
	Ζαχαρήα	3801b
	Ζαχαρίαν	3792
- Zacharias Condus	Ζαχαρίας Κόνδος	2966
- Zekhariya	זכריה	92; 191; 2798
	זכר[יה]	629
Zadi[]	$ZA\Delta II[]$	2121
Zaera	Ζαηρα	568
<b>Zahama</b>	צהמא	79a
Zana		→ Zanna
Zanatus	Ζανατε	3302
Zanna	Ζάννας	828
- Zana	Ζάνα	3326
	Ζάνας	3326
Zannurus	Ζα[ν]νούρου	3435a
Zanys	Ζανιου	3894
Zbydy	זבידי	2553
Zebadaya	זבדיה	611
Zebatus	Ζέβατος	3689
Zekhariya		→ Zachariah
Zenarus	Ζηναροῦτος	151
Zenas	Ζηνᾶ	181a-b
Zeno()	Ζηνο()	2609b
Zenobius, Zenobis	Ζηνόβιος	2865
	Ζηνόβις	2571
	Ζη[ν]οβίο[υ]	2443
	Ζηνόβιε	2346
Zenodorus	[Ζη]ν[ό]δωρος	952
	Ζηνοδώρου	3586; 3587
	Ζηνοδ(ώρο)υ	3574
Zenon	Ζήνων	842.21; 3070
	Ζήν ων	3484
	Ζήνονος	2499
	Ζήνωνος	2179; 2593; 2635
	Ζήνω(νος)	2638
	Ζήν ω ν [ος]	3484
Zereka	Ζερεκα	1513
Zetzes		→ Yehoḥanan (under Ioannes)
Zexippos	Ζεξίπ(που)	1530
Zobinas	Ζοβινα	2469
Zoila	Ζωίλα	603; 1124
Zoilus	Ζοείλος	2245
Zonaine	Ζωνή[νη]	3435b1
Zoname	$Z[ove(v)]\eta(\varsigma)$	994
Zonainus	Ζόνενος	2425
Zonamus	Ζωνή[νος]	3435b1
	Ζωνηίνος <sub>]</sub> Ζοναίνου	2443; 2445; 2546
	Ζονάινου	3829
	Ζονενου [Ζο]νένου	3825
Zonenon	Ζονήνωνος	2469
POHEHOH	Σονηνώνος	∠ <del>1</del> 07

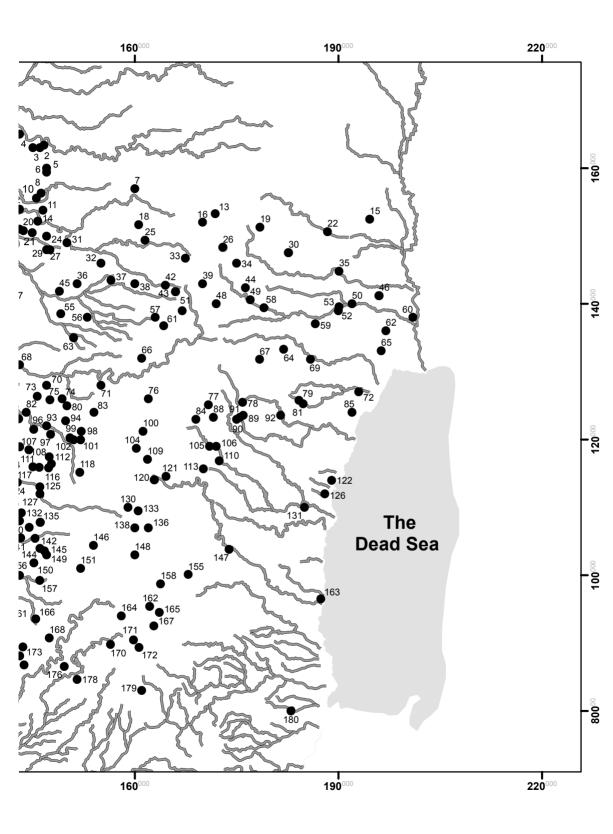
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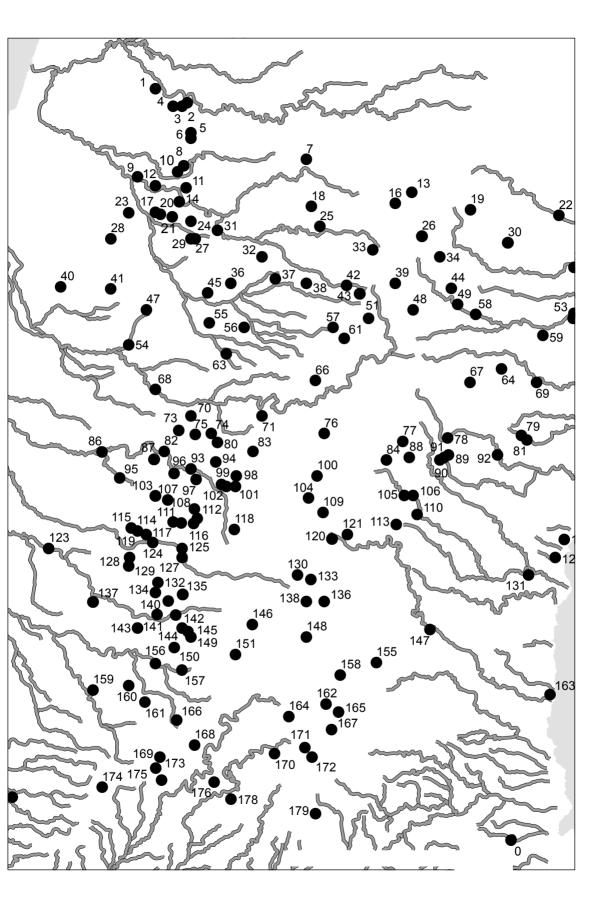
### Index of personal names 1571

Ζωσᾶς	3577
Ζωσίμης	1495; 1568
Ζώσιμος	3007
Ζωσίμου	1569; 3220
	Ζωσίμης Ζώσιμος









## Key to locations

# I. Locations in geographical order (in horizontal strips from northwest to southeast)

1	Kefar Sirkin	42	Kh. Beit Sila
2	Ḥ. Zikhrin	43	To Ennaton (mod. Kh. el-Lațațin)
3	Ӊ. Mazor (Nebi Yaḥya)	44	Machmas (mod. Mukhmas)
4	Naḥshonim	45	Selebi (Selbit, mod. Shaʻalbim)
5	Ӊ. Ḥani	46	Kh. en-Nitle
6	Wilhelma (mod. Bnei Atarot,	47	Gezer (Gazara)
	near mod. Tirat Yehuda)	48	Rama (mod. er-Ram)
7	Thamna (mod. Kh. Tibne)	49	el-ʿAleiliyat
8	Ḥ. Tinshemet	50	Jericho
9	Kafr Jinnis	51	Gibeon (Gabaon, mod. al-Jib)
10	Shoham	52	Choziba (Wadi el-Kelt,
11	Naḥal Nevallat		mod. Deir Mar Jiryis)
12	Kefar Truman	53	Cypros (mod. Tell el-'Aqabeh)
13	Isana (mod. ʿEin Siniya,	54	Ḥulda
	Kh. el-Burj el-Isana)	55	Emmaus (Nicopolis, mod. 'Imwas)
14	Ḥadid (Adida, mod. el-Ḥaditha)	56	Aialon (mod. Yalu)
15	Archelaïs (mod. al-Bayudat,	57	el-Qubeibe (Parva Mahomeria)
	Kh. el-Beiyudat)	58	Megharat el-Jai
16	Gophna (mod. Jifna)	59	Khan Saliba
17	Ben Shemen	60	Iohannis Baptistae Ecclesia
18	Kh. Batma		(mod. Qasr el-Yahud)
19	Apharaema (Ephraim, mod. et-Tayyibe)	61	Beit Surik
20	Kh. el-Thahiriya	62	Bethagla (mod. Qasr Ḥajle)
21	Kh. el-Qubeibe	63	Bab el-Oued (Shaʿar Hagai)
22	Kh. el-ʿAuja el-Fauqa	64	Khan el-Aḥmar (mod. Mishor Adumim)
23	Lydda (Diospolis, Georgioupolis,	65	Wadi Murrar
	mod. Lod)	66	Tzova
24	Ḥ. Ḥermeshit (Kh. Ḥarmush)	67	Kh. Murasas (Maʿale Adumim)
25	el-Janiya	68	Rafat
26	Bethel (el-Beth, mod. Beitin)	69	Deir el-Mukalik
27	el-Ḥabis	70	Beth Shemesh
28	Ramleh	71	Kh. Deiry
29	Kh. Zakhariya	72	Qumran
30	Kh. Kilya	73	Ḥ. Ḥusham
31	Modi'in	74	Beit Jimal (Beit Gamal,
32	Kh. el-Lauz		ancient Caphar Gamala?)
33	Kh. et-Tire	75 76	'Ein Fattir
34	Deir Diwan	76	Bethar (Bethther, Bettir,
35	Naʿaran (Noorath, mod. ʿEin ed-Duq,		mod. Kh. el-Yahud)
26	Ein Duyuk)	77	Bir el-Qutt
36	Kh. el-Ḥadatha	78 70	Deir Dosi
37	Kh. el-Misbah	79	Bir el-Qaṭṭar
38	Bethoron (mod. Beit 'Ur et-Taḥta)	80	Zanoua (mod. Kh. Zanuʻ)
39	Masepha (Mizpeh, mod. Tell en-Nasbeh)	81 82	Hyrcania (Castellion, mod. Kh. el-Mird)
40	Kh. 'Asafira		Tell Zakariye
41	Naʿana	83	Kh. el-Khan (Ḥ. Ḥanot)

84	Bethlehem (Bet Leḥem)	132	• •
85	Ein Feshkha (Enot Zuqim)	133	Alula (mod. Ḥalḥul)
86	Ӊ. Żefiyya (ancient Saphitha?)	134	, ,
87	Kh. ar-Rasm	135	Rasm el-Beida
88	Turris Ader (mod. Beit Saḥur,	136	Bethennim (mod. Kh. Beit 'Anun)
	Kh. es-Siyar el-Ghanam)	137	Lachish (mod. el-Qubeibe)
89	Kh. el-Makhrum	138	Mamre (mod. Ramet el-Khalil)
90	Kh. "R"	139	Tell el-Ḥesi
91	Kh. Juhzum	140	Kh. en-Nakieh
92	Megiste Laura (mod. Mar Saba)	141	H. Qazra
93	Elah Valley	142	Beit el-Ban
94	Betholetepha (mod. Beit Nattif)	143	Duweimi
95	H. Luzit (Deir Dubban)	144	Kh. el-Kom
96	Kh. Jannaba et-Taḥta	145	Kh. el-Muraq
97	Socho (mod. H. Sokho, Kh. Shuweika)	146	Ein el-Ma'amudiye
98	Kh. esh-Sheikh Ghazi	147	Kh. ed-Deir
99	Kh. Umm er-Rus esh-Shamaliya	148	Hebron (Kiriath Arba, Mamre)
"	(H. Beth Bad)	149	Kh. Deir Samit
100	Nahalin	150	
101	Ḥ. Malka (Kh. Malkatha)	151	Adora (mod. Dura)
101	Roglit	152	Kh. Jammama
102	Giv at Seled	153	Ruhama
103		154	•
	Kh. Ḥubeila		
105	Natupha solitudo (mod. Kh. Bedd Faluḥ)	155	Kh. el-Qaşr
106	Herodion (mod. Jebel Fureidis)	156	Ḥ. ʿEitun
107	Drusias (mod. Ḥ. Midras)	157	
108	Caphethra (mod. Kh. Umm Burj)	158	Ziph (mod. Kh. Zif)
109	Beit Shaʿar	159	• 1
110	Suca (mod. Kh. Khureitun)	160	•
111	Tel Lavnin	161	Kh. Beit Mirsim
112	H. Qeromit	162	Caphar Orsa (mod. Kh. Khureisa)
113	Thecoa (mod. Teqoʻa, Kh. et-Tuquʻ)	163	Ein Gedi (Engaddi)
114	Tell el-Judeiyida (Tel Goded)	164	Iutta (mod. Yatta)
115	Ḥ. Alim	165	Kh. Khallet el-Meiya
116	Ḥ. Tannim	166	Kh. Kafr Jul (Kafr Jor)
117	Ḥ. Burgin	167	Chermela (Chermula, Chermala,
118	Enadab (mod. Kh. 'Ain Dab, Beit 'Itab)		Carmel, mod. el-Kirmil)
119	Kh. el-ʿEin	168	ed-Daheriye
120	Qiriath 'Arbaia (mod. 'Ein 'Arrub)	169	Anab (mod. Kh. 'Anab)
121	Beit Fajjar	170	Eshthemoa (mod. es-Samuʿa)
122	Ein el-Ghuweir	171	Rujm el-Ḥamiri
123	Sde Moshe	172	Susiya
124	ʿIyye Neḥash	173	Kh. 'Useiliyye
125	H. Gibor	174	En-Rimmon (mod. Kh. Umm
126	`Ain Turabi		er-Rumamin, H. Rimmon)
127	Kh. Zaʻaquqa	175	Kh. Umm Deimine (Kh. Umm Deimnah)
128	Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrin,	176	Kh. Zanuta
	mod. Beth Guvrin)	177	
129	Marisa (Maresha, mod. Tell Sandahannah)	178	Iethira (Yatir, mod. Kh. 'Attir)
130	Beth Zur (mod. Kh. et-Tubeiga)	179	Tel Kerioth
131	Murabba'at	180	
131	muiuova at	100	11145444

### II. Locations in alphabethical order

25

el-Janiya

151	Adora (mod. Dura)	57	el-Qubeibe (Parva Mahomeria)
56	Aialon (mod. Yalu)	128	Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrin,
126	ʿAin Turabi		mod. Beth Guvrin)
133	Alula (mod. Ḥalḥul)	55	Emmaus (Nicopolis, mod. 'Imwas)
169	Anab (mod. Kh. 'Anab)	118	Enadab (mod. Kh. 'Ain Dab, Beit 'Itab)
19	Apharaema (Ephraim, mod. et-Tayyibe)	174	En-Rimmon (mod. Kh. Umm
15	Archelaïs (mod. al-Bayudat,		er-Rumamin, Ḥ. Rimmon)
	Kh. el-Beiyudat)	170	Eshthemoa (mod. es-Samuʿa)
63	Bab el-Oued (Shaʿar Hagai)	47	Gezer (Gazara)
150	Beit 'Awwa	51	Gibeon (Gabaon, mod. al-Jib)
142	Beit el-Ban	103	Giv at Seled
121	Beit Fajjar	16	Gophna (mod. Jifna)
74	Beit Jimal (Beit Gamal, ancient Caphar	115	Ḥ. Alim
	Gamala?)	117	Ḥ. Burgin
109	Beit Shaʿar	156	Ӊ. ʿEitun
61	Beit Surik	125	Ḥ. Gibor
17	Ben Shemen	160	Ḥ. Gomer
134	Beth Loya (Kh. Lehi)	5	Ӊ. Ḥani
70	Beth Shemesh	24	Ḥ. Ḥermeshit (Kh. Ḥarmush)
130	Beth Zur (mod. Kh. et-Tubeiqa)	132	Ӊ. Ḥoresh
62	Bethagla (mod. Qasr Ḥajle)	73	Ӊ. Ḥusham
76	Bethar (Bethther, Bettir,	159	Ḥ. Kishor
	mod. Kh. el-Yahud)	95	Ḥ. Luzit (Deir Dubban)
26	Bethel (el-Beth, mod. Beitin)	101	Ḥ. Malka (Kh. Malkatha)
136	Bethennim (mod. Kh. Beit 'Anun)	3	Ḥ. Mazor (Nebi Yaḥya)
84	Bethlehem (Bet Leḥem)	141	Ӊ. Qaẓra
94	Betholetepha (mod. Beit Nattif)	112	Ӊ. Qeromit
38	Bethoron (mod. Beit 'Ur et-Taḥta)	116	Ḥ. Tannim
79	Bir el-Qaṭṭar	8	Ḥ. Tinshemet
77	Bir el-Qutt	86	Ḥ. Żefiyya (ancient Saphitha?)
162	Caphar Orsa (mod. Kh. Khureisa)	2	Ḥ. Zikhrin
108	Caphethra (mod. Kh. Umm Burj)	14	Ḥadid (Adida, mod. el-Ḥaditha)
167	Chermela (Chermula, Chermala,	148	Hebron (Kiriath Arba, Mamre)
	Carmel, mod. el-Kirmil)	106	Herodion (mod. Jebel Fureidis)
52	Choziba (Wadi el-Kelt,	54	Ḥulda
	mod. Deir Mar Jiryis)	81	Hyrcania (Castellion, mod. Kh. el-Mird)
53	Cypros (mod. Tell el-'Aqabeh)	178	Iethira (Yatir, mod. Kh. ʿAttir)
34	Deir Diwan	60	Iohannis Baptistae Ecclesia
78	Deir Dosi		(mod. Qasr el-Yahud)
69	Deir el-Mukalik	13	Isana (mod. ʿEin Siniya,
107	Drusias (mod. Ḥ. Midras)		Kh. el-Burj el-Isana)
143	Duweimi	164	Iutta (mod. Yatta)
168	ed-Daheriye	124	ʿIyye Neḥash
122	Ein el-Ghuweir	50	Jericho
146	Ein el-Maʿamudiye	9	Kafr Jinnis
75	Ein Fattir	1	Kefar Sirkin
85	'Ein Feshkha ('Enot Zuqim)	12	Kefar Truman
163	Ein Gedi (Engaddi)	87	Kh. ar-Rasm
93	Elah Valley	40	Kh. 'Asafira
49	el-ʿAleiliyat	18	Kh. Batma
27	el-Ḥabis	161	Kh. Beit Mirsim
25	al Ianiva	12	Kh Rait Sila

42 Kh. Beit Sila

#### 1580 Key to locations

154	Kh. Birker	180	Masada
149	Kh. Deir Şamit	39	
71	•	58	Masepha (Mizpeh, mod. Tell en-Nasbeh)
147	Kh. Deiry Kh. ed-Deir	92	Megharat el-Jai
			Megiste Laura (mod. Mar Saba)
22	Kh. el-ʿAuja el-Fauqa	31	Modi'in
119	Kh. el-'Ein	131	Murabbaʿat
36	Kh. el-Ḥadatha	41	Naʿana
83	Kh. el-Khan (Ḥ. Ḥanot)	35	Naʿaran (Noorath, mod. ʿEin ed-Duq,
144	Kh. el-Kom		'Ein Duyuk)
32	Kh. el-Lauz	11	Naḥal Nevallat
89	Kh. el-Makhrum	177	Naḥal Peḥar
37	Kh. el-Misbah	100	• •
145	Kh. el-Muraq	4	Naḥshonim
155	Kh. el-Qaşr	105	Natupha solitudo (mod. Kh. Bedd Faluḥ)
21	Kh. el-Qubeibe	120	
20	Kh. el-Thahiriya	72	Qumran
140	Kh. en-Nakieh	68	Rafat
46	Kh. en-Nitle	48	Rama (mod. er-Ram)
98	Kh. esh-Sheikh Ghazi	28	Ramleh
33	Kh. et-Tire	135	Rasm el-Beida
104	Kh. Ḥubeila	102	Roglit
152	Kh. Jammama	153	Ruḥama
96	Kh. Jannaba et-Taḥta	171	Rujm el-Ḥamiri
91	Kh. Juḥzum	123	Sde Moshe
166	Kh. Kafr Jul (Kafr Jor)	45	Selebi (Selbit, mod. Shaʻalbim)
165	Kh. Khallet el-Meiya	10	Shoham
30	Kh. Kilya	97	Socho (mod. H. Sokho, Kh. Shuweika)
67	Kh. Murasas (Ma'ale Adumim)	110	Suca (mod. Kh. Khureitun)
90	Kh. "R"	172	Susiya
157	Kh. Tawas	179	Tel Kerioth
175	Kh. Umm Deimine (Kh. Umm Deimnah)	111	Tel Lavnin
99	Kh. Umm er-Rus esh-Shamaliya	139	Tell el-Ḥesi
	(Ḥ. Beth Bad)	114	Tell el-Judeiyida (Tel Goded)
173	Kh. 'Useiliyye	82	Tell Zakariye
127	Kh. Zaʻaquqa	7	Thamna (mod. Kh. Tibne)
29	Kh. Zakhariya	113	Thecoa (mod. Teqoʻa, Kh. et-Tuquʻ)
176	Kh. Zanuta	43	To Ennaton (mod. Kh. el-Latatin)
64	Khan el-Aḥmar (mod. Mishor Adumim)	88	Turris Ader (mod. Beit Saḥur,
59	Khan Saliba		Kh. es-Siyar el-Ghanam)
137	Lachish (mod. el-Qubeibe)	66	Tzova
23	Lydda (Diospolis, Georgioupolis, mod. Lod)	65	Wadi Murrar
44	Machmas (mod. Mukhmas)	6	Wilhelma (mod. Bnei Atarot,
138	Mamre (mod. Ramet el-Khalil)	-	near mod. Tirat Yehuda)
129	Marisa (Maresha, mod. Tell	80	Zanoua (mod. Kh. Zanu')
	Sandahannah)	158	Ziph (mod. Kh. Zif)
		-20	1 (,